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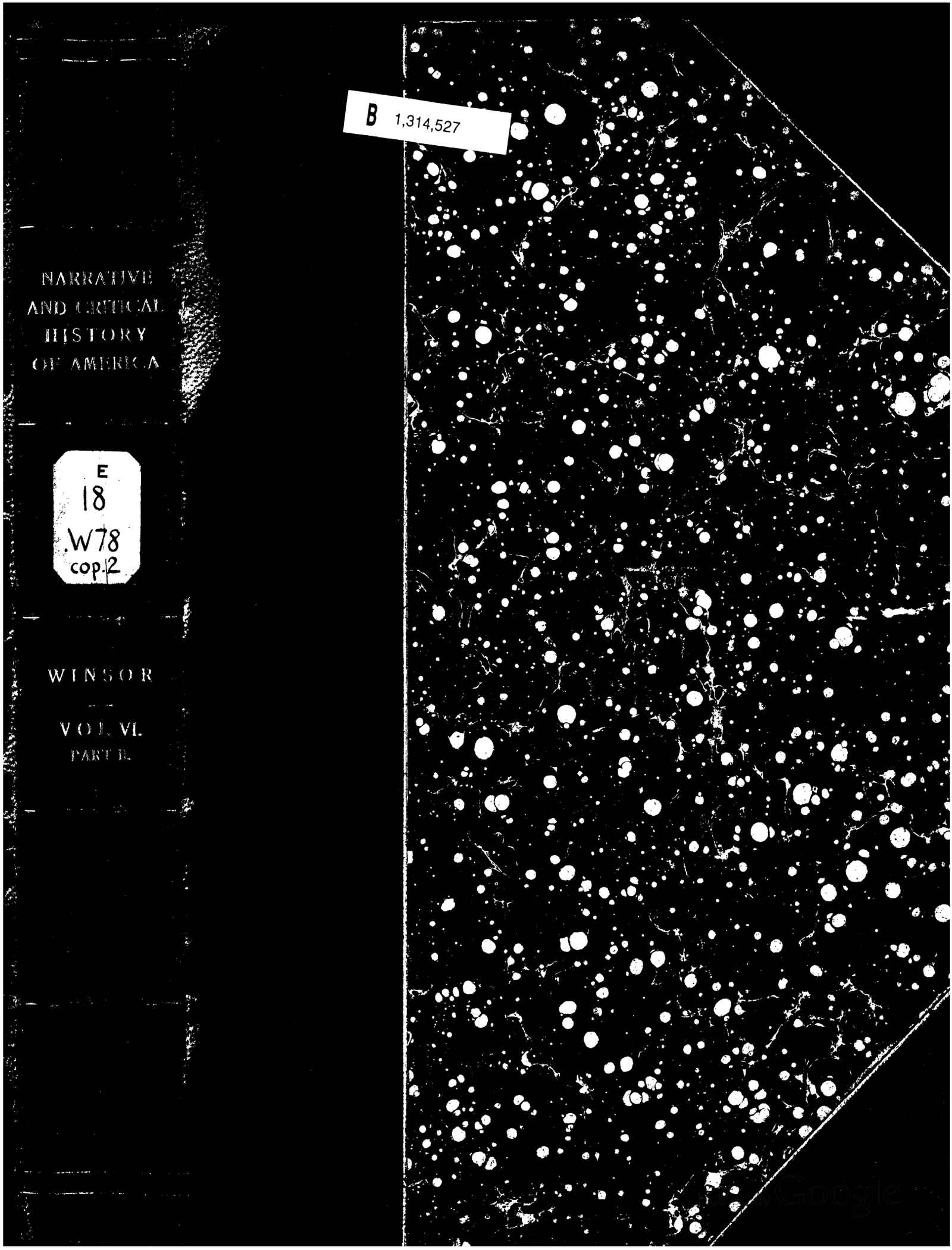

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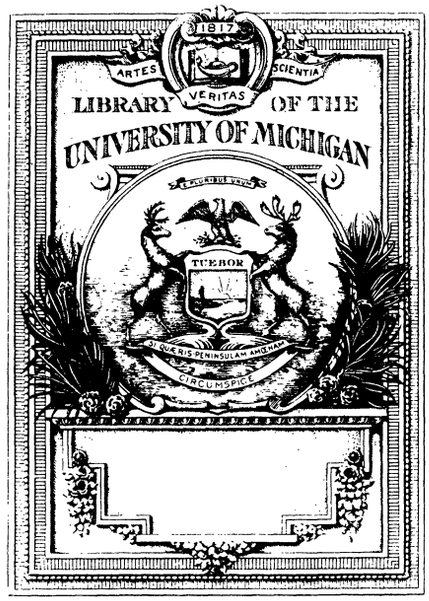

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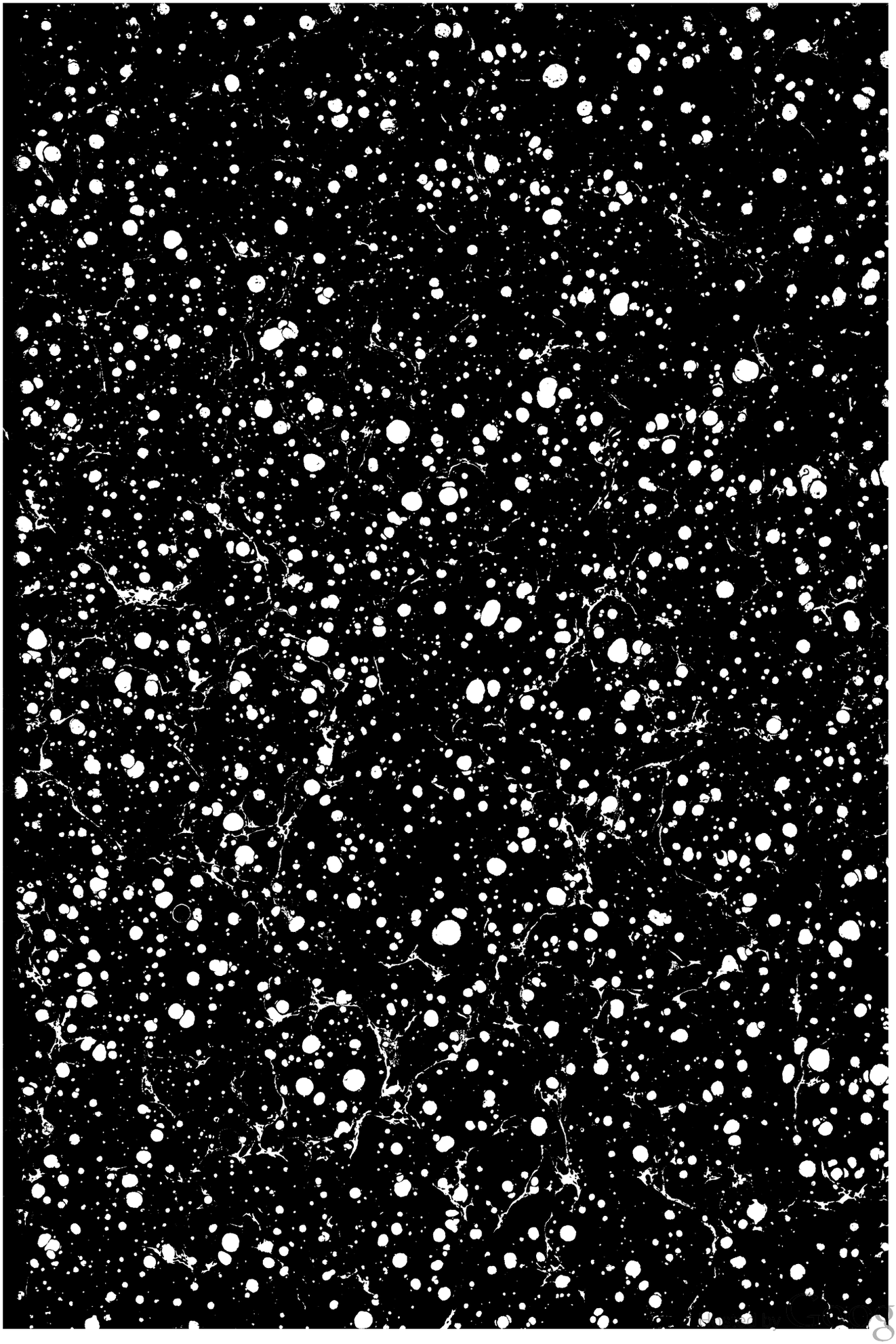

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NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

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The United States

OF

North America

PART I

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR

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VOL. VI. — PART II.

BOSTON AND NEW YORK

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CHAPTER V.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DELAWARE. — PHILADELPHIA UNDER HOWE AND UNDER ARNOLD.

BY FREDERICK D. STONE,

Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

THESE are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

So wrote Thomas Paine, December 19, 1776. The preceding month had been fraught with adversity. The loss of Fort Washington on the 16th of November had rendered Fort Lee useless, as with it alone the passage of the river could not be obstructed. Its evacuation was immediately ordered, and the ammunition and some of the guns were removed. Before all could be taken away, however, the fort became the object of the enemy's attention. On the night of the 19th, two columns under Cornwallis, composed of British and Germans, with a detachment from the fleet, in all about six thousand men, crossed the river and landed at Closter dock, seven miles above Fort Lee, then commanded by General Greene. The night was stormy, and the movement escaped the notice of Greene's sentries. By morning the sailors had dragged the artillery to the top of the Palisades, and everything was ready for an advance upon the fort. Greene was informed of the landing of Cornwallis, and immediately took steps to secure a retreat for his command, then numbering about three thousand men. Word was sent to Washington, who was at the village of Hackensack with the troops which he had brought with him from White Plains. In three quarters of an hour the commanding general was at Greene's side. Seeing that the fort was not tenable, he ordered a retreat. No time was to be lost; and leaving the tents standing, the kettles over the fires, and such stores as could not be removed, the troops were hurried towards the advancing enemy with such speed that they gained the road leading to the only bridge over the Hackensack before Cornwallis could intercept them.

The situation of the Americans was now more precarious than it had been at Fort Lee. They were in danger of being shut in between the Hackensack and Passaic rivers; they were in a perfectly flat country, without intrenching tools or camp equipage; their right flank could be turned

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and their line of retreat threatened if the British should land a force at the head of Newark Bay or at Amboy. Washington's forces were greatly reduced by reverses and by desertions. Nearly all that were left were militia of the flying camp, called out for an emergency, and impatient to return home, as their time of service had nearly expired. Small as his numbers were, Washington was obliged to post some at Amboy and others at Brunswick, to protect his flanks. As those remaining were insufficient to hinder the advance of the enemy in his front, he ordered Lee, whom he had left in command on the east of the Hudson, to cross that river and join him, and, with hardly three thousand men, Washington began his retreat through the Jerseys.

On the 21st he was at Aquacknoc Bridge on the Passaic, and by the 23d at Newark. On the 28th he left Newark, the advance-guard of the British entering the town as his rear-guard quitted it, and the next day he arrived at Brunswick. Here an attempt would have been made to prevent the enemy crossing the Raritan, but the stream was fordable in a number of places. As the British approached, the Jersey and Maryland brigades, whose terms of service expired that day, refused to stay an hour longer, and as the British crossed the river the line of march was again taken up for Trenton. This point was reached on the 2d of December, two brigades having been left at Princeton, under Stirling, to watch the enemy.

Having seen his stores and baggage safely over the Delaware, and being reinforced by about twelve hundred militia from the neighborhood of Philadelphia, Washington faced about on the 6th, with such men as were fit for service, and set out to join Stirling at Princeton.

It had not been the intention of Howe, when he ordered Cornwallis over the Hudson, to do more than take possession of and hold East Jersey, and Cornwallis's orders did not permit him to go beyond Brunswick. But the slight opposition which Washington was able to offer to the British advance excited in Howe the hopes of capturing Philadelphia, and he joined Cornwallis in person at Brunswick. After a short halt, he pushed on towards Stirling at Princeton, and before Washington could reach that general Stirling was in full retreat, to avoid being intercepted. A retrograde movement was ordered, and by the 8th the American army was on the west bank of the Delaware. The advance of Cornwallis's column reached the river before the rear-guard of the Americans had landed on the Pennsylvania side; but as Washington had secured all the boats for a considerable distance above and below Trenton, his position was comparatively a safe one. Here for a time he rested his men, and urged upon Congress the necessity of raising additional troops, and the importance of preparing for the defence of Philadelphia, as the military stores were in that city.

In his retreat through the Jerseys, Washington was greatly embarrassed by the conduct of General Charles Lee. The instructions he had given Lee on the 17th of November to join him may have been discretionary, but the language and frequency of his orders left no doubt of the expec-

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tations of the commander-in-chief. But Lee chose to read the orders in the light of his wishes. On the east of the Hudson he had an independent command, which he purposed to retain as long as he could. Schemes and suggestions that should have had no weight were allowed to delay his passage over the river until December 2d, and then his advance was slow and hesitating. The prospect of receiving reinforcements from the Northern army, which would make his command equal to that of Washington, strengthened his wish to act independently. He proposed, as soon as the troops from the north should join him, to attack the rear of the enemy. While this plan may not have been devoid of military judgment, it is doubtful if it would have had more than a temporary effect on Howe's movements, while it would have deprived Washington of the reinforcements he so greatly needed. Notwithstanding Washington's explicit directions to avoid the enemy in joining him, Lee hung so close to the enemy's flank as to leave a doubt of his real intentions, and on the morning of the 13th, just after having put on record that he believed Washington to be "damnably deficient," he was surprised and taken prisoner by Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, at White's tavern, near Baskingridge, three miles from his camp.

CHARLES LEE[1]

The estimation in which Lee was held gave an undue importance to his capture. The British thought that in it they had deprived their opponents of nearly all the military science they possessed, and they styled him the American Palladium. With the Americans he had many friends, who were flattered that a soldier of European distinction should have espoused their cause, and, dazzled with his success at Charleston, they rated him higher than Washington, and, unintentionally perhaps, weakened the confidence that should have been reposed in the commander-in-chief by his subordinates.

Having failed to overtake Washington in New Jersey, Howe turned northward to Coryell's Ferry, fifteen miles above Trenton, in hopes of finding boats to enable him to cross the Delaware; but in this he was disappointed. He then took post at Pennington with a portion of his force, while with the

[1] From Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the Present War*, i. p. 478.

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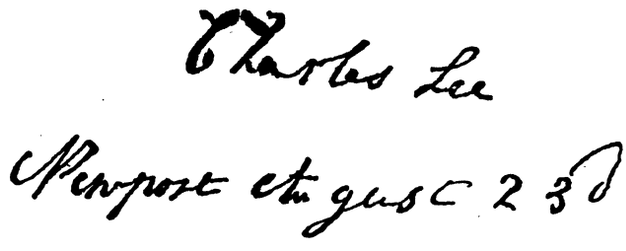
remainder he returned to Trenton, repaired the bridges below the town which the Americans had destroyed, and extended his line as far as Burlington.

So great was the terror spread through New Jersey as the British advanced, that many of her citizens took advantage of the amnesty which was offered by the Howes to all who would put themselves under their protection within sixty days from the 30th of November. Chief among these was Samuel Tucker, president of the Committee of Safety, who had held many positions of honor and trust. Nor was this defection confined to the east side of the Delaware. It was now that Joseph Galloway, and citizens of Philadelphia, like the Allens, who had supported the cause of the colonies until independence became the avowed object of the war, sought safety within the British lines. But the influence which their conduct might have exercised upon the people was neutralized by what was soon endured at the hands of the British and Hessian troops. Never before had any of the colonies been exposed to the unbridled impulses of a mercenary and licentious



soldiery. Houses were plundered and their contents destroyed in mere wantonness, women were forced to submit to indignities, and all the horrors which usually attended the invasion of a European country by a foreign army in the eighteenth century were transferred to the soil of New Jersey.[1]

In Philadelphia the excitement was intense. On the 28th of November a meeting was held in the State House yard to consider the condition of affairs. It was addressed by Mifflin, who had been sent to the city to warn Congress of the danger which threatened the army. He spoke with animation, and endeavored to rouse the people to action. His efforts met with some success, and in a few days the troops that reinforced Washington prior to his retreat into Pennsylvania were in motion. On the 30th the Council of Safety advised the citizens to prepare, upon short notice, to remove their wives and children to places of safety. On December 2d, when it was known in the city that Howe's army was at Brunswick, crowds gathered at the Coffee House to learn the news. The stores and schools were closed, and all business was suspended. No one was allowed to cross the Delaware without a pass, while recruiting parties with drums beating paraded in the

[1] The evidence on this point is overwhelming. "Those," wrote Washington, in a letter intended only for the eye of his step-son, "who want faith to believe the accounts of the shocking wastes of Howe's army — of their ravaging, plundering, and the abuse of women — may be convinced to their sorrow . . . if a check cannot be put to their progress."

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streets. The roads leading from the city were crowded with vehicles of every description, bearing the families of citizens and their effects to places of refuge.

When these means of transportation failed, the water craft on the Delaware was pressed into service. Women with children in their arms were crowded in smoky cabins so low that they could not sit upright, while the

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY,

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 8, 1776.

SIR,

THERE is certain intelligence of General Howe's army being yesterday on its march from Brunswick to Princetown, which puts it beyond a doubt that he intends for this city.—This glorious opportunity of signalizing himself in defence of our country, and securing the Rights of America forever, will be seized by every man who has a spark of patriotic fire in his bosom. We entreat you to march the Militia under your command with all possible expedition to this city, and bring with you as many waggons as you can possibly procure, which you are hereby authorized to impress, if they cannot be had otherwise—Delay not a moment, it may be fatal and subject you and all you hold most dear to the ruffian hands of the enemy, whose cruelties are without distinction and unequalled.

By Order of the Council,

DAVID RITTENHOUSE, Vice-President.

To the COLONELS *or* COMMANDING OFFICERS *of the respective* Battalions *of this* STATE.

TWO O'CLOCK, P. M.

THE Enemy are at Trenton, and all the City Militia are marched to meet them.

AN APPEAL.[1]

younger girls were quartered on the decks, from whence they were driven by the snow and rain. But sadder sights presented themselves in the streets of the city. The sick of the army arrived daily. Many of the men had gone to the field clad only for a summer campaign. They had succumbed to exposure, and had reached Philadelphia in an almost naked condition. Measures were at once set on foot for their relief. Vacant houses were taken for their accommodation. The most seriously afflicted were sent to

[1] Reduced from an original in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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EXTRACT of a Letter from an Officer of Diſtinction in the American *Army.*

SINCE I wrote you this morning, I have had an opportunity of hearing a number of the particulars of the horrid depredations committed by that part of the Britiſh army, which was ſtationed at and near Pennytown, under the command of Lord Cornwallis. Beſides the ſixteen young women who had fled to the woods to avoid their brutality, and were there ſeized and carried off, one man had the cruel mortification to have his wife and only daughter (a child of ten years of age) raviſhed; this he himſelf, almoſt choaked with grief, uttered in lamentations to his friend, who told me of it, and alſo informed me that another girl of thirteen years of age was taken from her father's houſe, carried to a barn about a mile, there raviſhed, and afterwards made uſe of by five more of theſe brutes. Numbers of inſtances of the ſame kind of behaviour I am aſſured of have happened: here their brutiſh luſt were their ſtimulas; but wanton miſchief was ſeen in every part of the country; every thing portable they plunder and carry off, neither age nor ſex, Whig or Tory, is ſpared; an indiſcriminate ruin attends every perſon they meet with, infants, children, old men and women, are left in their ſhirts without a blanket to cover them in this inclement ſeaſon; furniture of every kind deſtroyed or burnt, windows and doors broke to pieces; in ſhort, the houſes left unhabitable, and the people left without proviſions, for every horſe, cow, ox, hogs and poultry, carried off: a blind old gentleman near Pennytown plundered of every thing, and on his door wrote, 'Capt. Wills of the Royal Iriſh did this.' As a notable proof of their regard and favour to their friends and well-wiſhers, they yeſterday burnt the elegant houſe of Daniel Cox, Eſq; at Trenton-Ferry, who has been their conſtant advocate, and ſupporter of Toryiſm in that part of the country: this behaviour of theirs has ſo exaſperated the people of the country, that they are flying to arms, and forming themſelves into parties to way-lay them and cut them off whereever they can meet with them: this, and other efforts which are making, I hope will ſo ſtreighten them that they will ſoon find their ſituation very diſagreeable in New-Jerſey. Another inſtance of their brutality happened near Woodbridge: One of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen in that part of the country was alarmed by the cries and ſhrieks of a moſt lovely daughter; he found an officer, a Britiſh officer, in the act of raviſhing her, he inſtantly put him to death; two other officers ruſhed in with fuſees, and fired two balls into the father, who is now languiſhing under his wounds. I am tired of this horrid ſcene; Almighty Juſtice cannot ſuffer it to go unpuniſhed: he will inſpirit his people (who only claim that liberty which he has entitled them to) to do themſelves juſtice, to riſe univerſally in arms, and drive theſe invading tyrants out of our country.

Publiſhed by order of the Council of Safety,

GEO. BICKHAM, Secretary, pro. tem.

publiſhed alſo in Dunlap & Pennſylvania Packet December 27. 1776.

Printed by JOHN DUNLAP.

BROADSIDE.[1]

[1] Reduced from an original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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the hospitals, while committees of citizens went from door to door begging clothing for their use. Handbills were issued giving information of the advance of the enemy, and to awaken the indignation of the people printed sheets were circulated describing the insults to which the women of New Jersey had been subjected. Some of the citizens refused to take the Continental money, as it was rumored that Congress would soon disperse. On the 11th of December Congress requested Washington to contradict this rumor in general orders, and to assure the army that the delegates would remain in Philadelphia until it was certain the enemy would capture the city. It was well that Washington exercised his discretion in this matter, for the next day the crushing news was known throughout the city that he had been obliged to cross the Delaware. Congress at once adjourned to Baltimore, having first conferred on Washington "full power to order and direct all things relative to the department and to the operations of the war."

The state of political affairs in Pennsylvania was the chief cause of the inefficiency which exposed Philadelphia to the danger of capture and of the panic with which her citizens were seized. The old colonial charter had been abrogated, but the new constitution had not been put into effect, and the condition of society bordered upon anarchy.

For two weeks after Washington had retreated across the Delaware there seemed little chance of impeding the British advance. "Day by day the little handful was decreasing, from sickness and other causes." The services of all the regular troops in it, with the exception of those from Virginia and Maryland, expired on the first of the year, and the militia could not be depended upon. "They come," wrote Washington, "you cannot tell how, go you cannot tell when, and act you cannot tell where, consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last at a critical moment." "These," he said again to Congress, on the 20th of December, "are the men I am to depend upon ten days hence." On Congress he urged the importance of raising at once an army upon a more substantial basis, and impressed upon those around him the necessity of the utmost vigilance. But in the anguish of the moment he wrote to his brother: "If every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is pretty nearly up. . . . I cannot entertain the idea that [our cause] will finally sink, though it may remain for some time under a cloud."

Each day brought new difficulties to be overcome. When it was learned that the fleet that had sailed from New York had appeared off New London, the march of a portion of Heath's troops, which had been ordered from Peekskill, was countermanded, and three regiments from Ticonderoga were directed to halt at Morristown, where about eight hundred militia had been collected, and General Maxwell was sent to command them. On the 20th, the troops under Gates and Sullivan joined Washington. The former had been sent by Schuyler. Sullivan's division was that which had been commanded by Lee up to the time of his capture.

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Washington had been led to believe that a portion of these troops had reënlisted, and he had been waiting until they should join him to strike a blow at Howe's forces. Only a small number of the men had done so, however, and he found that on the first of the year he would have but fifteen hundred men independent of the militia. It was evident, therefore, that the blow must be struck at once.

On the 14th of December the British troops went into winter-quarters. They were stationed at Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and Bordentown. Howe returned to his easy quarters in New York. Cornwallis obtained permission to visit England, and left Grant at Brunswick in command of New Jersey. The troops at Trenton were under the Hessian, Lieut.-Col. Rahl; those at Bordentown were commanded by his superior, Count Donop, who had some outposts as far south as Burlington and Mount Holly. Howe knew his line was too far extended, but he wished to cover the county of Monmouth, where there were indications of an outbreak on the part of some loyalists. The American army reached from Coryell's Ferry to Bristol. The crossings above Trenton were guarded by Stirling, Mercer, Stephen, and Fermoy. Ewing lay opposite Trenton. Dickinson with a few New Jersey troops was opposite Bordentown, and Cadwalader with the Pennsylvania militia was at Bristol.

Washington decided to attack the troops at Trenton. His men fit for duty did not exceed five thousand, and of these nearly two thousand were militia. The troops under Rahl consisted of three battalions of Hessians, having with them six fieldpieces, fifty chasseurs, and twenty dragoons, — twelve hundred in all. Circumstances favored the plan which Washington now adopted. Colonel Griffin, with two companies of Virginians and some militia, had driven a party of Hessians, who had penetrated as far south as Moorestown and Haddonfield, back to Mount Holly, where they had been reinforced by Donop, who was thus too far removed from Trenton to support Rahl in case of an emergency. The success of Griffin made the militia at Bristol anxious for service, and it was decided by Cadwalader and Reed, who was with him, to gratify them by supporting Griffin. To this Washington assented, and at the same time confided to Reed and Cadwalader his contemplated movement against Trenton. On the morning of the 23d he wrote to them asking if the plan had been carried out, and informed them that one hour before day on the morning of the 26th was the time he had fixed upon for attacking Rahl. "For heaven's sake," he wrote, "keep this to yourselves as the discovery of it may prove fatal to us. Our numbers, sorry I am to say, being less than I had any conception of; but necessity, dire necessity, will, nay must justify an attack. Prepare and concert with Griffin; attack as many of their posts as you possibly can with a prospect of success; the more we can attack at the same instant the more confusion we shall spread, and the greater good will result from it."

Washington was informed that it was impracticable to act with Griffin;

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and Reed repaired to Philadelphia to urge Putnam to create a diversion by crossing the river at Cooper's Ferry. He found, however, that little could be expected from Putnam, and returned to Bristol on the 25th, where Cadwalader was preparing to carry out the part which Washington had assigned to him. It was the intention of Washington to cross the Delaware above Trenton with about one half of his command, and attack the enemy, while Ewing and Cadwalader should cross opposite Trenton and Bristol, and not only cut Rahl's line of retreat but prevent Donop from reinforcing him.

Notwithstanding the fact that no aid could be expected from Putnam, Washington determined to proceed, and urged Cadwalader to do all in his power to support him. The boats had been gathered at McKonkey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton, and as the men marched to them the footprints they left in the snow were here and there tinged with blood from the feet of those who wore broken shoes. The boats were promptly manned by Glover's regiment from Marblehead, and at dark the crossing began. It was three o'clock before the artillery was landed, and four before the troops took up the line of march. The attack was to have been made about five, and against a more vigilant enemy this delay would have proved fatal. But Rahl was not vigilant. He despised his opponents, and refused to protect his position with redoubts as instructed by Donop. He had been informed of Washington's intended movement, but paid no attention to the report. It so happened that on the morning of the attack his outposts had been fired upon by a body of strolling militia, and this he supposed was the attack he was to look for. Washington had with him two thousand four hundred men. These he divided into two columns. One was commanded by Sullivan, and marched by the river road which entered the town on the northwest. The other, under Greene, took the Pennington road which approached the town from the north. The Americans advanced in a violent storm of snow and hail. Greene's command arrived at the outskirts of the town three minutes before Sullivan's. The attacks of both parties were almost simultaneously. Many of the guns were rendered useless by the storm, and the men were ordered to charge. Those who had bayonets fixed them and rushed upon the pickets, who retired. The Hessians were taken entirely by surprise. For a while Rahl was allowed to remain undisturbed in bed, but when matters grew serious he was aroused and hurriedly assumed command. Some of his half-formed regiments were advanced towards the Americans, but were driven back, throwing those in their rear into inextricable confusion. Two lines of retreat were open to Rahl. One lay over the bridge which crossed the Assanpink, south of the town; the other was the road to Brunswick. But Sullivan's attack was so spirited that the Hessians were driven past the road which led to the bridge, and as they attempted to escape towards Brunswick, Washington intercepted them with Hand's riflemen and held them in check. A battery under Captain Thomas Forrest created great

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havoc in their ranks, and two of their guns were turned against it. These were immediately charged by the Americans, who were led by Captain William Washington and Lieutenant James Monroe. Both were wounded, but the guns were captured. Rahl was mortally wounded in trying to rally his men, and shortly after he fell his command surrendered. All was over in three quarters of an hour. With the exception of the horse and a small number of the infantry which escaped over the Assanpink or to Brunswick, Rahl's entire force was either killed or captured. The prisoners numbered nine hundred and eighteen. The killed, Washington thought, did not exceed twenty or thirty. The Americans had two privates killed, one frozen to death, and two officers and four men wounded. As the enemy were supposed to be in force at Princeton and Bordentown, and the Americans were in no condition to withstand an attack, it was thought best not to risk the advantage which had been gained, and as soon as the men were rested the army, with its prisoners, returned to Pennsylvania.

Ewing and Cadwalader had been unable to carry out the parts assigned them, on account of the ice. The latter sent a portion of his infantry over the river, but recalled it when he found he could not land his artillery. With no definite news of Washington's success, Cadwalader recrossed on the morning of the 27th, supposing Washington to be at Trenton. He soon learned his mistake, but discovered that Donop had retreated towards Brunswick when he heard of the action at Trenton. Cadwalader then moved on to Burlington, and on the 29th marched to Crosswicks. The desperate condition of affairs previous to the battle had stimulated the people to extraordinary efforts, and the news of the victory raised their spirits in proportion to the depression they had so lately suffered. Ignorant of the victory Washington had achieved, Congress on the 27th vested him with powers that virtually constituted him a military dictator for the period of six months. To convince the people of the reality of the victory, the Hessians were marched through the streets of Philadelphia, and one of their standards was hung up in the chamber of Congress at Baltimore. Public rejoicings broke forth on every side. "The Lord of Hosts has heard the cry of the distressed, and sent an angel to their assistance," exclaimed Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutherans. On the 27th and 28th of December, fifteen hundred militia under Mifflin followed Cadwalader into New Jersey, while the Jerseymen gathered at Morristown and other points. In the face of this feeling it was necessary that the offensive should be resumed, and on the 30th Washington occupied Trenton. The service of the New England troops expired on the first of the year; but through the efforts of Robert Morris money was raised to offer bounties, which, with appeals to their patriotism, induced them to remain six weeks longer with the army.

As soon as Cornwallis heard of the surprise at Trenton, he gave up his visit to England and hastily joined Grant at Brunswick. On the 30th, with 8,000 men, he marched towards Trenton, with the determination of driving

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Washington over the Delaware or capturing his entire force. Washington immediately ordered Cadwalader and Mifflin to Trenton, and sent forward a detachment under General Fermoy to retard the advance of Cornwallis. On the night of January the 1st this detachment was at Five Mile Run, between Trenton and Princeton. Early on the morning of the 2d Cornwallis set out from Princeton, where he had halted the night previous. The Americans retired before him, disputing every foot of ground. Hand's riflemen, Scott's Virginians, and Forrest's battery bore the brunt of the fighting. It was nearly noon by the time Shabbakong Creek was reached, and two hours passed before the British succeeded in crossing it. The main portion of the American army was strongly posted on the south side of the Assanpink, the banks being sufficiently high to enable the men in the rear to fire over the heads of those in front of them. As the British approached Trenton, troops were sent forward by Washington to support the Americans. A battery placed on a hill beyond Trenton held the British in check for a short time, but the Americans were soon driven into the town and across the bridge. The cannonading on both sides was heavy, but the British were unable to force their way across the stream, and as night approached Cornwallis, against the advice of his officers, withdrew his troops, determined to renew the conflict in the morning. "If ever there was a crisis in the affairs of the Revolution," wrote Wilkinson, "this was the moment. Thirty minutes would have sufficed to have brought the two armies into contact, and thirty minutes more would have decided the combat." Washington's position was indeed critical. It was hardly possible that with his raw levies he could continue to hold in check the well-disciplined troops of Cornwallis, which in the morning would be reinforced with troops he had left at Maidenhead and Princeton. The Delaware behind Washington was full of floating ice, and to cross it in that condition was impossible. If Cornwallis should force the Americans' position, the victory of the British would be decisive. Immediately after dark a council of war was held. It was then decided to turn the left flank of the enemy, strike a blow at Princeton, where the garrison was small, and march on Brunswick, the depository of the British stores. The sentries of both armies were posted along the banks of the Assanpink, and at some points were within one hundred and fifty yards of each other. Working parties were sent within hearing distance of the enemy to throw up intrenchments, the guards were doubled, and everything was done to indicate that Washington intended to defend his position to the last. But at midnight the fires were replenished and the troops silently withdrawn. Marching by the Quaker road, Washington turned the left flank of Cornwallis, and by daybreak reached a point directly south of Princeton. With the main body he moved directly on the town, and ordered a detachment under Mercer to march to the left and demolish the bridge over Stony Brook, thus destroying direct communication with Cornwallis. The garrison at Princeton consisted of the 17th, 40th, and 55th regiments and three companies of light horse.

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The 17th and 55th, with a few dragoons, started at sunrise on the morning of the 3d to join Cornwallis. The 17th, under Colonel Mawhood, had crossed the bridge over Stony Brook, that Mercer was to destroy, and was some distance beyond it, when Mawhood discovered Mercer on his flank and rear, moving north on the east side of the stream. He at once re-crossed the bridge, and both parties endeavored to gain the high ground east of the stream. As the Americans had the shortest distance to march, they were successful, and with their rifles they poured a deadly fire into the 17th and 55th, as they advanced to drive them from their position. They had no bayonets, however, and were unable to stand the charge of the British. They fled through an orchard in their rear, leaving their commander mortally wounded on the ground. It was not until Mawhood emerged from the orchard that he was aware that the whole American army was within supporting distance of the troops he had just engaged. On hearing the firing on his left, Washington halted his column, and with the Pennsylvania militia moved to the support of Mercer. Encouraged by the irresolution of the militia, Mawhood charged them, but other regiments coming up and the militia gaining confidence, the British halted, and then fled, as the Americans in turn advanced against them. The 55th retreated to Princeton and joined the 40th. They made a mere show of defending the town, took refuge in the college building, deserted it, and were soon seen in full retreat across the Millstone towards Brunswick. Washington's troops had been under arms for over eighteen hours, and were too much fatigued to follow them. Having dispersed the 17th regiment, he destroyed the bridge over Stony Brook and Millstone as the head of Cornwallis's rear-guard came in sight. It was commanded by Leslie, who had marched from Maidenhead as soon as he heard the firing in his rear. Washington turned north at Kingston, and proceeded to Somerset Court-House, where he rested his men. Cornwallis was not aware that the Americans had been withdrawn from his front until he heard the sound of the guns at Princeton. Realizing at once that he had been outgeneralled, and that his stores were in danger, he ordered a retreat. Failing to reach Princeton in time to be of service, he continued his march to Brunswick, and made no attempt to follow Washington. The losses of the British in these engagements were severe; those on the 2d of January were never known. At Princeton, Washington estimated that one hundred men were left dead upon the field, and that the killed, wounded, and prisoners amounted to five hundred. Ensign Inman, of the 17th, wrote that of the two hundred and twenty-four rank and file of his regiment, which set out on the morning of the 3d, one hundred and one were either killed or wounded, and that he was the only officer of the right wing not injured. The Americans lost only twenty or thirty privates, but many officers. Bravely had they urged their men on in the thickest of the fight. That Washington escaped seemed a miracle to those who saw him lead the troops which drove Mawhood back. Hazlet, Morris, Neal, and Shippin fell upon the field. Mercer, mortally wounded,

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died upon the 12th, lamented by the whole country. From Somerset Court-House Washington marched to Morristown, where he went into winter-quarters. The British troops were soon all withdrawn to Amboy and Brunswick. In less than three weeks Washington had turned back the tide of adversity, and had compelled his opponents to evacuate West Jersey.

Washington remained at Morristown from the 7th of January until the 28th of May, during which time no military movement of importance took place. His men left for their homes as soon as their terms of service expired, and as few militia entered the camp to take their places, at times it seemed as if the army would be so reduced as to be unworthy of the name. It was not until late in the spring that the new levies reached headquarters. On the 28th of May the Americans marched to Middlebrook, and took position behind the Raritan. On the 13th of June Howe marched from Brunswick and extended his line to Somerset Court-House, and Arnold was sent to Trenton to take measures to prevent his crossing the Delaware. The militia turned out in a spirited manner, and Howe did not care to advance in the face of the opposition they could offer, with Washington on his flank. He endeavored to bring on a general engagement with the latter, but Washington refused to leave the strong position he occupied, and Howe retired to Amboy.

Early in April Howe had settled upon a campaign having for its object the capture of Philadelphia. He determined to embark his troops and transport them to the banks of the Delaware or Chesapeake, and march directly on the city. With the object of reaching the fleet he started to cross to Staten Island; but learning that Washington was at Quibbletown, he recalled his men and proceeded to Westfield, hoping to outflank him. But, as Washington retired, Howe was unsuccessful, and finally passed over to Staten Island, totally evacuating New Jersey.

For over six weeks Washington was ignorant of Howe's intentions. Supposing that he would endeavor to coöperate with Burgoyne, and would sail up the Hudson, Washington moved his army to Ramapo, in New York. On the 23d of July, after Howe's troops had been three weeks on the vessels, the fleet sailed, shaping its course southwesterly. Its departure was promptly reported to Congress. Signal fires were lighted along the Jersey coast as it was seen from time to time by those who were watching for it, and messengers carried inland the news of its progress. At last, on the 30th, it was spoken off the capes of Delaware, but Lord Howe deemed it too hazardous to sail up that river, and after consulting with his brother, the general, continued on his course southward. On the 15th of August he entered Chesapeake Bay, and on the 25th the troops were landed at Elk Ferry.

On the 24th of July Washington heard that the fleet had sailed southward, and in consequence marched his army from Ramapo to Coryell's Ferry. He continued his march to Philadelphia, when he learned that the fleet was off the capes of Delaware; but as it was soon lost sight of, he retraced

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his steps, and halted in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, twenty miles from Philadelphia. While there, Lafayette, De Kalb, and Pulaski joined the army. For a while everything was in suspense. Concluding at last that Howe had sailed for Charleston, Washington consulted with his officers, and decided to return to the Hudson, so that Burgoyne could be opposed or New York attacked, as circumstances should direct. He was just about to do this when word was brought that the fleet had entered Chesapeake Bay, and was at least two hundred miles from the capes. This news created great consternation in Philadelphia, but the excitement was not as great as it had been the previous winter, when Howe was at Trenton. Repeated alarms had made the people callous, and internal political differences continued to divide them. Besides this, the pacific influence which the presence of a large Quaker population exercised seemed to bear down all military efforts. Stirring appeals were made by the authorities, new bodies of militia were ordered to be raised, handbills calculated to arouse the people were issued, but all with unsatisfactory results. To impress the lukewarm with the strength of his forces, and to inspire hopes in the breasts of the patriotic, on the 24th of August Washington marched his army through the streets of Philadelphia. The men were poorly armed and clothed, and to give them some uniformity they wore sprigs of green in their hats.

LORD HOWE.[1]

The Americans halted south of Wilmington, and a picked corps under Maxwell was thrown to the front. The country below was patrolled by parties of Delaware militia under Rodney, and Washington reconnoitred it in person. The disembarkation of Howe's army on the 25th was watched by a few militia, who fled when a landing was effected. Howe's men were in good health, but hundreds of his horses had died on the voyage, and those that survived were little better than carrion. His advance, therefore, was slow. He moved in two columns, one on each side of Elk River. Several days were spent in collecting horses, and on the 3d of September the columns joined at Aitken's tavern. Here a severe skirmish took place with Maxwell's corps, which was driven back. Washington's force then lay

[1] From Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the present War*, ii. p. 96. Cf. cut in *European Mag.*, ii. 432. There is a colossal statue of Howe, by Flaxman, in St. Paul's, London.

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behind Red Clay Creek, his left resting on Christiana Creek, and extending in the direction of Newport. On the 8th the British advanced as if to attack the American left, but by night Washington learned that the greater part of Howe's army was at Milltown, on his right. Fearing that Howe would push past him in that direction, cross the Brandywine, and gain the road to Philadelphia, Washington, on the evening of the 8th, quietly withdrew his troops from Red Clay Creek, and threw them in front of Howe, at Chad's Ford, on the Brandywine. A redoubt, commanded by Proctor, was thrown up on the east bank to protect the crossing. Wayne's division, formerly Lincoln's, was within supporting distance, and Greene's, still further to the rear, was to act as a reserve. The Pennsylvania militia, under Armstrong, formed the left wing. They were posted at the fords below Chad's, which were easily protected. The right wing was commanded by Sullivan. It was composed of his own division and those of Stirling and Stephen. Both Washington and Sullivan were unacquainted with the country to their right, and supposed that, when they guarded the fords three miles above where Sullivan was stationed, the enemy could not approach from that direction without their receiving timely notice.

The British marched from Milltown to Kennett Square. On the morning of the 11th, Knyphausen with 7,000 men took the direct road to Chad's Ford. He skirmished with Maxwell, who had crossed the stream to meet him, and drove him back over the Brandywine. At daybreak on the same day, another column, 7,000 strong, set out from Kennett Square. It was commanded by Cornwallis, and Howe accompanied it in person. It took a road leading north to a point above the forks of the Brandywine, turned to the east, crossed the west branch at Trimble's Ford and the east at Jeffrey's, and then moved south. The plan was that Knyphausen should engage the attention of the Americans in front until Cornwallis had gained a position to attack their right. In this Knyphausen was successful, his attempts to cross the Brandywine at Chad's Ford being only feints.

About noon Washington heard of Cornwallis's march. He promptly determined to cross the stream and engage Knyphausen, while Cornwallis was too far distant to reinforce him or threaten the American right. Wayne, Greene, and Sullivan's divisions were ordered to advance. Greene had gained the west bank when word was received from Sullivan that a Major Spear had assured him that there must be some mistake. He had that morning passed over the road Cornwallis was said to be on, and had seen nothing of him. Fearing that Cornwallis's march was only a feint, and that he had returned and rejoined Knyphausen, Washington ordered Greene back and sent scouts out for additional information. By two o'clock it was obtained. Cornwallis was discovered on the road to Dilworth, and would soon be in the rear of the Americans. Stirling and Stephen were deployed on the hill southwest of Birmingham Meeting-House, and Sullivan's division was ordered to join them. Before it could reach its position Cornwallis began the attack. As he attempted to turn the American right, Sullivan endeav-

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ored to move his three divisions to the east. His own division had been formed in line half a mile from those of Stirling and Stephen, and in closing the gap it fell into confusion and was routed. With the divisions of Stirling and Stephen, Sullivan made every effort to hold the position; but he was outnumbered, his left flank was uncovered, and his entire command was finally driven in confusion from the field. Sullivan, Stirling, and Conway had encouraged their men with exhibitions of personal bravery, and Lafayette, who acted as a volunteer, was wounded while endeavoring to rally some fugitives. When Washington heard the firing in the direction of Birmingham he rode thither with the utmost speed. Meeting the fugitives, he ordered Greene to support the right wing. The order was executed with wonderful promptness. Greene, throwing Weedon's brigade on the flank of the enemy and Muhlenberg's in their front, checked the pursuit. But the Americans were obliged to fall back until they came to a narrow defile, flanked on both sides by woods, from which the British could not drive them, and night ended the conflict. When Knyphausen learned that Cornwallis was engaged he pushed across the stream at Chad's Ford, but Wayne, Maxwell, and Proctor held him in check until they found that the right wing had been defeated, when they retired in good order, fighting as they fell back towards Chester. There at night the defeated army gathered, and Washington reported to Congress that, notwithstanding the misfortunes of the day, his troops were in good spirits.

The American loss was about one thousand, killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the British, five hundred and seventy-nine. That the conduct of the Americans inspired their opponents with respect is shown by the language of Sir William Howe in summarizing the opposition he had met with up to this time. "They fought the king's army," he wrote, "on Long Island; they sustained the attack at Fort Washington; they stood the battle at Brandywine: and our loss upon those occasions, though by no means equal to theirs, was not inconsiderable."

The day after the battle Washington marched from Chester to Philadelphia. He rested his army two days at Germantown, and then recrossed the Schuylkill; public opinion demanding that another battle should be risked before the city should be given up. On the 16th the two armies met on the high ground south of Chester Valley and prepared for action. The skirmishing had actually begun, when a violent storm stopped the engagement by ruining the ammunition of both armies. Washington withdrew to the hills north of the valley, and finding it impossible to repair the damage done by the storm, retreated again over the Schuylkill, leaving Wayne behind him to watch the enemy and attack their rear should they attempt to follow. Wayne was to have been reinforced by detachments under Smallwood and Gist, which did not reach him. When the British moved nearer to the Lancaster road, Wayne took position in their rear. He supposed that they were ignorant of his presence, and wrote to Washington to that effect. But on the night of the 20th he was attacked by a

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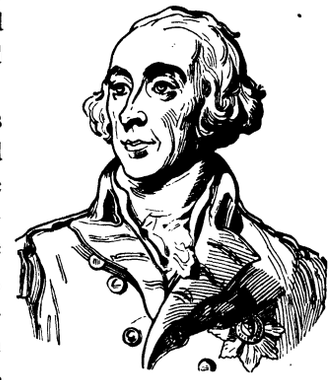
strong detachment under Major-General Grey, and although he had taken measures to guard against a surprise, the onslaught was so sudden that his men, who were sleeping on their arms, were unable to make an effective resistance, and about one hundred and fifty were either killed or wounded by the bayonet.



GENERAL GREY.[1]

Howe on the 21st resumed his march towards Philadelphia. Finding that the Americans had thrown up intrenchments at Swedes Ford, he turned up the river as if to cross above. Washington feared that it was his intention to strike at Reading, where his stores were deposited, and to protect them marched in the same direction on the opposite side of the river. When he reached Potts Grove, now Pottstown, he discovered that Howe, by a retrograde movement on the night of the 22d, had crossed at Fatland and Gordon's fords, and was in full march for Philadelphia.

GENERAL HOWE.[2]

On the day of the battle of Brandywine the citizens of Philadelphia heard the sound of cannon in the west, and gathered in the streets to discuss and wonder what the future would bring forth. At night a messenger arrived with news of the disaster. Everything was in confusion, and when, on the morning of the 19th, about one o'clock, a letter was received from Colonel Hamilton stating that the British were marching on the city, the members of Congress were aroused from their beds, and departed in haste for Lancaster, where they had agreed to meet should their removal from Philadelphia become necessary. "It was a beautiful still moonlight night, and the streets as full of men, women, and children as on a market day." The alarm was premature, but on the 25th Howe's army encamped at Germantown. Through Thomas Willing, a leading citizen

[1] From Doyle's *Official Baronage*, ii. 76. There is a print in the *European Mag.*, Oct., 1797, and in Murray's *Impartial Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 433.

[2] From Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the present War*, i. 280.

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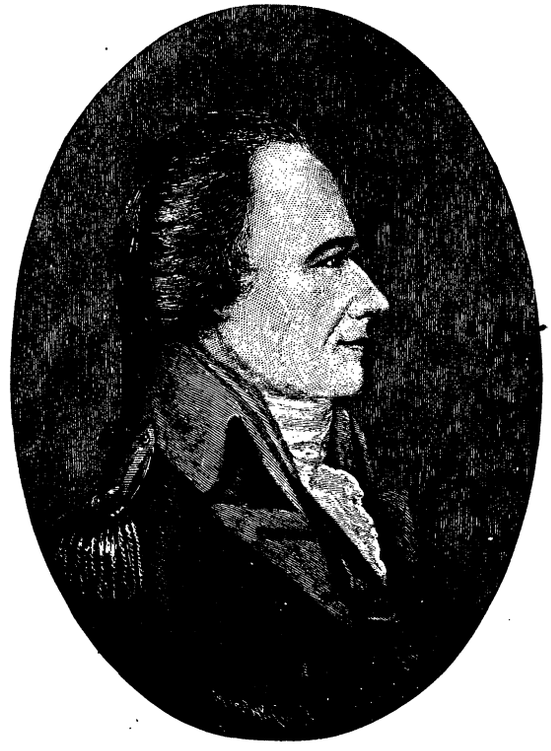
of Philadelphia, the inhabitants were promised by Sir William Howe that if they should remain peaceably in their dwellings they would not be molested. The next morning, Cornwallis, with three thousand men, took possession of the city. The troops marched down Second Street to the music of "God save the King," and were greeted by some of the inhabitants with "acclamations of joy," but the people generally "appeared sad and serious." Howe immediately began to throw up a line of intrenchments north of the city, extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and informed his brother, the admiral, who was in Delaware Bay, that the



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.[1]

army was in possession of the city. The defences of the river prevented the fleet from approaching, and the day after the occupation an attempt was made by the American flotilla to cannonade the city. The smaller vessels were driven off before they had done serious damage, but the frigate "Delaware" ran aground and was captured.

The main portion of Howe's army remained at Germantown, a village of a single street, two miles in length, and five from the city. In the centre stood the market-house, and along the road which there crosses the main

[1] [After a crayon in the Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania. There is a picture in Independence Hall. Ceracchi's bust is given in stipple in Delaplaine's *Repository* (1815). For view of "The Grange," Hamilton's home, see Valentine's *N. Y. Manual*, 1858, p. 468; Mrs. Lamb's *Homes of America;* Lossing's *Hudson*, 275. — ED.]

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street Howe's army was encamped. The left under Knyphausen reached to the Schuylkill, the right under Grant and Mathews to the York road. At the upper end of the town stood the large stone mansion of Benjamin Chew, late chief justice of the province, and in a field opposite the 40th Regiment under Colonel Musgrave was encamped. The advance was a mile beyond at Mount Pleasant, where the second battalion of light infantry was stationed, with their pickets thrown out at Mount Airy still further on. After Howe crossed the Schuylkill, Washington marched to Pennybacker's Mills, and thence to Metutchen Hills, fifteen miles from Philadelphia. He had been reinforced by McDougall's brigade and other troops; and learning that Howe had detached a portion of his command to reduce the forts on the Delaware, he determined to attack him at Germantown. His plan was to engage the troops at Mount Pleasant with a portion of his army, while a large force under Greene should move down the Lime Kiln road, which enters the town from the east at the market-house, and attack Grant and Mathews. At the same time the Pennsylvania and Jersey militia were to make demonstrations on the enemy's left and right flanks respectively.

ANTHONY WAYNE.[1]

Washington moved from his quarters on the evening of October 3d. Sullivan commanded the troops that were to attack the enemy in front, and was followed by the reserve under Stirling, which Washington accompanied. Sullivan arrived at Chestnut Hill on the morning of the 4th at sunrise, and halted two hours to allow Greene to gain his ground, that the attacks might be made at the same time. Captain Allen McLane's company and a portion of Conway's brigade were then ordered to advance. They drove the guard at Mount Airy back on the light infantry, and held them in check

[1] [From the *New York Magazine*, March, 1797, following a picture by Trumbull, now at New Haven. Other engravings are in the *National Portrait Gallery* (N. Y., 1834); Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., vol. iii.; in Jones's *Georgia*, vol. ii., engraved by H. B. Hall; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 177. It has been engraved by I. B. Forrest, J. F. E. Prud'homme, and others. A portrait by Henry Elonis is engraved by Geo. Grahame. A likeness, front face, without hat, is in the *Mag. of Amer. History*, Feb., 1886, and *History of Chester County* by Futhy and Cope. Cf. *Penna. Archives*, vol. x., and the sketch by J. W. De Peyster, and a new portrait in *United Service*, March, 1886, p. 304.

A view of Wayne's house is given in Egle's *Pennsylvania*, p. 540; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 373; *Harper's Mag.*, April, 1880. — ED.]

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while Sullivan formed his line. Wayne's division was on the east of the road, Sullivan's on the west. The whole under Sullivan then moved forward, driving the light infantry before them. A thick fog enveloped everything, and the men could not see forty yards in front of them. But Wayne's men dashed on, calling to each other to remember Paoli and crying for vengeance. The light infantry were reinforced by the 40th Regiment under Musgrave. Just then Howe rode up, calling out: "For shame, light infantry! I never saw you retreat before." But he found the attack was general, and rode back to the main line. Down the main street and past Chew's house Sullivan and Wayne pursued the flying troops. But here the rout of the British was checked by Agnew, who hastened forward with a portion of the left wing. As the reserve passed Chew's house they were fired upon by six companies of the 40th that had taken refuge there with their commander Musgrave. Stirling endeavored to dislodge them, but the effort was futile. Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens and Major Louis Fleury daringly attempted to fire the house, but were unsuccessful. While this was going on, Greene made his attack on the right wing. His march had taken half an hour longer than anticipated, while he still met the enemy sooner than planned, as their first battalion of light infantry had been moved forward the night before on the Lime Kiln road. Greene attempted to advance in line of battle, but his line was thrown into confusion. He drove a portion of the troops back to the market-house, but when he encountered Grant he was obliged to retire, and a part of his command was captured. Woodford's brigade wandered so far from Greene's right as to reach the rear of Chew's house. It was then directly behind Wayne's division, and when the brigade fired on the house Wayne's men retired, as they supposed the enemy were in their rear. This uncovered Sullivan's flank, and he too was obliged to fall back. The British pursued until Whitemarsh was reached, where Wayne checked them with a battery posted on the hill, near the church. The Americans lost nearly eleven hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners; the British, five hundred and twenty-one. The American General Nash, of North Carolina, and the British General Agnew were mortally wounded. While the Americans were defeated in their object, the moral results of the battle were in their favor. It inspired them with confidence, and showed the world that though driven from the field of Brandywine they were still aggressive.

It was now evident to Howe that he must open communication with New York by water, or his army would be in a state of siege. His attention was therefore turned to the defences of the Delaware which were held by the Americans. The most formidable of these was Fort Mifflin, situated on an island in the river a short distance below the mouth of the Schuylkill. Opposite this, at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore, was Fort Mercer, while four or five miles below, at Billingsport, was another fortification. Opposite these points *chevaux-de-frise* were sunk in the channel, which were protected by the batteries and by a fleet of small vessels, known as the Pennsylvania navy, commanded by Commodore John Hazelwood. Be-

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sides these, there were several larger vessels which had been built by order of Congress.

On the 19th of October Howe withdrew his troops from Germantown and encamped them behind his lines of intrenchments on the north side of the city. Before this he had erected batteries to attack Fort Mifflin. He now sent a body of men, under Colonel Stirling, over the river from Chester to capture the fort at Billingsport. The garrison there was not sufficient for the defence of the fort, and as the British approached they evacuated the post. By the 21st Admiral Howe succeeded in passing the lower *chevaux-de-frise*, and his vessels sailed up the river to a point nearly opposite Fort Mifflin. On the same day three battalions of Hessians, with artillery, crossed into Jersey from Philadelphia to attack Fort Mercer. They arrived before the fort on the afternoon of the 22d. It was commanded by Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, who had with him but six hundred men. The fortifications were unfinished, but a strong redoubt, with an abatis, had been constructed. Donop summoned the garrison to surrender, and upon receiving a refusal formed his regiments for the attack. They rushed upon the embankments and passed the abandoned lines with little opposition. But when they charged the redoubt, they were met with a fire that nearly filled the ditches with killed and wounded. Most of the men retired in confusion, and those who attempted to scale the works were beaten back in a hand-to-hand conflict. It was intended that the fleet should coöperate with Donop; that the "Vigilant," with sixteen 24-pounders, should pass to the west of Fort Mifflin, while other vessels should engage Hazelwood and prevent his offering assistance to Greene. The plan failed, however, at all points. The "Vigilant" could not sail up the west channel, and Hazelwood was more than a match for the vessels sent against him. He drove them back, while some of his boats sailed close to the shore and poured an effective fire into the flank of Donop's column. It was in vain that Donop and his officers re-formed the men and led them back to the attack. They were shot down in scores as they attempted to remove the abatis, and in three quarters of an hour from the time the engagement opened the men withdrew for the last time, leaving Donop behind them, mortally wounded. He died three days afterwards, "finishing," to use his own words, "a noble career early." His command had numbered about twenty-five hundred men, one sixth of whom were either killed or wounded. The Americans had but fourteen killed and twenty-three wounded. Two of the vessels which had been sent against Hazelwood, the "Augusta" and the "Merlin," ran aground, and were discovered in that position by the Americans on the 22d. They were at once attacked, and the magazine of the "Augusta" exploded with terrific force. She had been set on fire either by accident or by a shot from the American batteries, and blew up before all of her crew could be removed. It was found impossible to save the "Merlin," and she was fired by her officers and destroyed.

Taught caution by these reverses, Howe made no further effort to cap-

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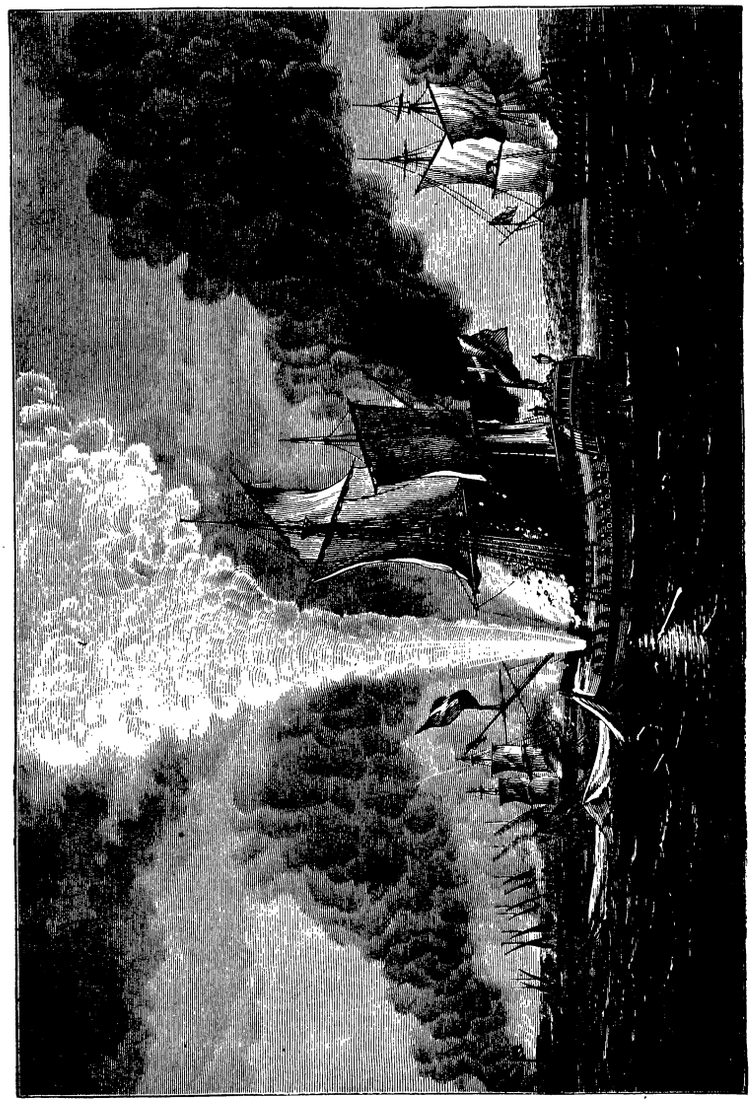
ture the forts until he had succeeded in erecting a number of batteries on the Pennsylvania shore within range of Fort Mifflin. On the 10th of November these were opened with serious result to the Americans. The reply from the fort was spirited, and the damage done to it in daytime was repaired during the night. On the first day, Colonel Samuel Smith, of Maryland, who commanded the garrison, was wounded, and was taken to Red Bank. The second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Russell, was relieved, on account of ill-health, by Major Simeon Thayer, of Rhode Island,



THE DESTRUCTION OF THE AUGUSTA.[1]

1 After a painting in gallery of the Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania, said to have been painted by a French officer. Cf. Wallace's *Col. Wm. Bradford.*

and the defence of the fort was continued. On the 15th the "Vigilant," carrying sixteen 24-pounders, and a hulk with three guns of the same capacity, succeeded in passing up the west channel and taking the fort in the

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rear, while other vessels engaged the fleet. The fort by this time was little more than a mass of ruins. The ammunition was nearly exhausted. Major Fleury, the engineer of the fort, and Major Talbot were wounded; nearly all the guns were dismounted, and whenever the men appeared on the platforms they were picked off by sharp-shooters in the shrouds of the vessels. During the night of the 15th the garrison was removed to Red Bank, as preparations were being made to storm the place the next day, and on the morning of the 16th the British took possession of the place. The gallant defence of this fort by about three hundred men called forth commendations from all sides. Swords were voted to Hazelwood and Smith by Congress, while Fleury and Thayer were promoted. Fort Mercer was now the only water-defence held by the Americans. With the object of capturing it, on the 18th Cornwallis marched to Chester and crossed to Billingsport. Greene was sent to oppose him, and crossed the Delaware at Bristol; but before he could render any assistance to Varnum, who commanded the troops on the Jersey side of the river, that officer was obliged to retire before Cornwallis and abandon Fort Mercer, which the British now destroyed. Lafayette, who was with Greene, made a spirited attack on a body of Hessians encamped near Gloucester, for which he gained considerable credit. The majority of the small vessels of the Pennsylvania navy succeeded in passing up the river by the batteries that Howe had erected at Philadelphia, but the larger ones, together with nearly all those built by Congress, were destroyed.

A few days after the fall of Fort Mifflin the British transports made their way up to Philadelphia, and to some extent relieved the distress that the scarcity of provisions occasioned. About the end of October Washington removed his headquarters to Whitemarsh, and on November 24th reconnoitred the enemy's lines with a view to attack them. A majority of his officers, however, opposed the plan. It was soon evident that Sir William Howe was about to resume the offensive, and Greene was recalled from Jersey. On the evening of December 4th, Howe, with nearly all his army, marched out of Philadelphia with the avowed intention of driving Washington over the mountains. His advance-guard arrived at Chestnut Hill about daylight the next morning. General James Irvine with the Pennsylvania militia met them at the foot of the hill, and, after a sharp skirmish, the militia fled, leaving Irvine wounded in the hands of the British. When Howe arrived in front of Washington's lines he found them so strong that he did not dare to attack them, and after spending four days in endeavoring to gain a position that would compel Washington to attack him, he suddenly gave up the design and returned to the city.

As the season was advancing, and the Americans were in no condition to keep the field, it was decided to go into winter-quarters at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, where the Valley Creek empties into the river. The surrounding hills were covered with woods and presented an inhospitable appearance. The choice was severely criticised, and De Kalb described it as a wilderness. But the position was central and easily de-

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fended. The army arrived there about the middle of December, and the erection of huts began. They were built of logs, and were fourteen by fifteen feet each. The windows were covered with oiled paper, and the openings between the logs were closed with clay. The huts were arranged in streets, giving the place the appearance of a city. It was the first of the year, however, before they were occupied, and previous to that the suffering of the army had become great. Although the weather was intensely

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE,

GENERAL and COMMANDER in CHIEF of the FORCES of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY Virtue of the Power and Direction to Me especially given, I hereby enjoin and require all Persons residing within seventy Miles of my Head Quarters to thresh one Half of their Grain by the 1st Day of February, and the other Half by the 1st Day of March next ensuing, on Pain, in Case of Failure of having all that shall remain in Sheaves after the Period above mentioned, seized by the Commissaries and Quarter-Masters of the Army, and paid for as Straw

GIVEN *under my Hand, at Head Quarters, near the Valley Forge, in Philadelphia County, this 20th Day of December*, 1777.

G. WASHINGTON.

By His Excellency's Command,

ROBERT H. HARRISON, Sec'y.

LANCASTER: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

(After an original in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

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cold the men were obliged to work at the buildings, with nothing to support life but flour mixed with water, which they baked into cakes at the open fires. "My brigade 's out of provisions, nor can the commissary obtain any meat," wrote Huntington on the 22d of December. "Three days successively we have been destitute of bread," said Varnum the same day, "and two days we have been entirely without meat." Soap, vinegar, and other articles necessary for the health of the men were never furnished, and so imperfectly did the clothier-general perform his duties that many of the men were without shirts, and hundreds were confined to the hospitals and farm-houses for want of shoes. Blankets and proper coverings were so scarce that numbers, after toiling during the day, were obliged to sit by the fires all night to keep from freezing. By the 23d of December two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men were unfit for duty, because they were barefoot and otherwise naked. The horses died of starvation by hundreds, and the men were obliged to haul their own provisions and firewood. As straw could not be found to protect the men from the cold ground, sickness spread through their quarters with fearful rapidity. "The unfortunate soldiers," wrote Lafayette, in after-years, "were in want of everything; they had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes; their feet and their legs froze till they became black, and it was often necessary to amputate them. . . . The army frequently remained whole days without provisions, and the patient endurance of both soldiers and officers was a miracle which each moment served to renew." At times, however, it seemed as if the forbearance of the men was exhausted, and that the war would end in mutiny. But the officers succeeded in allaying the feelings of discontent, and under the management of Greene, who assumed the duties of quartermaster-general on the 23d of March, a change for the better took place.

While the country around Valley Forge was so impoverished by the military operations of the previous summer as to make it impossible for it to support the army, the sufferings of the latter were chiefly owing to the inefficiency of Congress. That body met at Lancaster after leaving Philadelphia, and at once adjourned to York, where its sessions were continued. But it in no way equalled the congresses which had preceded it. "The Continental Congress and the currency," wrote Gouverneur Morris in 1778, "have greatly depreciated." Many of the members entertained the widespread fear of a standing army, and refused to follow the advice given by Washington for the relief of the men who defended them. Some of the delegates, indeed, did not hesitate to criticise the judgment of Washington, and question his abilities. The capture of Burgoyne gave them an opportunity of comparing the results of the Northern and Southern campaigns. In writing of Washington's army a member of Congress said to Gates: "We have had a noble army melted down by ill-judged marches, which disgrace their authors and directors, and which have occasioned the severest and most just sarcasm and contempt of our enemies. How much you are to be envied, my dear general! How different your conduct and

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your fortune! In short, this army will be totally lost unless you come down and collect the virtuous band, who wish to fight under your banner, and with their aid save the southern hemisphere. Congress must send for you." "I am weary," exclaimed John Adams, "with so much insipidity." "I am sick of Fabian systems in all quarters." It was a matter for thanksgiving, he thought, that the credit of defending the Delaware was "not immediately due to the commander-in-chief nor to Southern troops. If it had been, idolatry and adulation would have been unbounded." The prevalence of these sentiments made it easy for disappointed soldiers like Mifflin and Conway to spread dissensions which, if they had been allowed to grow, would have brought about the removal of Washington. Mifflin's eloquence and abilities as a politician far exceeded his merits in the field; and he was jealous of the preference shown by Washington for Greene and Knox. Conway aspired to a major-generalship, and was chagrined that Washington opposed him. If Washington had been removed and Lee or Gates appointed in his place, Mifflin and Conway would have been benefited by the change. The schemes of the last two were warmly supported by James Lovell and Dr. Benjamin Rush, and the most insidious measures were entered upon to undermine the reputation of Washington. Anonymous letters were circulated for this purpose, and the country was made to ring with the cry that, under a Gates, a Lee, or a Conway, the Southern army would be victorious. Through the influence of this faction, Gates was made president of the Board of War, of which Mifflin was a member, and authority which belonged to the commander-in-chief was vested in it. To separate Lafayette from Washington, and gain for themselves the influence of his name, the "Cabal," as it has been called, proposed an impracticable winter campaign against Canada, which Lafayette was to command, with Conway to assist him. But here the faction spent its strength. The friends of Washington had been put on their guard by the disclosure of a correspondence which showed the malignity of his enemies. Wilkinson, who was on Gates's staff, repeated, while his tongue was loosened with wine, an opinion expressed in a letter that Conway had written to Gates. Gates read it to his military family. "Heaven has been determined to save your country," it said, "or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." The words reached Washington, who enclosed them to Conway, simply informing him that he understood they formed a portion of a letter of his to Gates. It was in vain that the members of the Cabal attempted at first to carry the matter through with a high hand, then to deny that such a letter had ever been written, and finally to excuse themselves. Their ends were discovered and their power was gone. Lafayette would have nothing to do with the Canadian expedition unless De Kalb was made his second in command. He repaired to Albany only to find that no measures had been taken to carry out the promises made him, and as the friends of Washington were soon in the ascendency in Congress, Lafayette was recalled to Valley Forge.

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Through the advice of a committee which Congress had sent to camp to inquire into the condition of the army, many defects and abuses were corrected, and its organization was improved. The new troops that had been called for came in slowly, but their effectiveness was increased through the exertion of Baron Steuben, who joined the army about the close of February. A pupil of Frederick the Great, and a distinguished officer in the Prussian service, he won the esteem of Congress by offering to serve as a volunteer. His experience and industry soon instilled a discipline into the army which it had never known, and in May he was made inspector-general, with the rank and pay of a major-general.

While the American army was suffering at Valley Forge the British were comfortably quartered in Philadelphia. When they first entered the city it presented a sorry appearance: 590 dwellings and 240 stores were unoccupied; the leaden spouts of many houses had been taken down to mould into bullets, and the bells of the churches and public buildings had been removed to places of safety. The male population between the ages of eighteen and sixty numbered but 5,335, and of these one fifth were Quakers. The feelings of the Quaker citizens had been greatly outraged by the arrest and banishment to the western part of Virginia of a number of their people. Sullivan had discovered on his march through New Jersey what he believed to be a treasonable correspondence on their part with the enemy, and he had forwarded the papers to Congress. The matter had been referred to the authorities of Pennsylvania, who found in the correspondence, and in an address issued by the Quaker meeting in December, the grounds for sending the Quaker leaders into exile. It was but natural that the families of these men should have looked upon the British as their deliverers from an outrageous tyranny. But they soon found to their sorrow that their opposition to war afforded them as little protection from one side as from the other. The property destroyed by the British was enormous, and a revulsion of feeling was the consequence. At one time seventeen handsome houses beyond the lines were set on fire to prevent their being occupied by the American pickets. Persons living in the neighborhood of the city were robbed by both parties, and their crops carried off or destroyed. The temptation to sell their produce for hard money induced some of the neighboring farmers to supply the enemy with luxuries, though they found access to the city hazardous. The Americans under Smallwood guarded the roads leading to Wilmington, while Generals Potter and Lacy scoured the country west and north of the city. Captains Allen McLane, Clark, and Lee watched the movements of the enemy and reported them to Washington, but they could not oppose the large forces that Howe frequently sent out to protect those who were willing to risk furnishing him with provisions.

The desolation which surrounded the town was soon in striking contrast with the scenes within. The empty stores were occupied by itinerant traders from New York, who offered for sale articles of luxury that the war had

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On Monday,

The SIXTEENTH Inſtant, *February* 1778.

At the Theatre in Southwark,

For the Benefit of a PUBLIC CHARITY,

Will be repreſented a Comedy

CALLED THE

Conſtant Couple.

TO WHICH WILL BE ADDED,

DUKE AND NO DUKE.

The CHARACTERS by the OFFICERS of the ARMY and NAVY.

TICKETS to be had at the Printer's: at the Coffee-houſe in Market-ſtreet: and at the Pennſylvania Farmer, near the New-Market, and no where elſe.

BOXES and PIT, ONE DOLLAR.—GALLERY, HALF A DOLLAR.

Doors to open at Five o'Clock, and begin preciſely at Seven.

No Money will, on any Account, be taken at the Door.

Gentlemen are earneſtly requeſted not to attempt to bribe the Door-keepers.

N. B. Places for the Boxes to be taken at the Office of the Theatre in Front-ſtreet, between the Hours of Nine and Two o'clock: After which Time, the Box-keeper will not attend. Ladies or Gentlemen, who would have Places kept for them, are deſired to ſend their Servants to the Theatre at Four o'clock, otherwiſe their Places will be given up.

PHILADELPHIA, PRINTED BY JAMES HUMPHREYS, JUNR.

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driven from the American market. The officers of the army were quartered on the citizens, and after the campaign closed they gave themselves up to social enjoyments. Clubs met at the public-houses, and weekly balls were given at the City Tavern. As many of the officers were men of education and refinement, they were warmly welcomed in the families of leading citizens; but there was another class who did much to change the moral aspect of the city, when, by following the loose example of their commander, Sir William Howe, they shocked the staid citizens with their immorality. Cock-fighting and gambling were favorite amusements, and a faro-table kept by a foreigner proved the ruin of many young officers. The theatre on South Street was fitted up under directions of Captains André and De Lancey. Some of the scenes were painted by André. The profits of the performances were divided among the widows and orphans of the soldiers. As spring approached, horse-racing was added to the list of amusements. While citizens of wealth could take part in the gaieties which surrounded them, those in moderate circumstances suffered privations. Firewood was extremely scarce and provisions high. "Nothing but hard money will pass," wrote a resident to a relative outside of the lines. "There is plenty of goods, but little money among the tradespeople. The market is poor. I received the butter by J——; we are no longer accustomed to eat butter on our bread. I keep it to make water soup, which we have nearly every day." The army of occupation, on the other hand, was plentifully supplied with military stores after the defences on the Delaware were captured.

Martial law ruled supreme. The appointment of Joseph Galloway to be superintendent of police and the designation of magistrates under him were the only steps taken towards the revival of civil authority, and Galloway received his orders from headquarters.

The supineness of Howe robbed the British of all the benefits that might have resulted from the capture of Philadelphia. Attempts were made to raise regiments of loyalists, but so little support did the scheme receive that it was only partially successful. The "Pennsylvania Loyalists," of which William Allen, Jr., was colonel, and the "Queen's Rangers," commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, were the most efficient of these corps. No attempt was made to drive Washington's half-starved forces from their camp, although their condition was perfectly well known to Howe through the deserters that flocked to the city. The military movements of Howe while in Philadelphia were confined to foraging expeditions and attacks on isolated posts that could be surprised and broken up with little danger of loss. While these were successful, they gave to the war a predatory character that reflected little credit on British arms, and intensified the bitterness entertained for all representatives of royal authority.

The British government, dissatisfied with the results of Howe's cam-

NOTE. — The play-bill on the opposite page is after a fac-simile given in Smith's *Amer. Hist. and Lit. Curios.*, 2d series. A list of such bills printed in Philadelphia at this time is given in Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press in Penna.*, ii. pp. 315, 316.

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paigns, decided early in 1778 upon his recall. Sir Henry Clinton, his successor, arrived in Philadelphia the 8th of May, and on the 18th an entertainment was given by the officers of the army in honor of the retiring commander. The fête was styled the "Mischianza," and consisted of a regatta, a mock tournament, and a ball. But "Knights of the Burning Mountain" and of the "Blended Rose," with squires and ladies decked with spangles and ribbons, could not disguise the fact that the royal army had failed in accomplishing the task assigned to it, and the chagrin of its veterans was deepened by the frivolous scenes which marked the retirement of Sir William Howe.

The alliance with France made it necessary for the British to contract their operations, and Sir Henry Clinton brought with him orders to evacuate Philadelphia. His intention of doing so became known to Washington, and that his information might be more certain he ordered Lafayette, with a body of two thousand four hundred men, the flower of the army, to cross the Schuylkill and take a position near the city. This movement was made on the very day of the Mischianza, and on the morning of the 19th Howe learned that Lafayette was at Barren Hill, twelve miles distant. Clinton had not yet assumed command, and in the hope of closing his career in America by a brilliant stroke, Howe determined to make an effort to capture the young Frenchman and his detachment. So confident was he of doing this, that, before leaving the city, he invited his friends to meet Lafayette, whom he promised to bring with him on his return, while his brother, the admiral, prepared a vessel in which to take the distinguished captive to England. On the night of the 19th Grant, with five thousand men, marched by way of Frankford and Oxford, and by morning he had gained a point on the Swedes Ford road two miles in the rear of Lafayette. Another detachment, under Grey, was sent by way of Chestnut Hill to attack Lafayette's flank; while the main portion of the army, under Howe, took the Ridge road, to attack him in front. Lafayette's position was on high ground, and was naturally strong. Neither Grey nor Howe could approach him without his being aware of their advance. In his rear were two roads. One led along the riverside to Matson's Ford, three miles distant; the other along a ridge, a short distance from the river, to Swedes Ford, still higher up. The ground between the roads was heavily wooded. Had Grant, who held the Swedes Ford road, sent a portion of his force to Matson's Ford (which he could have done by a cross-road), Lafayette's only line of retreat would have been destroyed. But in place of doing this he marched down the Swedes Ford road to attack the American rear. Through the carelessness of his scouts, Lafayette was ignorant of Grant's position. He was preparing his force to receive Howe, when he heard of the column advancing from Chestnut Hill. He had just faced a portion of his troops in that direction when he learned that Grant was in his rear. Lafayette's danger was now apparent, but he was equal to the occasion. Without losing a moment, he sent troops through the woods,

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with orders to allow themselves to be seen at times by Grant, and lead him to suppose that they were the advance-guards of larger numbers. He also left a small body to engage the attention of Howe and Grey, and then silently marched his detachment along the river road, below Grant, to Matson's Ford. Grant was entirely deceived. He halted his men, reconnoitred the troops seen in the woods, and then pushed on to Barren Hill, where he met the other columns and discovered that Lafayette had escaped. The British pursued him to the ford, but by the time they reached it Lafayette had drawn up his force on the other side, and his rear-guard could be seen following him, dotting the river like the corks of a seine. Fearing that Lafayette had been reinforced by the entire American army, Howe made no attempt to follow him, but returned to the city, and on the 24th sailed for England.

The evacuation of Philadelphia was now only a question of time, and the news that it had been decided upon was appalling to the Tory citizens who had openly committed themselves to the royal side. In their despair they offered to raise three thousand men, if two thousand of the royal army could be left in addition, to protect the city. Howe had advised some of them to make terms with Congress, but those who had been most active in serving him decided to leave with the army. One hundred and eighty transports arrived in the Delaware, and such diligence was used in loading them that for days light carts drawn by soldiers, and every kind of carriage, from wagons to wheelbarrows, were constantly rolling between the houses and the river. As fast as the transports received their cargoes they dropped down the river. The defences were dismantled. On the 30th of May bodies of troops were thrown across the Delaware to protect the passage of the army. Everything was now ready for the departure of the British, but the final movement was delayed for a few days on account of the arrival of the commissioners appointed under the conciliatory bills of Parliament. At last, on the morning of June 18th, the men were withdrawn from the lines and marched below the city, where they were embarked upon boats and taken over to Gloucester. This was done so quietly that many of the citizens were not aware of the departure of the army until they noticed the absence of the redcoats in the streets. "They did not go away," wrote a resident, "they vanished."

By narrowly watching the movements of the enemy Washington was convinced that it was Clinton's intention to march the greater part of his army across Jersey. In this opinion he was opposed by the erratic Charles Lee, who had been exchanged, and had reached the camp. Lee could not believe that the British would give up Pennsylvania, and argued that it was more probable that they would strike at Lancaster, or possibly cross the lower Susquehanna and take up a position on its west bank. Before this, however, Washington had sent all of the Jersey troops into that State. He had put them under the command of Maxwell, with directions to coöperate with Dickinson, who commanded the militia, in opposing any attempt Clin-

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ton should make to cross the State. On the 18th of June George Roberts rode at full speed into camp at Valley Forge. He had been at the ferry over the Schuylkill at Market Street, and citizens on the Philadelphia side had shouted over the water that the British had gone. They had destroyed the bridge, so that he was unable to cross, but the intelligence could be relied upon. Shortly afterwards a letter was received from Captain Allen McLane confirming the news. He had ridden into the city from the north, and had picked up some stragglers.

Washington had everything in readiness to move the army at a moment's notice. Six brigades were immediately put in motion, and the remainder of the army followed the next day. Crossing the Schuylkill at Valley Forge, Washington marched directly for Coryell's Ferry on the Delaware, which he crossed on the 22d. He now sent a picked corps under Morgan to assist Maxwell. At Hopewell a council of war was held. Lee opposed any attack, and argued that, on military grounds, rather than delay the British, he would build a bridge of gold to facilitate their march. He so successfully urged his views that it was decided to move on a line parallel with the enemy, and send only a detachment of fifteen hundred men under Scott to aid Maxwell in annoying their flanks. Greene, Lafayette, and Wayne protested against the decision of the Council, and as their views agreed with Washington's, and were supported by Steuben and Du Portail, Washington determined to attack Clinton if an opportunity offered. For this purpose he moved his army to Kingston, whence he could strike at Clinton's line if he attempted to cross the Raritan. He also sent Wayne with a thousand men and Poor's detachment to join Scott and Maxwell. The command of this body belonged to Lee, but as he did not approve of the change in the plans, he declined it in favor of Lafayette. Subsequently, however, Lee claimed it, and to relieve Washington from an embarrassing position, and save Lee's feelings, Lafayette magnanimously yielded. The Jersey militia had turned out in a spirited manner, and under Dickinson and Forman were doing all in their power to retard Clinton's advance. They destroyed the bridges as they retired from Haddonfield to Mount Holly, and filled up the wells so that the enemy could not obtain water. The heat was intense and the British suffered severely. Clinton arrived at Crosswicks on the 23d, just in time to save a bridge over the creek at that place. There he learned that Washington was in Jersey, and would soon be on his flank if he continued to march in his present direction. Encumbered as he was with a baggage train twelve miles long, Clinton knew it would be impossible to protect it in crossing the Raritan. He determined, therefore, to march by the way of Freehold to the Neversink Hills, from which place he could embark his army for New York. Morgan and Maxwell hung on his rear from the time he left Crosswicks, and to protect his baggage Clinton sent it to the head of the column. As he approached Freehold, he knew from the frequency with which troops were seen on his left that he was in close proximity to the American army.

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He arrived at Freehold, where the court-house of Monmouth County is situated, on the morning of the 26th, and there encamped. The head of his column extended a mile and a half beyond the court-house on the road to Middletown. His left was on the road just marched over from Crosswicks to Freehold. The village was entered on the west by a road leading to Cranberry. It passed over low ground that was intersected by several swamps and ravines, which, with woods, completely covered the left of Clinton's line. The American army reached Cranberry, eight miles from Freehold, on the morning of the 26th. On account of a violent storm it was obliged to halt there, but the advance under Lee was within five miles of the enemy. When Washington heard of Clinton's position he ordered Lee to prepare a plan to attack him as soon as he resumed his march, unless it should prove that there were strong reasons for his not doing so. On the evening of the 27th Lee called his officers together only to tell them that no plan could be decided upon until the field was reached. At sunrise on the morning of the 28th, Knyphausen, with the baggage, began his march towards Middletown. At eight o'clock he was followed by the rest of the army. Scarcely had the rear-guard moved from its ground when it was fired upon by the militia under Dickinson. The militia were forced to retire, and as they did so were met by Lee's detachment as it advanced from Englishtown. On account of conflicting information the Americans halted for a short time, and then engaged the enemy and drove them towards their retreating columns. As matters were growing serious, Clinton reinforced his rear-guard, and the fighting promised to become general. But Lee had no faith in the ability of the Americans to cope with the British, and as the latter occupied strong ground he withdrew his men. From the time Clinton began his march across Jersey, Lee had contended that all the Americans could hope to do was to fall upon some isolated party of the enemy and either rout or capture it. To effect this he endeavored to draw the rear-guard of the British across the ravines intersecting the low ground west of Freehold, and while they were thus separated from the main body to defeat them. But his men could not understand his strategy. As they were withdrawn from one position after another they lost heart. It seemed to them that they were flying from a shadow, and so frequently were they ordered back that the retreat became rapid and confused. When Washington heard that Dickinson had engaged the enemy he again sent word to Lee to attack them also, unless there were powerful reasons for the contrary, and he would support him with the entire army. The day was excessively hot, and the men threw off their knapsacks that they might march more quickly. As they came to the church which stands between Englishtown and Freehold, stragglers were met who told them that Lee was retreating. Unwilling to believe the story, Washington spurred to the front to learn the truth. After passing the ravine which borders the low ground we have spoken of, on the west, he met Lee and his men in full retreat. A stormy scene ensued. Overwhelmed by the

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indignation which Washington manifested, Lee vainly endeavored to excuse his conduct. Little time, however, was lost in wasting words. Calling upon Colonels Stewart and Ramsey, who were near him with their regiments, to check the enemy, then but two hundred yards distant, Washington crossed the ravine in his rear, and formed his men as they came up on its western bank. Greene was placed on the right and Stirling on the left, while Wayne remained east of the ravine in front of Greene. In this position a severe engagement took place. Encouraged by the retreat of Lee, Clinton sent additional reinforcements to his rear, and vainly strove to drive Washington from his chosen ground. A battery under the Chevalier de Mauduit Duplessis, planted on an elevation on Greene's right, kept up an effective fire on the enemy's left, while Wayne repelled a desperate charge led by Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, in which that officer fell at the head of his men. Night ended the conflict, and both parties slept on the ground which they had occupied. At midnight Clinton withdrew his troops, and, leaving his dead unburied, resumed his march to Middletown. He retired so silently that Poor, who lay close to his right, was not aware of the movement, and on the morning of the 29th the Americans found themselves alone on the field. By daybreak Clinton was on too strong ground to be attacked, and after resting his men a few days Washington marched to the North River, and Clinton embarked for New York.

The battle of Monmouth, as the conflict at Freehold was called, was the last general engagement fought on Northern soil. The Americans had 229 killed and wounded, the British over 400. Besides this, the latter lost many by desertion on their march, and numbers fell from the effects of the heat, which registered ninety-six degrees on the day of the battle.

Lee's conduct would probably have passed unnoticed had he not, in a letter to Washington, endeavored to defend himself, while he demanded the grounds which called forth the remarks addressed to him on the battle-field. The letter was written in a highly improper spirit, and the result was a court-martial, that found Lee guilty of disobedience of orders, misbehavior before the enemy, and disrespect of the commander-in-chief. For these reasons he was suspended from command for twelve months, and before he was again ordered to service he was dismissed from the army for having written an impertinent letter to Congress.

Before leaving Valley Forge, Washington directed General Arnold, who had not fully recovered from the wounds received at Saratoga, to proceed to Philadelphia and take military command of the city. The duties assigned him were of a delicate nature. Congress had ordered that when the Americans took possession of the city no goods should be sold or removed until their ownership had been decided upon by a properly constituted commission. The object of this was to secure for the army such goods as the British and Tories might have abandoned or parted with at nominal prices to their friends. In his instructions to Arnold, Washington had referred him to the resolutions of Congress for his guidance, and had urged him to take

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every step in his power to preserve tranquillity and give security to individuals of every class until the restoration of civil power. Arnold arrived on the morning of the 19th of June, and with the approbation of several of the principal citizens issued a proclamation that closed the stores and suspended business. It also commanded the citizens to make returns to the town major of goods in their possession, beyond those needed for family use, that the purchasing agents of the army might contract for those they required. The temptation to benefit himself by the power he now exercised was greater than Arnold could withstand, and three days after he issued his first proclamation he entered into an agreement with the clothier-general of the army and another individual, that all goods purchased for the public and found to be superfluous should be charged to them and sold for their joint account. It soon became noised about that Arnold was personally interested in the purchases ostensibly made for the government, and although the secret of the agreement was preserved until after his treason, the knowledge of his speculations in Montreal gave such a color of truth to the rumor that the community were greatly dissatisfied : besides, he took up his abode in a spacious mansion on Market Street, formerly the residence of Governor Penn, which Howe had just vacated, and entered upon a style of living far beyond his means.

When the exiled Whigs returned to their homes they found the city in a filthy condition, and its surroundings a scene of desolation. The houses in the built-up portions of the city were not much injured, but many of them had been stripped of their furniture, and the papers were filled with advertisements of missing articles which the owners hoped to recover. The Supreme Executive Council resumed its sessions in Philadelphia on the 26th of June. Its patriotic president, Thomas Wharton, Jr., had died at Lancaster the month previous, and it was presided over by the vice-president, George Bryan. The Congress assembled more slowly. On the 2d of July a few delegates gathered in the State House, and two days afterwards celebrated the anniversary of Independence at the City Tavern ; but it was not until the 7th that a sufficient number were present to conduct business. On the 12th, Gérard, the French ambassador, arrived. Until a suitable residence could be found for him he was the guest of Arnold. Congress received and entertained him on the 6th of August. No opportunity was lost of honoring the new ally. On the birthday of Louis XVI. the president and members of Congress called upon his ambassador and offered their congratulations, and on the 25th were in turn entertained by Gérard.

In the midst of their rejoicings the Whigs did not forget the Tories, whom they looked upon as promoters of their sufferings. Many of them had been attainted of treason while the government was at Lancaster, but the most obnoxious had gone off with the British. Such as remained were summoned before the authorities, and so great was the clamor against them that several were executed for aiding the enemy. The new Constitution had been put into effect, but it was opposed by a number of conscientious

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Whigs, and its administration was largely in the hands of new men, who did not command universal respect. The depreciation of the currency had also a demoralizing effect. Speculation ran wild, and the greatest extravagance prevailed. The prices of all kinds of commodities rose to enormous figures, and the attempts of Congress to regulate them by law and fix the value of the currency only served to increase the evil. The community was soon divided into two classes. The Anti-Constitutionalists and the Tories formed one party; the supporters of the new government the other. The latter zealously advocated all the measures of Congress, and, classing their opponents under the one head of "Tories," accused them of being the authors of all the difficulties that embarrassed the government; it was through their efforts that traitors were allowed to go unpunished, and the necessaries of life locked up so that higher prices could be wrung from the people. "Party disputes and personal quarrels," wrote Washington from Philadelphia, in December, "are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit . . . are but secondary considerations." "Our money," he continued, "is now sinking fifty per cent. a day in this city; and yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner, or a supper, that will cost three or four hundred pounds, will not only take men off from acting in this business, but even from thinking of it."

It was in a community thus rent by faction and passion that Arnold commanded. The early restoration of civil power limited his authority, but his arrogance soon brought him in conflict with the new government. Unable to brook the restraint it put upon him, he joined its opponents, and was soon the centre of a gay and fashionable circle that gladly added so distinguished a soldier to their number. Arnold at that time was a widower, in his thirty-eighth year. He was of a susceptible nature, and before long fell in love with Miss Peggy Shippen, the daughter of Edward Shippen, a leading lawyer of character and position, whose political opinions caused him to be numbered among the disaffected. In this company the temptations to spend money were not easily resisted, and Arnold soon yielded to them. He gave elegant entertainments, and lived ostentatiously, if not extravagantly. He was soon involved in debt, and in the hopes of extracting himself entered into questionable speculations. His quarrel with the state authorities became more bitter, and in February, 1779, the Council published a series of charges which were referred to Congress. The committee who considered them failed to find Arnold guilty of any intentional wrong, and on the 19th of March he resigned the command of Philadelphia, and on the 8th of April was married to Miss Shippen. The Pennsylvania authorities were dissatisfied with the action of the committee of Congress, and succeeded in having the case reconsidered. After considerable delay, it was determined that the whole matter should be referred to a court-martial, to be appointed by the commander-in-chief. The court met in December, and the following month found Arnold guilty of two of the charges that had

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been preferred against him. The most serious one, that of speculating in goods bought for the public while the stores were closed, was not sustained for want of evidence, which was not discovered until after his treason. The acts he was found guilty of were indiscretions rather than crimes; and for these he was sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief.

EDITORIAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

DURING the movements of Washington to check the British in their attempts to secure New York, what Congress called a flying camp was formed of some militia in Jersey, under Mercer, to impede the enemy's advance in case he turned towards Philadelphia.[1]

In Nov., 1776, Washington, crossing into New Jersey,[2] left Lee in command on the New York side, but Washington, at first requesting, afterwards instructed Lee to follow him (Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 168, 186–7, 193; 5 Force, iii. 779; *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1872, p. 267). Lee's secret purpose was to find some excuse for delaying, and so to prolong his independent command, with a chance of making a brilliant stroke. He endeavored at first to quiet Washington's importunities by detaching a part of Heath's force at Peekskill, but Heath would take orders only from Washington (*Memoirs*).[3] Finally Lee was moved to follow (Dec. 2d and 3d), and while crossing Jersey "to reconquer it" he was surprised at his transient quarters, Dec. 13, 1776, and captured. Captain Bradford, Lee's aid, gave Stiles the account which is entered in his diary (Johnston's *Campaign of 1776, Docs.*, p. 146, and *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1860, p. 33).[4]

[1] Cf. letter of the Secret Committee of Congress to Silas Deane in Paris, Aug. 7, 1776 (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1877, p. 99). Pertaining to this movement is a journal of a campaign from Philadelphia to Paulus Hook, by Algernon Roberts (*Sparks MSS.*), which is printed in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vii. 456. It covers Aug. 16–Sept. 17, 1776. Cf. orderly-book in *Hist. Mag.*, ii. 353; and a journal in the *Penna. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 223.

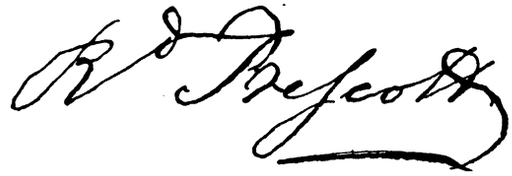
[2] His letters (Sparks, iv., and 5 Force, iii.) give details of this retreat. Cf. also G. W. P. Custis's *Recollections*, p. 538. Howe has been much blamed for his want of enterprise in allowing Washington to escape (Galloway's *Examination;* Gordon's *Amer. Rev.*, ii. 355; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i. 120).

[3] Lee was wrought upon by Joseph Reed writing to him, Nov. 21st, of Washington's "indecisive mind" (C. Lee's *Memoirs;* Moore's *Treason of Lee*, p. 46), and the next day Lee wrote in the same spirit to Bowdoin (*Ibid.*, p. 49), and on the 24th he wrote to Reed of Washington's "fatal indecision." Moore examines this hesitancy of Lee (pp. 48, 57). For suspicions as to Lee's conduct at this time, see Moore's *Treason of Lee;* Heath's *Memoirs*, 88; Reed's *Jos. Reed*, i. 253; Drake's *Knox;* J. C. Hamilton's *Republic*, i. ch. 6; Lee Papers (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*), ii. 337, etc.

[4] Cf. Force's *Archives*, 5th ser., vol. iii.; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 173; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i. 105; Sparks's *Washington*, iv. App. p. 530; Robert Morris's letter, Dec. 17th, in *Pa. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, vol. i.; Moore's *Treason of Lee*, 61; Bancroft, ix. 210; Irving's *Washington*, ii. 433; Scull's *Evelyns in America*, 211; *Memoir of Mrs. E. S. M. Quincy* (1861); Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, p. 50.

A contemporary picture of the capture of Lee, in Barnard's *Hist. of England*, represents him in uniform at the door of his house, handing his sword to a mounted officer, whose horse prances among dead bodies, while a platoon of dragoons stands at a little distance.

Lee's exchange was rendered possible when Washington acquired a prisoner of equal rank by the exploit of Colonel Barton. This Rhode Island officer summoned a party, and in whale-boats crossed Narragansett Bay, and (July 10, 1777) surprised Gen. Richard Prescott in bed at his headquarters, a few miles north of Newport, where he held command of the British who, under Clinton and Percy, had taken possession of that port in Dec., 1776 (Almon's *Remembrancer*, iii. 261; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 639). The parole of Gen. Prescott, July 14, 1777, given at Providence, as well as a letter from Lambert Cadwalader, "being greatly indebted to his politeness and generosity while a prisoner in New York," are in the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. vi.). The parole is printed in Arnold's *Rhode Island*, ii. 403. General Smith's letter, July 12th, to Howe is in the *Sparks MSS.*, lviii. Contemporary accounts are in Moore's *Diary*, i. 468.



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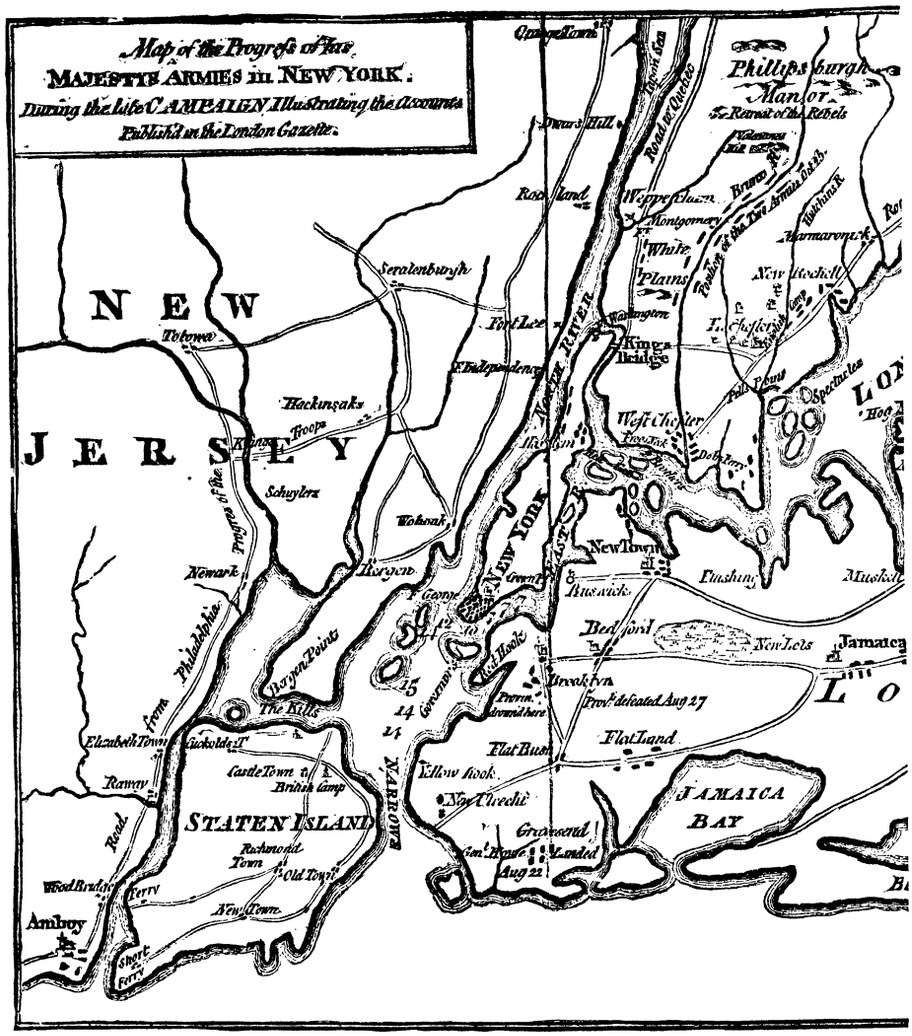

(From the *Gentleman's Magazine*.)

We have abundant evidence of the consternation which ensued in Philadelphia upon the advance of the British to Trenton.[1] The political condition of the government of the colony was

Cf. Force's *Archives*, 4th ser., vol. iv., and Thacher's *Mil. Journal*. Barton was assisted by a negro. *Livermore's Historical Research*, 143. There was an address by Professor Diman on the centennial of the capture, which was printed as no. 1 of the *R. I. Hist. Tracts*. Cf. *Narrative of the surprise and Capture of Maj.-Gen. Richard Prescott, July 9, 1777* (Windsor, Vt., 1821), and a tract of similar title, Philadelphia, 1817; Mrs. C. R. Williams's *Biog. of Revolutionary Heroes* (William Barton and Stephen Olney), Providence, 1839; Andrew Sherburne's *Memoirs*, App.; Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 495; Arnold's *Rhode Island*; Scull's *Evelyns in America*, 280. Diman gives a photograph of a portrait of Barton, and a fac-simile of his orders. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 75. Scull (p. 140) gives a likeness of Prescott. Views of the house where the capture took place are in Mason's *Newport*, p. 8; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 76, and his *Cyclo. U. S. Hist.*, p. 1133.

1 *Penna. Archives*, vi. (1853); *Colonial Records of Pa.*, xi. (1852); Hazard's *Register*, iii. 40; Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg's journal in *Pa. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i.; Robert Morris's letters in *Pa. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, i. 50, etc.; broadsides enumerated in Hildeburn's *Issues of Pa. Press*, ii.; the diary of Christopher Marshall (Philad. 1839, to Dec. 31, 1776; again to Dec. 31, 1777; in full, Albany, 1877).

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very unstable. The colonial charter, under the instigation of Congress (May 10, 1776), had been overthrown by a convention called in the interests of the patriot party, which in July had met to frame a new constitution.[1] This, however, upon its adoption, failed of being effective, by its opponents' obstructive movements to prevent the organization of an executive council, so that

JOS. REED.[2]

in the interim the supreme power, such as it was, resided in a Council of Safety, which was hampered in its control of the militia. Such was the conjunction when fear of an invasion came, and the Quaker element was passive under the alarm, and, indeed, antagonistic to measures of resistance.[3]

The Jersey campaign in general can be followed in original authorities in Sparks's *Washington*, vol. iv.; Force's *5 Amer. Archives*, iii.; in Joseph Reed's "Narrative of the movements of the American army in the neighborhood of Trenton in the winter of 1776–1777," which, having been used in Reed's *Reed*, i. ch. 14, is printed in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Dec., 1884, p. 391; the account by Congress, — not very correct, — dated Baltimore, Jan. 9, 1777, and sent to France (Lee's *R. H. Lee*, and E. E. Hale's *Franklin in France*, 97); and the current reports sent from Boston, Feb. 27, by Bowdoin to Franklin (Hale, p. 110.)[4]

The principal British contemporary accounts

[1] See *ante*, p. 272.

[2] From Du Simitière's *Thirteen Portraits* (Lond., 1783). Cf. also *Heads of illustrious Americans* (London, 1783). A likeness by C. W. Peale, engraved by Sartain, is in W. B. Reed's *Life of Jos. Reed*, vol. i. A copy of the original painting is in the Hist. Society of Penna. There is also the profile likeness in *2 Penna. Archives*, xi.; Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 279. There is a painting in Independence Hall by C. W. Peale, which differs from that engraved by Sartain.

[3] Wallace's *Col. W. Bradford*, p. 140. Mr. Stone indicates the following authorities on these points: Charles Thomson's letter to Drayton (*Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 411; *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878, p. 274); Reed's *Reed* (ii. ch. i.); Anna H. Wharton on Thomas Wharton, Jr., in *Pa. Mag. Hist.* (v. 431, 437, — also in *The Wharton Family*); *St. Clair Papers* (i. 370, 373); *Proceedings relative to calling the Conventions of 1776 and 1780* (Harrisburg, 1825); *Journals of the Ho. of Rep. of Penna.* (vol. i. — Philad., 1782); *Pa. Col. Rec.*, xi.; and other titles in Hildeburn.

[4] For further aspects of a political nature, see Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii.; Ellery's letter to the governor of Rhode Island (*R. I. Col. Rec.*, viii.), and the *Corresp. of the Executive of New Jersey, 1776–1786* (Newark, 1846); Read's *George Read*, 212, 216, and (Cæsar Rodney's letter) 256. The leading biographies give some original aspects: Greene's *Greene*, i. 299 (in which Bancroft's statements are controverted); Reed's *Reed*, ch. 14; Drake's *Knox*, 36; Stone's *John Howland*, who was with the troops from Lee, which reinforced Washington; Williams's *Olney*. There is a contemporary "Relation of the Engagement at Trenton and Prince-

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CHARLES LEE.[1]

town on Thursday and Friday the 2d and 3d of January, 1777, by Mr. Wood, 3d Battalion," in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, x. 263.

A journal of Sergeant William Young is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Oct., 1884, vol. viii. 255. A little chapbook, *Narrative of events in the Revolutionary war; with an account of the battles of Trenton, Trenton-bridge and Princeton* (Charlestown [1833]), by Joseph White, an orderly-sergeant of artillery, gives some personal experiences.

1 From *An Impartial Hist. of the War in America*, Lond., 1780, p. 319, where the print represents his full length. Compare with this a print by Thomlinson, published in London, Oct. 31, 1775, with cannon and a flag bearing the motto "Appeal to Heaven," which is reproduced in Smith's *British Mezzotint Portraits*, and the engraving by G. R. Hall in Moore's *Treason of Charles Lee*, and in the quarto edition of Irving's *Washington*. There is a German print in the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa* (Nürnberg, 1778).

Dr. Moore considers the only picture of Lee which "bears any evidence of authenticity, or answers to the descriptions given by his contemporary friends and biographers," to be one drawn by Barham Rushbrooke at the time of Lee's return from Poland, and showing him dressed in the uniform of an aid of King Stanislaus. It was first engraved in 1813 in Dr. Thomas Gridlestone's treatise to prove that Lee was Junius, and that writer said of it that, "though designed as a caricature, it was allowed, by all who knew General Lee, to be the only successful delineation of his countenance or person." It is familiar in prints, representing his extremely attenuated figure in profile, with a small dog in front of him. It is given in Moore's *Treason of Lee;*

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are in Stedman, *Annual Register*, Howe's *Narrative*, the evidence of Cornwallis in the *Detail and Conduct of the War*, and *Letter to a Noblèman*, 1779.

The story is also told in local monographs,[1] and by the general historians.[2]

On the temporary clothing of Washington with dictatorial powers, see the Circular of Congress (Dec. 28th), explaining why it was done (*Journals*, i. 585). Cf. also Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 550; Greene's *Greene*, i. 292; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 74; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 458, and the adverse views of Abraham Clark in *N. Jersey Rev. Corresp.*, p. 68.

The purpose of some sudden stroke on Washington's part is well indicated.[3] The advance of Griffin with militia was opportune in drawing Donop forward to Mount Holly, so that he was too distant to support Rahl at Trenton.

On the attack on Trenton there is special record from the Washington papers in Sparks (iv. 242, 246, 541), Dawson, i. 20 (to Congress), *Mass. Soc. Hist. Col.*, xliv. 32 (to Heath, and Heath's letter in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 445). Others are in 5 Force, iii., a full record of the battle. Congress wrote to the agents in France (*Diplom. Corresp.*, i. 246.)[4]

What is known as the Reed-Cadwalader controversy, hinging upon the alleged weakness or defection of Joseph Reed at this time, is more particularly examined in another place.

On the English side we have Howe's despatch in Dawson (i. 202); Tryon to Germain in *N. Y. Col. Doc.* (viii. 694). The effect of the battle in England to discourage the expatriated loyalists is told in Hutchinson's *Diary*, ii. 139. Stedman accuses Howe of bad judgment in placing so unfit a man in command as Rahl. Adolphus (ii. 385), on "private information" supposed to have been Arnold's, says that Arnold suggested to Washington the movement, and Mahon (vi. 130) has followed Adolphus.

Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 460; in Scull's *Evelyns in America* (p. 295, — also see p. 196); and in K. M. Rowland's "Virginia Cavaliers" in the *Southern Bivouac*, April, 1886.

There are views of Lee's house in Virginia in J. E. Cooke's "Historic houses in the Shenandoah," in *Appleton's Journal*, p. 69, July 19, 1873, and in Mrs. Lamb's *Homes of America*.

The principal sources of Lee's history are: Edward Langworthy's *Memoirs of the Life of the late Charles Lee, to which are added his Political and Military Essays* (London, 1792; Dublin, 1792; New York, 1792, 1793). It was reproduced as *Life and Memoirs of Maj.-Gen. Charles Lee* (N. Y., 1795, 1813), as *Political and Military Essays, with Memoirs*, etc., 2d ed., with App. (London, 1797), and with new title as *Anecdotes of the late Charles Lee, Esq.* (London, 1797). Cf. Sparks's *Life of Charles Lee* (1846); Moore's *Treason of Lee;* the *Papers of Charles Lee*, published by the N. Y. Hist. Soc. in their collections; Irving's *Washington*, i. 377; Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, 160; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, ii. ch. 23; John Bernard's *Retrospections of America* (1887), p. 96.

[1] C. C. Haven's tracts: *Washington and his army in New Jersey* (Trenton, 1856), *Thirty days in New Jersey ninety years ago* (1867), *Annals of the City of Trenton* (1867), and *Historic Manual concerning Trenton and Princeton.* (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 335.) Joseph F. Tuttle's papers: *Annals of Morris County* (187–), *Revolutionary forefathers of Morris County* (Dover, 1876), "Washington in Morris County," in *Hist. Mag.*, June, 1871. E. D. Halsey's *Hist. of Morris County* (N. Y., 1882). W. A. Whitehead's *Perth Amboy* (p. 329), and *Penna. Hist. Coll.*, i. 223. Hatfield's *Hist. of Elizabeth* (ch. 20). A paper, "Washington on the west bank of the Delaware," by Gen. W. W. H. Davis, giving local details, in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (iv. 133). *Historical Mag.*, xix. 205. *Harper's Mag.*, July, 1874. *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, Jan., 1877. Johnston's *Campaign of 1776* (ch. 8).

[2] Gordon (vol. ii.); Bancroft (orig. ed. ix. ch. 12; final revision, v. ch. 6, 7, 8); Irving's *Washington* (vol. ii.); Gay, *Pop. Hist. U. S.* (iii. 520).

[3] Bancroft, ix. 218; Reed's *Reed*, i. 270.

[4] Other contemporary American accounts are by Major Morris (*Sparks MSS.*, no. liii.; Chalmers's MSS. in Thorpe's *Catal. Suppl.*, 1843, no. 632); by R. H. Lee (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1878, xix. 109); by Sullivan (*N. H. State Papers*, viii. 492); in Stirling's letter (Dec. 28, 1776) (Sedgwick's *Livingston*, 211). The order of march to Trenton is in Drake's *Knox*, 113. Capt. Wm. Hull's letter, Jan. 1, 1777, is in Bonney's *Legacy of Hist. Gleanings*, 1875, i. p. 57. (Cf. Hull's *Rev. Services*, ch. 5.) See also Greene's *Greene* (book ii. ch. 13); Reed's *Reed* (i. 273); Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (ch. 3); Smith's *St. Clair;* Stone's *John Howland* (p. 72); Marshall's *Washington* (ii. ch. 8); Drake's *Knox* (p. 37); *Memoirs* of Tench Tilghman (p. 148); *Journals* of Samuel Shaw; Capt. Thomas Rodney's letter in Niles's *Principles* (1822, p. 341); Force's *Amer. Archives* (5th, iii.); *Freeman's Journal* in Moore's *Diary* (p. 364). The account in the *Penna. Evening Post*, Dec. 28, 1776, is copied in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, July, 1886, p. 203.

Local publications are: Raum's *Trenton* (1866); C. C. Haven's *Annals of Trenton;* Henry K. How's *Battle of Trenton* (N. Brunswick, 1856).

Of the more general accounts, Bancroft (ix. 218) is the best. Cf. *Hist. of First Troop of Pa. Cavalry*, p. 7. Cf. also Gordon (ii. 393); Irving's *Washington* (ii. 449); Dawson (i. 196); Carrington (ch. 39); Johnston's *Campaign of 1776* (p. 288, with docs. pp. 151, 153). Also articles in *Godey's Mag.* (xxxii. 51) and *Harper's Mag.* (vii. 445), and details in Lossing's *Field-Book*.

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TRENTON, PRINCETON, MONMOUTH.[1]

[1] From the map in Marshall's *Atlas* to his *Washington* (1804). Cf. also Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 258; Guizot's *Atlas* to his *Washington*. The plans of Trenton and Princeton in Carrington (pp. 270, 302) vary

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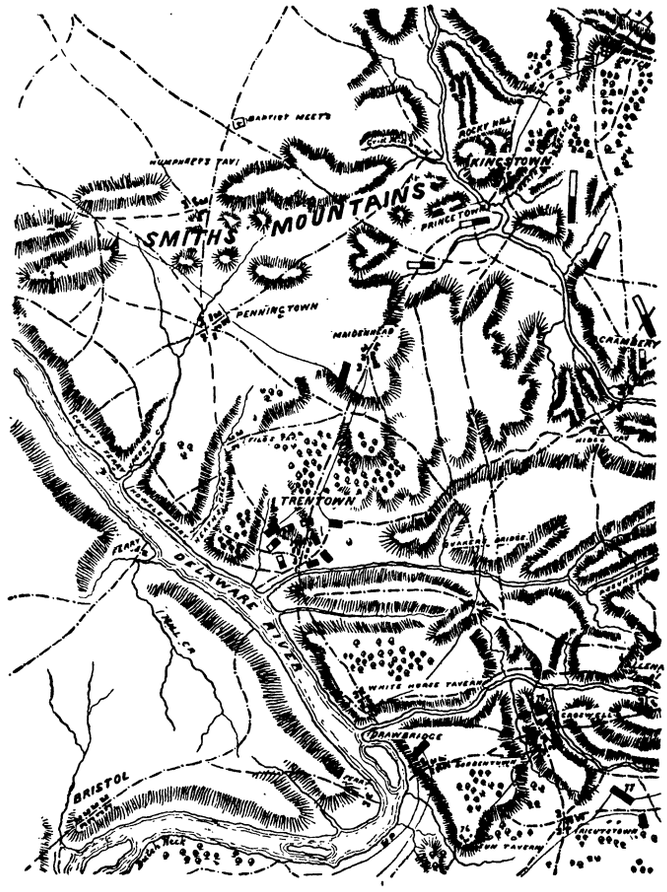

TRENTON AND PRINCETON.[1]

somewhat from the contemporary ones as to roads. The chief contemporary English map of New Jersey is one based on the surveys of Bernard Ratzer in 1769, which was published in London, Dec. 1, 1777, by William Faden, and called *The Province of New Jersey, divided into East and West, commonly called the Jerseys* (32 × 23 inches). It was improved from surveys by Gerard Banker. It was reissued in fac-simile by the Geological Survey of New Jersey in 1877, and this fac-simile is in W. S. Sharp's reprint of Smith's *New Jersey*, 1877. Another fac-simile was published in 1884. A second edition of the original was published in 1778, corrected by the British and Hessian engineers.

An American map of the campaign, by Erskine, is given in the illustrated ed. of Irving's *Washington*, ii. 430. There are English maps in the *Gent. Mag.*, Sept., 1776, and in Stedman's *American War*. Gordon gives a map (vol. ii. 525). Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, vol. ii.

We have Hessian maps of some of the movements preceding Howe's evacuation of New Jersey in 1777, which are among the Faden MS. maps in the library of Congress, and bear the name of Wangenheim, a "lieutenant dans les chasseurs Hessois, 1777," namely: No. 75, "Plan de l'affaire de Westfield et du camp de Raway, 1777, Jan. 26, 27." No. 76, "Plan de notre camp à New Brunswick, le 12e Juin; notre marche le 14 à Middlebush; la situation du camp le 15e Juin, et celle de Gen. Washington à Boundbrook." No. 77, "Position de notre camp le 24 Juin, 1777, à Perth Amboy."

[1] A section of a large map in the library of Congress, apparently of Hessian origin, *Plan général des opérations de l'armée Britannique contre les Rebelles*, etc. The broken lines represent roads. The Americans are represented by blocks, half white and half black. The British are solid black. KEY: "76, Marche du Général Cornwallis. 77, Marche du Général Knyphausen le 23 Juin, et son camp près de Richardstown."

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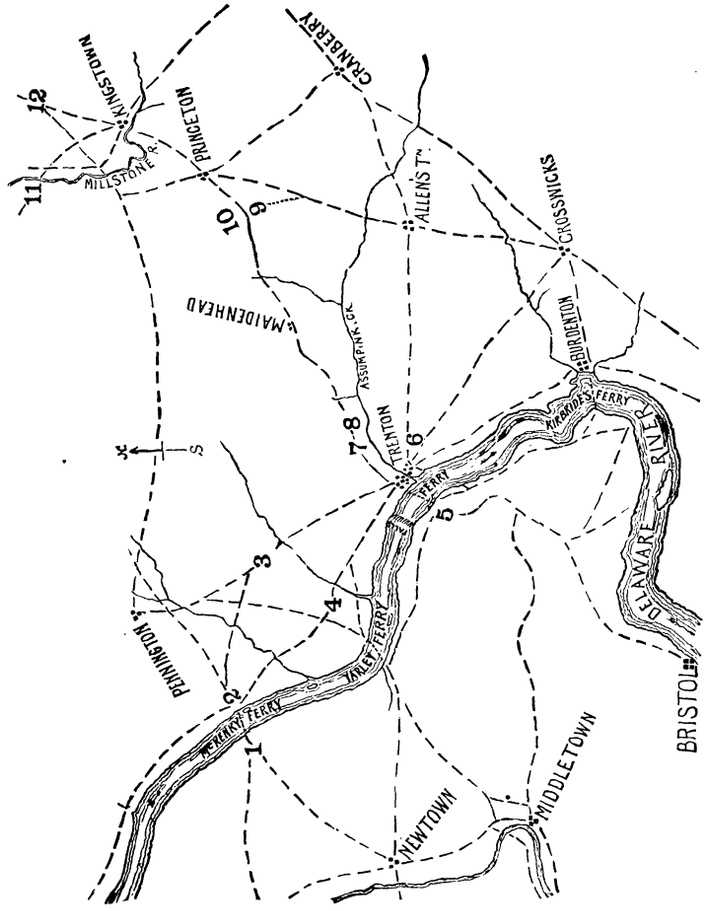
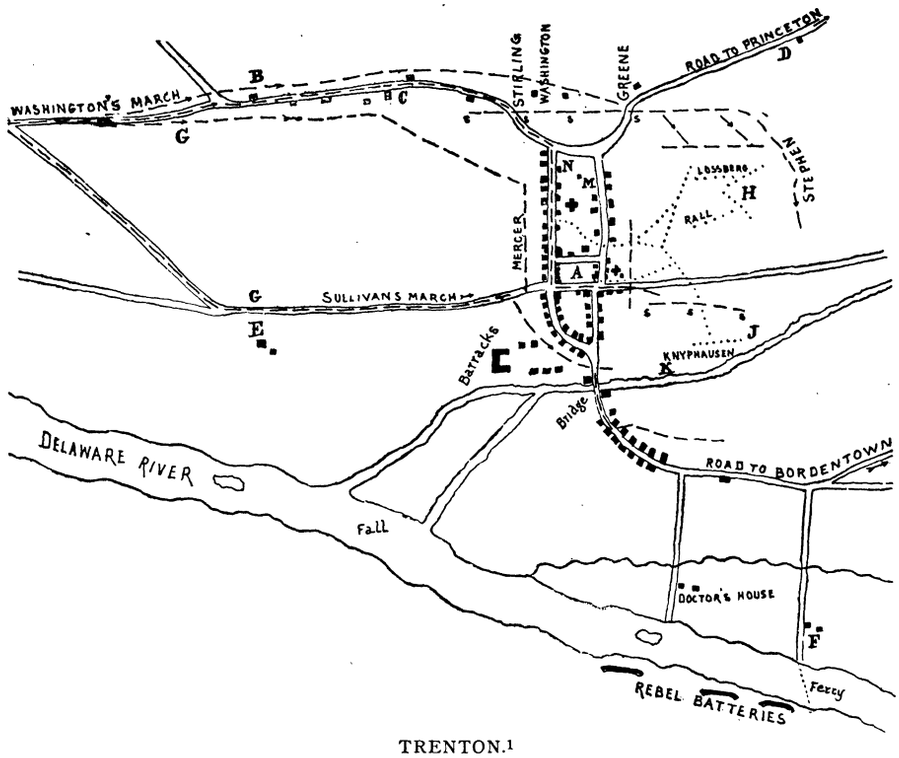


FADEN'S MAP OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON.

[1] Sketched from a *Plan of the Operations of General Washington against the king's troops in New Jersey, from the 26th of December, 1776, to the 3d January, 1777, by William Faden.* London, 15th April, 1777. This map also makes part of the *American Atlas*, and the original MS. draft is among the Faden maps in the library of Congress. The map (the roads being represented by broken lines) bears legends to the following purport: Washington from his headquarters at Newtown moved his men on the evening of December 25th to 1, and by 4 o'clock on the morning of the 26th he had crossed to 2, where he divided his army into two divisions. The left, composed of 1,200 men with ten fieldpieces under Greene, but accompanied by Washington himself, proceeded through 3 towards Trenton; the right, under Sullivan, consisting of 1,500 men with ten fieldpieces, went through 4. Meanwhile "Erwin's" and Cadwallader's forces came to 5, hoping to cross the ferry, but the ice in the river prevented. At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 26th, Rahl at Trenton was surprised, and the entire force of Hessians with him were captured except 200 men, who, with some chasseurs and dragoons, escaped to "Burdenton," where they met Count Donop, who now, joined by these fugitives, proceeded with his command to Crosswicks, thence to Allenstown and Princeton. Washington, after his victory, encamped at 6, where he was reinforced by troops from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. On January 2d the position was this: Washington had been confronted at 7 by the advance of Cornwallis at 8. The second brigade of the British under Leslie was at Maidenhead, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood, with the 17th, 40th, and 55th British regiments, was on the road at 10,—all these troops having moved forward from Princeton after Washington's attack at Trenton. During the night of January 2d, Washington having withdrawn his detachments over the bridge, left fires along the southern bank of the Assumpink Creek to deceive the British, and marched from his camp at 6 to Allenstown, then turned towards Princeton, but his force in part left the road, and by the dotted line proceeded to 9, and on the morning of



TRENTON.[1]

Bancroft (ix. 217; cf. Irving, ii. 466) notes the Hessian journals which he had used.[2]

The affair at Princeton has special treatment in the Washington papers (Sparks, iv. 259;

Jan. 3d attacked Mawhood at 10. Of the three British regiments here, the 17th was driven upon Leslie at Maidenhead, while the 40th and 55th retreated through Princeton and Kingstown towards Brunswick, beyond 12. Washington followed them to Kingstown and encamped there on Jan. 3, after having broken down the bridge over the Millstone to interfere with Cornwallis's overtaking him. On Jan. 4 Washington took the road through 11 to the passes in the hills, while Cornwallis, reaching Kingstown the same day, proceeded through 12 towards Brunswick.

[1] Wiederhold's plan from the archives at Marburg, sketched from a fac-simile furnished by Mr. E. J. Lowell. (Cf. his *Hessians*, 92.) *A* marks the centre of the village. The Hessian outposts were at *B*, one officer and 24 men; *C*, Captain Altenbocum's company of the Lossberg regiment, quartered in the neighborhood, which formed in front of the captain's quarters, while the picket at *B* occupied the enemy; *D*, one captain, one officer, and 75 men; *E*, one officer and 50 Jägers, who retreated over the bridge on Sullivan's approach; *F*, one officer and 30 men, who joined Donop over the Bordentown road. The two columns of Washington and Sullivan emerged from the woods at *G G*. The broken lines (— — — —) indicate their line of march and successive positions, till they surrounded the Hessians. The beginning of the dotted lines (. . . . . .) in the village shows where the Hessians attempted to form; but Rahl and Lossberg were driven back to *H*, and Knyphausen to *J*, and surrounded they surrendered. Knyphausen endeavored to reach the bridge, having with him the Lossberg cannon, which got stuck in the marsh at *K*, and the delay in extricating them was sufficient for Sullivan to occupy the bridge and cut off Knyphausen's retreat. His own cannon were at *M*, and were not used. Rahl's cannon were at *N*, and early dismounted. The Americans used cannon at *s s s*, etc. There is also among the Rochambeau maps (no. 18) a map done in faint colors, with an elaborate key, which is marked *Engagement de Trenton*, by Wiederhold, measuring about eight inches wide by ten high. A French plan is given in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1880, p. 369. Cf. map in Raum's *Trenton;* Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 228 (with Rahl's headquarters, p. 228, and a view, p. 233). Carrington's special map of Trenton (p. 278) gives more detail than the contemporary plans.

[2] Cf. Lowell's *Hessians*, ch. 8; Eelking's *Hülfstruppen*, i. 113, 132. The oft-printed letter of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel to Baron Hohendorf or Hozendorf is a forgery (Kapp's *Soldatenhandel*, 2d ed. 199). A court-

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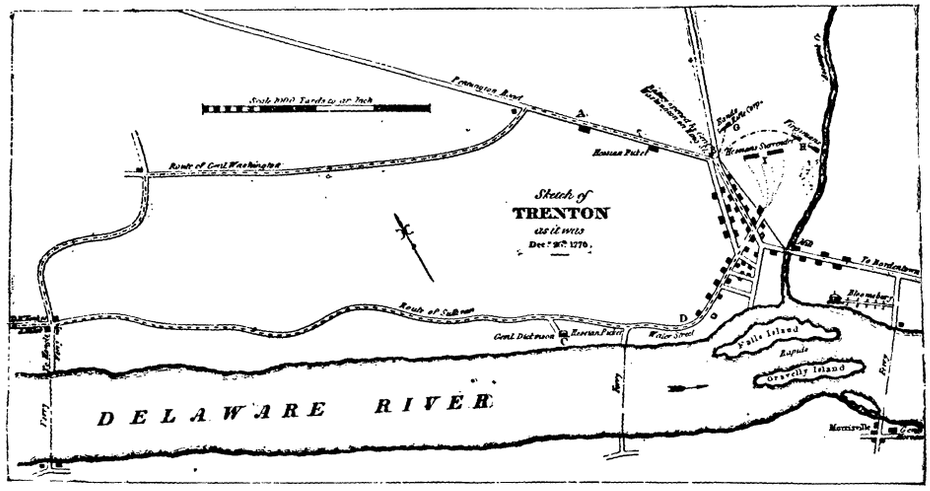

FROM WILKINSON'S ATLAS.[1]

Dawson, i. 204),[2] and is necessarily covered by the general historians.[3] On the English side Howe's letter (Jan. 5, 1777) to Germain is the principal source, and it will be found in *Gent. Mag.*, Feb., 1777; C. C. Haven's *Thirty days*, 60; Dawson, i. 210. Cf. Mahon, vi. 132.[4]

martial of the Hessian officers was held at Cassel in 1782, and the report of it is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vii. 45 (April, 1883), a paper of much use to the writer of the preceding narrative.

The battle is the subject of one of Trumbull's pictures. On a Hessian flag captured, see Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 413. Moore, *Songs and Ballads*, 150, 156, 165, gives some of the current verses.

The movements of Washington after Trenton in recrossing the Delaware, are easily followed in Washington's letters to Congress, in Reed's narrative (*Penna. Mag. Hist.*, viii. 391); in Sergeant William Young's Journal (*Ibid.* viii. 255); in Reed's *Reed* (i. 277); and in Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (i. 133).

[1] Sullivan delayed at F to give Washington a chance to make his longer detour by A before he (Sullivan) advanced by D. Washington attacked at B, and threw out riflemen at G and H. Rahl, deserted by a part of his force, who fled to Donop at Bordentown, surrendered at I, when he became aware of Sullivan's approach behind him.

Wilkinson also gives a map showing the movements between Dec. 25, 1776, and Jan. 3, 1777, and this is the basis of the map in C. C. Haven's *New Historic Manual concerning the battles of Trenton and Princeton* (Trenton, 1871).

[2] For other contemporary records see Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (i. ch. 3); Hull's *Rev. Services;* Reed's *Reed*, i. 287; Drake's *Knox*, 38; Rodney's letter in Read's *George Read*, 256; Stone's *Howland*, p. 72; E. S. Thomas's *Reminiscences*, i. 283; the account in the *Penna. Evening Post* from an officer in Washington's army, in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, viii. p. 310; from the *Penna. Journal* and *N. Y. Gazette* in Moore's *Diary*, 369, 372.

There are local associations in J. F. Hageman's *Princeton*; *Harper's Mag.*, vii. 447.

The suggestion of the detour of the army is claimed for Washington by General Stryker in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1882; W. H. Smith in *Ibid.*, Oct., 1882; Bancroft (ix. 246; final revision, v. 105), with references; and for St. Clair in his *Narrative*, p. 242. On Mercer and his death, see *Southern Lit. Messenger*, iv. 214; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 874; Wm. B. Reed's *Oration on the reinterment of Mercer's remains, Nov. 26, 1840* (Philadelphia, 1840). Congress (April 8, 1777) ordered a monument to his memory to be erected at Fredericksburg, and his youngest son to be educated at the public expense (*Journals*, ii. 82). There is an engraving of him, after a pencil sketch by Colonel Trumbull, in Irving's *Washington* (illus. ed. ii.), and in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, March, 1887. The fight is the subject of one of Trumbull's pictures.

[3] Gordon (ii. 398); Bancroft (ix. 248); Dawson (ch. 17); Carrington (ch. 41); Irving's *Washington* (ii. 477); Johnston's *Campaign of 1776* (p. 293, — quoting from a Rhode Island officer's statement in Stiles's diary). G. W. P. Custis's *Recollections* (ch. 3).

[4] The narrative of George Inman is in the *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, vii. 240; and he tempers on some points the assertions of Stedman.

Upon Howe's evacuation of New Jersey and the sluggishness of his subsequent movements, see Sparks's *Washington* (iv.); Bancroft (ix. ch. 20); Graydon's *Memoirs;* Greene's *Greene;* Graham's *Morgan; Life*

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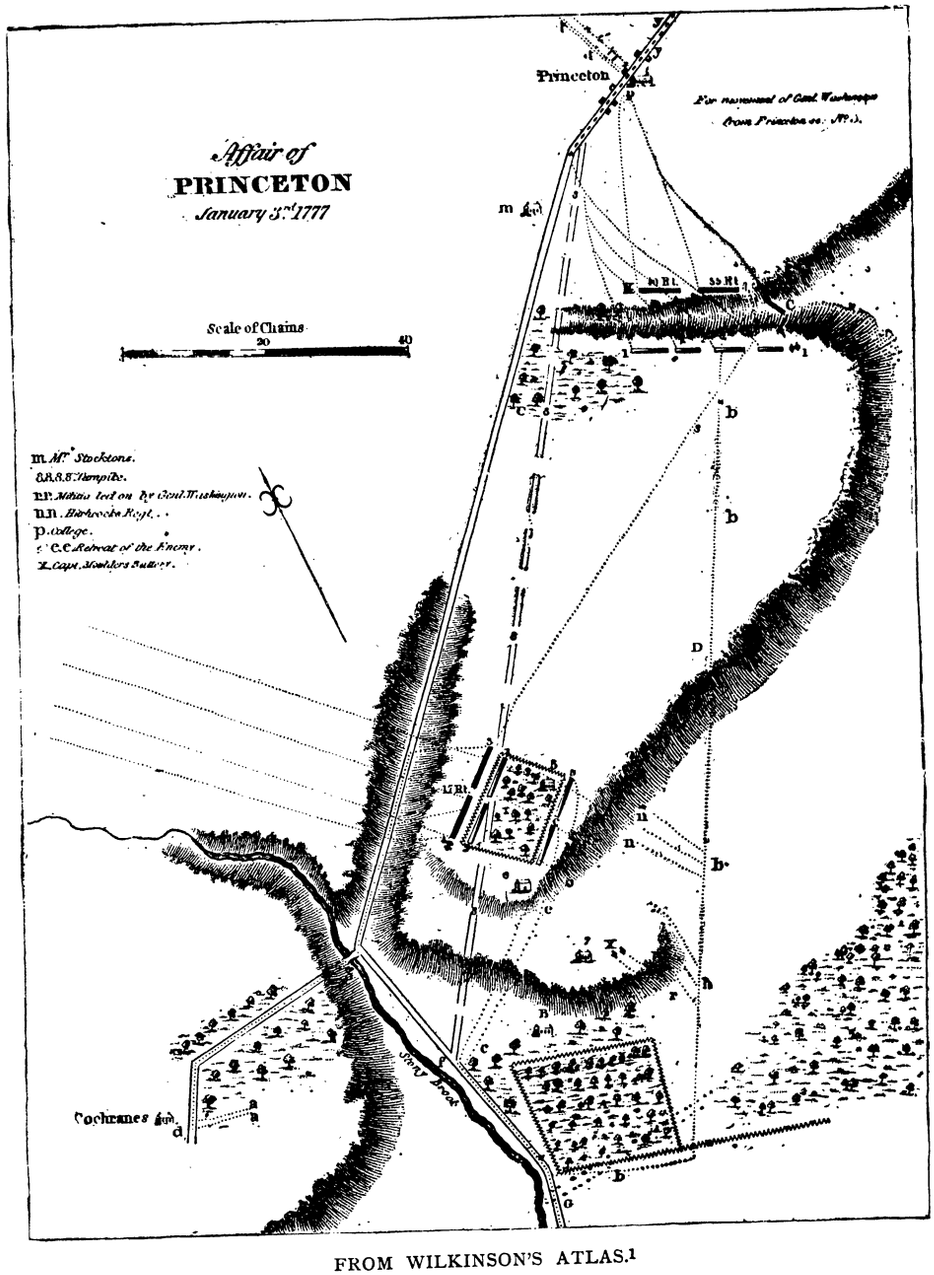
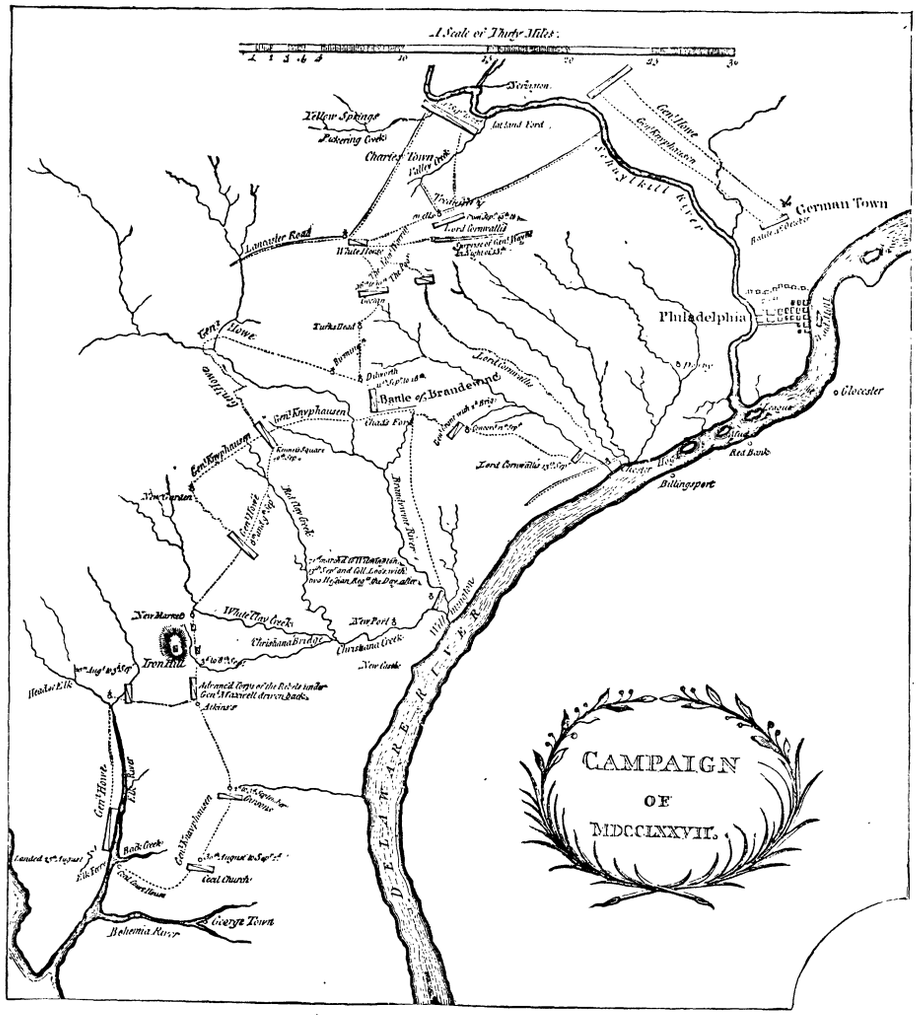


FROM WILKINSON'S ATLAS.[1]

of Timothy Pickering, i.; Irving's *Washington*, iii. ch. 8; Eelking's *Hülfstruppen;* Lecky, iv. 58. Cf. Journal of Capt. Rodney in *Campaign of 1776*, Doc. 158, and the Journal of Capt. John Montresor (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1881, p. 420; and in part in *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, v. and vi.). Howe's losses, Aug. – Dec., 1776, are tabulated in the *War in America* (Dublin, 1779). The campaign is examined in Gen. Carrington's *Strategic Relations of New Jersey to the War of Amer. Independence* (Newark, 1885).

1 The advance, with which Wilkinson was, came by G to the vicinity of the wood A and Quaker meeting-house B. The main column turned off and followed the line *b*. Gen. Mercer proceeded to *f*. A detachment



CAMPAIGN OF 1777.[1]

Howe's campaign of 1777 was the ruin of his military reputation.[2] Jones, in his severe criticism upon Howe, unjustly charges Galloway with making the suggestion of the expedition to the

of the British at *d*, with officers reconnoitring at *a a*, discovered the American line on the route *h;* but coming to *g*, they also discovered Mercer at *f*, who wheeled by the line *c*, and gaining the orchard of Wm. Clark's house (5) confronted at 1 — 2 the British detachment now formed at 3 — 4. The Americans retreated when the British advanced to the slope (*o o o*), where they saw Moulder's battery, X, near Thomas Clark's house (7), which Washington had sent from his main line at *h*, together with other troops by the line *r r*, which induced the British to retreat on the line *e e*, while Mawhood, their commander, fled with a few infantry by the line *s s*. At this juncture another British regiment, which had advanced from Princeton to C, fell back, and joining other troops took post at K and C, where they confronted Washington's main body, which now deployed at *i i;* and as the Americans attacked, the British fled to the college building (P), and then beyond by the route *t t*. Cf. plan in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 235. Carrington's plan of Princeton (p. 278) gives further details from later study.

[1] A map in Captain Hall's *Hist. of the Civil War in America* (London, 1780), vol. i.

[2] The principal controversial tracts upon the charges of incompetency preferred against Howe are these: The *Narrative of Lieut.-Gen. Howe relative to his Conduct during his late command in North America*

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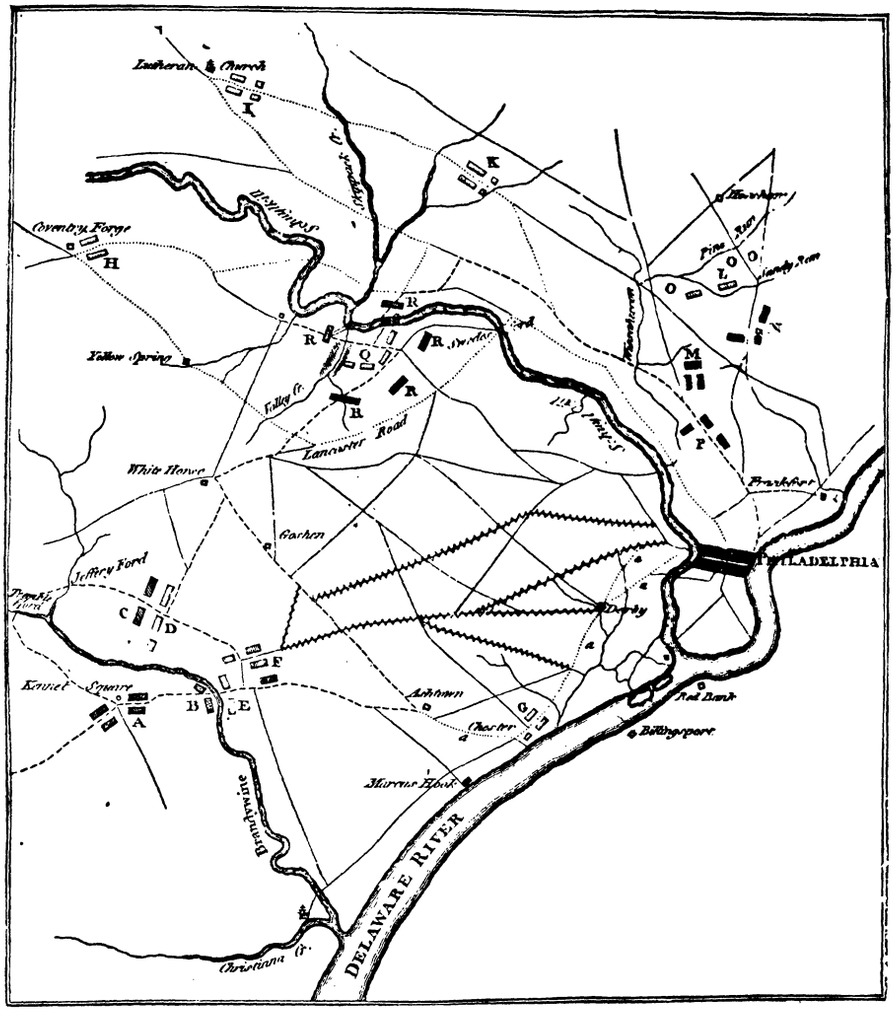

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.[1]

(London, 1780, several eds.). *Letters to a nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the middle Colonies*, (London, 1780, various eds.). Howe replied in *Observations;* and this led to a *Reply to the Observations* (London, 1781). Another severe critic appeared in *Two letters from Agricolas to Sir William Howe* (London, 1779). Galloway was sharp in his *Examination*. The loyalists felt Howe's shortcomings poignantly, as they prolonged, as was thought, their exile (*Life of Peter Van Shaack*, 167). The contemporary historians, like Murray and Gordon, did not spare him. The later ones, like Andrews (ii. ch. 26), Adolphus (ii. ch. 31), Smyth (*Lectures*, no. 34), were quite as severe. The American historians have not disputed the adverse conclusion (Marshall, Bancroft, Irving, etc.). Cf. Sargent's *André*, ch. 7, and a note in his *Stansbury and Odell*, 137. The current story that the charms of Mrs. Loring paralyzed the English general finds occasional record (John Bernard's *Recoll. of America*, N. Y., 1887, p. 60). On General Howe's lineage, as affecting his characteristics, see *General Sir William Howe's Orderly-Book, 1775–1776*, etc., *collected by B. F. Stevens, with hist. introd. by Edw. E. Hale* (London, 1884); also Dawson's *Westchester*, p. 217.

[1] From Galloway's *Letters to a Nobleman*, London, 1779. KEY: *A*, the British army before the battle of Brandywine. *B*, Gen. Knyphausen's advance to the attack. *C*, Lord Cornwallis having turned the right wing of the rebel army. *D*, Sullivan advanced to oppose him. *E*, position of the rebel army. *F*, General Howe's quarters, in which he remained five days after the rebel defeat. *a a a*, Washington's retreat to Chester and Philadelphia. *G*, his camp at Chester, where he remained fourteen hours after the battle. The roads with

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Head of Elk.[1] It is certain that Galloway threw himself upon Howe's protection not far from the time when Howe committed himself to a plan of capturing Philadelphia. About the same time it has been charged that General Lee, by a treasonable project, aided Howe's purposes in the same direction.

George H. Moore laid before the N. Y. Hist. Soc., in June, 1859, the document in Lee's handwriting, dated March 29, 1777, while he was a prisoner in New York, in which he sketches a plan for Howe's guidance in the coming campaign. The "plan" in fac-simile, together with an elucidation of it, was printed in Moore's *Treason of Charles Lee*, New York, 1860. The "plan" is also in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1872, p. 361. Lee was at that time trying to induce Congress to send commissioners to New York to confer with him (Bancroft, ix. ch. 19), but Congress was not ensnared. Moore contends (p. 84) that the "plan" is responsible for Howe turning towards Philadelphia, instead of going north to help Burgoyne. Bancroft (ix. 333; also see p. 211) asserts that it could have had no influence on Howe's movements.[2]

Lecky quotes Galloway's testimony, that of the 66,000 men voted by Congress for this campaign, hardly 16,000 were in the field. Bancroft admits that no one better than Marshall (iii. ch. 3) has described the part of Washington in this campaign.[3]

At the opening of the campaign Washington was kept long in suspense as to the purpose of Howe. The eastern people feared his object was Boston.[4] Alexander Hamilton early in the season had become Washington's aide, and his letters at once begin to contain speculations on Howe's purpose (*Works*, Lodge's ed., vii. 481,

the zigzag mark show those by which the rebels might have been intercepted after the battle. *H*, Washington's flight after the skirmish at Goshen. *I*, Washington's retreat when Sir Wm. Howe crossed the Schuylkill. *K*, Washington's camp, whence he marched to surprise the British army at Germantown, and to which he retreated after the battle. *L*, Washington's camp at Whitemarsh. (For his headquarters see Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 321, and his *Mary and Martha Washington*, p. 162.) *M*, the first position of the British. *N*, the second. *O*, *O*, *O*, where Washington's camp might have been attacked with advantage. *P*, British camp at Germantown. The line — — — — — — denotes marches of the British army; the line of dots . . . . . the marches of the rebel army. *Q*, Washington's lines at Valley Forge in the winter 1777. *R*, *R*, *R*, *R*, *R*, positions which might have been taken to besiege or assault the rebel quarters. *S*, the bridge. This map is also reproduced in *The Evelyns in America*, p. 252.

The principal contemporary engraved maps of this part of the country were the 1770 edition of Scull's *Map of Pennsylvania* (see Vol. V. p. 240), which was at this time included in the *American Atlas* (London, 1776), and the *Atlas Amériquain* (Paris, 1777), and Pownall's edition, 1776, of Evans's *Map of the Middle Colonies* (see Vol. V. p. 85), as well as Jefferys' edition, 1775, of the same, not so accurate. To these might be added Montresor's *Province of New York and Pennsylvania, 1777;* Mellish and Tanner's *Seat of War in America;* Faden's map of July 1, 1778, given in fac-simile in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 285; the maps in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1776 and 1777; Almon's *Seat of War in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 1777*. A modern map, covering the same field to illustrate the campaign, is given in Theodore W. Bean's *Washington at Valley Forge one hundred years ago*, and is repeated, with a few changes, in *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Paoli Monument* (Westchester, 1877). The contemporary French maps are Du Chesnoy's *Théâtre de la Guerre*, 1775–1778; Beaurain's *Carte pour servir à l'intelligence de la guerre* (Paris, 1777), Brion de la Tour's *Théâtre de la Guerre* (Paris, 1777), with another by Phelippeaux "pour servir de suite," and Bourgoin's *Théâtre de la Guerre* (Paris). There is a German map in the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa*. There is in the Maryland Hist. Soc. library a map of stage routes between Baltimore and New York, showing the operations of the British from Elk River (1777) to Neversink (1778). (Lewis Mayer's *Catal. of MSS. etc., in Maryland Hist. Soc.*, 1854.)

Cf. also the maps in Sparks's *Washington*, v. 66; Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, orig. ed., 495; *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser. vol. iii.; Moorsom's *Fifty-second Regiment;* Hamilton's *Coldstream Guards;* Carrington's *Battles*, p. 398.

[1] Jones, i. 187, 252, 256, 714; ii. 431.

[2] The charge of treason is also disputed (*Hist. Mag.*, v. 53). Cf. G. W. Greene's *Gen. Greene*, i. 385; his *Historical View*, 62, 265; Lossing in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1879, p. 450.

[3] Cf. W. T. Read in the *Hist. Mag.*, July, 1871, p. 1. Cf. Gordon; *Penna. Archives*, 1st and 2d series; Reed's *Reed*, i. ch. 15, 16; Drake's *Knox*, 43; Greene's *Greene;* Irving's *Washington*, iii. ch. 18, 19; Hamilton's *Republic*, i. ch. 10; Mahon, in the main just; histories of Pennsylvania; McSherry's *Maryland*, ch. 11; Quincy's *Shaw*, ch. 3; *Evelyns in America*, 302. For political aspects, Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. ch. 44; Lee's *R. H. Lee;* Adams's *John Adams*.

[4] Hutchinson, in London, seems to have thought Boston the object of the campaign (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 165; Adams's *Familiar Letters*, 286; Hutchinson's *Diaries*, ii. 152). James Lovell writes from Philadelphia, July 29, 1777, that Howe seems bound up the Delaware; but he warns his friends in New England that his present movements may be undertaken to cloak an ultimate design upon the New England coast (*Charles Lowell MSS.*).

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496, 500). On May 28th, Washington moved his headquarters from Morristown[1] to Middlebrook, and it was thought Howe would attempt to march direct for Philadelphia. On June 12th, Sullivan writes to Weare that Howe was to be confronted the next day (*N. H. State Papers*, viii. 584); and when it was known that Howe was retiring towards New York, Washington, June 23d, little credited a report, then prevalent, in suspense.[4] On July 31st, it was learned that Howe's fleet was at the capes of Delaware, and the next day the vessels had disappeared.[5] It was now supposed that Howe had gone to Charleston, S. C., and that Washington might safely reinforce the Northern army (*Hamilton's Works*, vii. 517). Lafayette first took his seat at a council of war called to consider the propriety of this (Sparks's *Washington*, v. 445).

GENERAL HOWE.[2]

that the British army was panic-struck (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. 138).[3] Cf., for all these movements, Montresor's *Journal*.

In July, when news came of the fall of Ticonderoga, there were no signs that Howe was preparing to coöperate with Burgoyne, and Hamilton wondered (*Works*, vii. 507, 515). When Howe sailed from New York, Washington was

In August, 1777, Gen. Sullivan conducted a raid into Staten Island to seize Tories. He captured some papers which implicated the Philadelphia Quakers in inimical movements. (Cf. *Journals of Congress*, ii. 246, 253.) In other respects the incursion was unfortunate, and his movements were examined by a court of inquiry, which acquitted him.[6]

[1] J. F. Tuttle's *Washington at Morristown*, in *Harper's Mag.*, xviii. 289; *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, v. 665

[2] From *The Impartial Hist. of the War in America.*

[3] There are in the Persifer Frazer papers (*Sparks MSS.*, xxi.) some letters from the Mount Pleasant camp, near Bound Brook and Morristown, in June and July, 1777. For the British movements at this time, cf. the journal in Scull's *Evelyns in America*, p. 328.

[4] Sparks, iv. 442, 453, 501, 505; v. 42; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv.; Greene's *Greene*, i. 400, 429; *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 620.

[5] *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 652, 653; Adams's *Familiar letters*, 294; Heath Papers in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, p. 71. Howe's *Narrative* gives his reason for not going up the Delaware.

[6] Various papers relating to the raid and the inquiry are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. liv. For the inquiry, see also the *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 704. A diary of Andrew Lee is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. 167. The current American and British accounts are in Moore's *Diary*, i. 482.

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Howe had been six weeks at sea, with three weeks' provisions, when he landed at the Head of Elk.[1]

Upon Washington's march to confront Howe, see, for the preliminary movements, William J. Buck's paper on "Washington's Head Quarters on the Neshaminy," in the *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, i. 275.[2]

Upon the battle on the Brandywine the main American source is the letters of Washington. With Washington's aid, R. H. Harrison wrote to Congress from Chad's Ford, Sept. 11th, at 5 P. M., a letter which was at once circulated in broadside (Sabin, iii. p. 463; Hildeburn, no. 3,533). Pickering drafted for the commander-in-chief the report (*Life of T. Pickering*, i. 157) written at Chester, at midnight, September 11th (Sparks, i. 251; v. 58; Dawson, i. 278). Hamilton was on Washington's staff (J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Hamilton*). C. C. Pinckney, also on the staff, wrote a letter in 1820 (*Hist. Mag.*, July, 1866, x. 202). Marshall, as a participant, drew somewhat upon personal experience in his account in the *Life of Washington*. Lafayette's narrative, as given to Sparks, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxii. Cf. also Lafayette's *Mémoires*). There is a journal of Capt. William Beatty, of the Maryland line, in the *Hist. Mag.*, 2d ser., i. 79. Sparks examines some of the disputed points of the battle.[4]

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM HOWE.[3]

1 Hamilton's *Works*, vii. 519; *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 673; Jones's *New York*, ii. 431. His advance is followed in Futhey's Paoli address, and in his notes as printed in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* Cf. also Montresor's journal.

2 The orders of march are recorded in W. T. R. Saffell's *Records of the Rev. War* (p. 333), and John Adams's account of the march through Philadelphia is in his *Familiar Letters*. A sermon preached on the eve of the battle of Brandywine, by Rev. Jacob Trout, Sept. 10th, is given in L. M. Post's *Personal Recoll. of the Amer. Rev.* (1859, — App.); *Penna. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i.; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, March, 1885, p. 281 (fac-simile). Confidence prevailed in Philadelphia that Howe could be beaten. Shippen letters in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1864, p. 32.

3 From Andrews's *Hist. of the War*, London, 1785, vol. i. It is reëngraved in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 412. Cf. engraving in Irving's *Washington*, illus. ed., New York, 1857, ii. Sargent gives a clever presentation of the character of Howe in his *André*, p. 136.

4 *Washington*, vol. v. App. p. 456. Some confusion has arisen from the fact that the ford called Buffenton's at a later day was not the one so known at the time of the battle, and there are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. iii.) some letters upon this point from William B. Reed (with a small pen-map) and Alfred Elwyn.

There has been some question upon the responsibility of Sullivan for the defeat; but Washington asked to

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There are contemporary records and opinions in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., x. 316; the letter of the N. H. delegates in Congress in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 678; current reports in Moore's *Diary*, 495; gossip in Adams's *Familiar Letters*, 296, etc.; Knox's account (Sept. 13th) in Drake's *Knox*, 48.[1]

On the British side, we find Howe's report, Oct. 10th, to Germain in Almon, v. 409; Dawson, i. 281. Cf. the evidence before Parliament in the *Conduct of the War* and the narrative in Stedman.[2]

The Hessian participancy is examined in Lowell's *Hessians*, 197. Bancroft quotes Ewald's *Beyspiele grosser Helden* as the testimony of an eyewitness of Washington's well-conducted retreat.[3]

A portion of the British troops used breechloaders.[4]

The movements of the opposing armies toward Philadelphia can be followed in the main in the authorities cited for the battle. Some local details are in Pennypacker's *Phœnixville*, and an account of the damage done by the British on the march is in Smith's *Delaware County* (p. 544).

For the Paoli attack, we have Wayne's defence at the court-martial in Dawson, i. 315, and in the *One hundredth anniversary of the Paoli massacre*, p. 52, which last contains also, beside sundry contemporary records, the addresses of J. S. Futhey (also in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, i. 285) and Wayne McVeagh. The report of Howe to Germain is in Dawson, i. 317.[5]

On Sept. 26th, Washington described the state of the army, then at Potsgrove (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1884, p. 461). He was foiled by a rain in an effort to hold the British once more at bay, and Howe entered Philadelphia.[6]

Sullivan, with the charge of inefficiency for Brandywine still hanging over him, was the first to encounter the outposts of the British at Chestnut Hill, when he opened the day of Ger-

be allowed to suspend the execution of the orders of Congress, withdrawing Sullivan from the army. Bancroft (ix. 395) has been the chief accuser of late, and T. C. Amory, in his *Mil. Services of Gen. Sullivan* (pp. 45, 50), the principal defender. Sullivan's letter to Congress, Sept. 27th, which Bancroft (ix. 397) considers "essential to a correct understanding of the battle," is in *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 208; Dawson, i. 279; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec., 1866, p. 407; his letter of vindication, Nov. 5th, is in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 743. A copy of Sullivan's defence (Nov. 9, 1777) is among the Langdon Papers, and is copied in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii. p. 199). The counter-arguments of the case are examined in the *Penna. Hist. Soc. Bulletin*, vol. i. Read's *George Read*, 273, questions Sullivan's vigilance. Cf. Sparks's *Washington*, v. 108, 456, for the charges against Sullivan. Bancroft also criticises the conduct of Greene, and Geo. W. Greene (*Life of Greene*, i. 447, 453; ii. 460) defends that general.

[1] Cf. Reed's *Reed*, i. ch. 15; Read's *George Read;* Lee's *War in the Southern Dep't.*, 16; Muhlenberg's *Muhlenberg*, ch. 3, and the *Bland Papers*. For special treatment, see Carrington, ch. 50; Dawson, ch. 24; the account by Joseph Townsend, and the sketch by J. S. Bowen and J. S. Futhey, in *Penna. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, i., where various essential documents are printed; H. M. Jenkins in *Lippincott's Mag.*, xxx. 329; *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vii. 94. There are local aspects in Smith's *Delaware County*, p. 305, and Lewis's *Chester County*. The services of John Shreve, of the New Jersey line, are told in *Mag. Amer. Hist.* (1879), iii. 565. The widow of a wounded guide, Francis Jacobs, applied for a pension as late as 1858 (*Senate Repts., no. 213, 35th Cong., 1st sess.*). Washington's headquarters are shown in Smith's *Del. County*, p. 304, and *Penna. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i.; and Lafayette's in Smith, 310. A view of the field is given in Day's *Hist. Coll. Penna.*, p. 213.

Accounts more or less general are in Gordon, Irving (iii. ch. 18), Lossing, Gay (iii. 543), Thaddeus Allen's *Origination of the Amer. Union;* Hollister's *Conn.*, ii. ch. 16; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, ii. 310. Washington seems to have been poorly informed about the country, and to have relied on false intelligence.

[2] The Journal of Capt. John Montresor, July 1, 1777, to July 1, 1778, edited by G. D. Scull, is in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, v. 393; vi. 34, 189, 284, 295, with corrections, 372. There are letters in Scull's *Evelyns in America*, 244; Moore's *Laurens Correspondence*, 52; and others from Gen. Fitzpatrick in *Walpole's Letters*.

[3] Cf. Eelking, ch. 6, and Du Portail in Mahon, vi. App. 27.

[4] Bisset's *George III.*, ch. 19, 25; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, April, 1879, p. 240, and July, p. 351; J. Watts de Peyster in *Scribner's Monthly*, April, 1880, p. 940.

[5] Cf. also Moore's *Diary*, 498; Pennypacker's *Phœnixville*, 101; Bell's address in Hazard's *Register; Laurens Correspondence*, 53; *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 375; iv. 346; J. W. De Peyster in *United Service*, 1886, p. 318; and lives of Wayne by Armstrong and Moore.

[6] Howe's *Narrative;* the *Conduct of the War;* Ross's *Cornwallis;* papers on the war in *Penna. Archives*, 1st, v., and 2d, iii.; Thomas Paine's letter to Franklin (*Penna. Mag. Hist.*, ii. 283); *Penna. Evening Post;* Watson's *Annals of Philad.;* Drake's *Knox;* Greene's *Greene; Mem. of B. Tallmadge;* Bancroft, ix. ch. 23, etc. Howe's proclamations during this period are noted in the *Catalogue Philad. Library*, p. 1553; Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press* (under 1777).

Congress fled to York, and occupied the old court-house, of which a view, in fac-simile of an old print, is given in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1885, p. 552.

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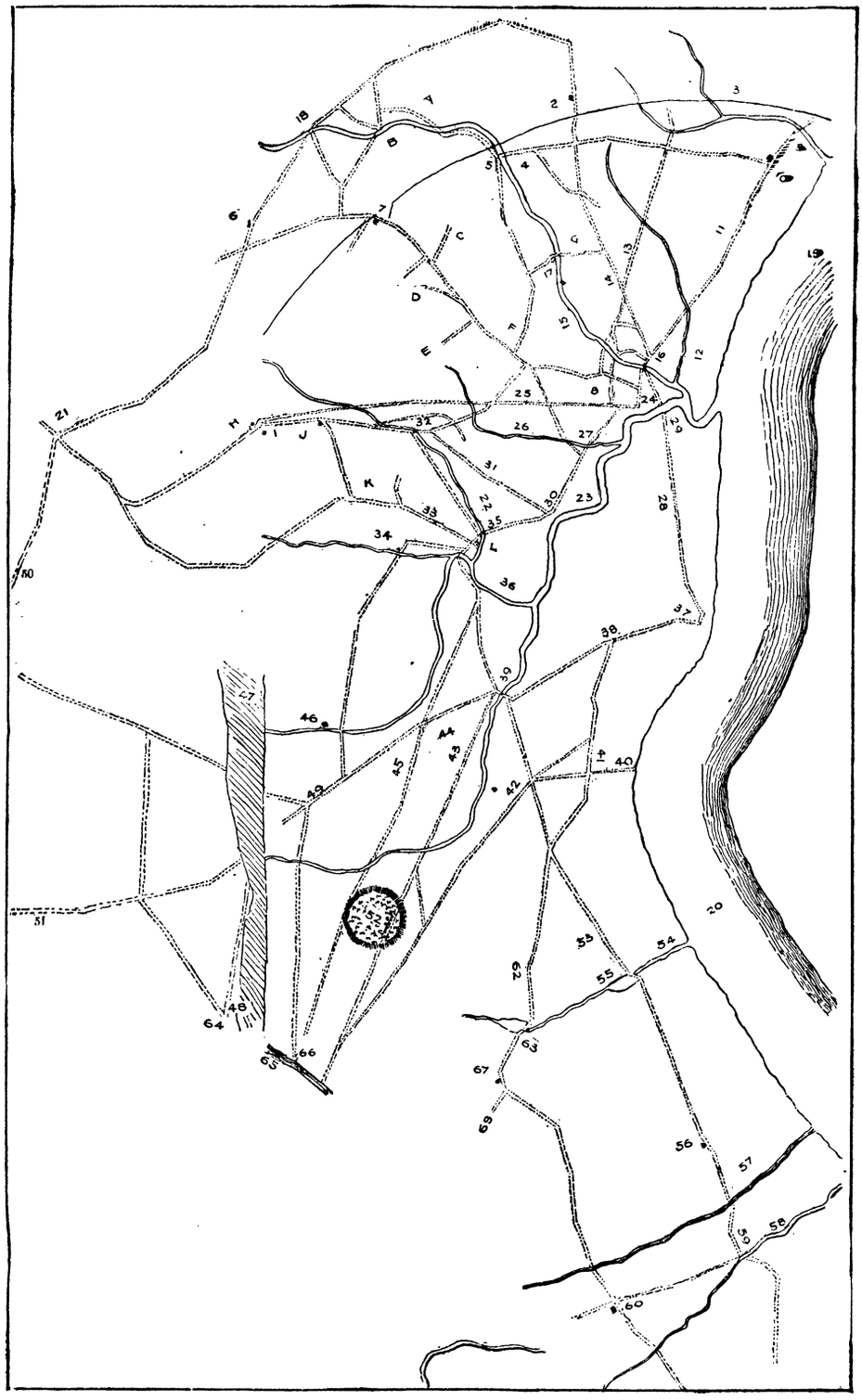
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mantown. His letter (Oct. 25th) addressed to the president of New Hampshire was first printed by Sparks.[1]

Washington's letters to Congress and others are of the first importance.[2]

In Timothy Pickering's *Life* (i. 166) there is an account of the battle from his journal, which sustains the positions taken by Pickering in 1826, — though he does not refer to it at that time, — in the controversy which was waged by him and Sparks with Johnson, the author of the *Life of Greene*.[3]

NOTE TO THE OPPOSITE MAP. — Washington's map of the Brandywine campaign, on the opposite page, is reduced from a tracing of the original in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The legends upon it in Washington's handwriting are noted in the following key by letters, while those of the surveyor are given by figures. At one end of the map is the following inscription: "Laid down at 200 p^{r} in an Inch, the 27th day of August, An. Dom^{i} 1777. P^{r} Jais. Broom, Surv^{r}. N. Castle Co^{y}." At the other end is the following table: —

	m.	*q.*	*p^{s}.*
"From Chester County to Brandywine	7	0	21
From Brandywine to New Castle . .	6	1	19
From New Castle to Red Lyon . .	7	1	0
From Red Lyon to St. George . . .	3	2	46
From St. George to Cantwell's Bridge	7	0	60
From Cantwell's to Blackbird . . .	5	2	70
	—	—	—
	37	0	56

	m.	*q.*	*p^{s}.*
From Chester County to Brandywine	7	0	21
From Brandywine to Newport . . .	4	0	79
From Newport to Bridgetown . . .	5	0	12
From Bridgetown to Red Lyon . .	4	0	19
From Red Lyon to Harris Inn . .	5	2	51
From Harris Inn to Witherspoon's .	6	1	44
From Witherspoon's to Blackbird . .	6	1	42
	—	—	—
	38	3	28
From New Castle to Christiana Bridge	4	3	45"

KEY: A, Chandler Ford, very good, but very broken ground and narrow defiles on the Et. side. B, Fording place by Thomas Gibson's. C, To Gibson's Ford. D, Road leading to Kennet's Square. E, Road leading towards Red Clay Creek. F, Hendrickson's Tavern. G, Richland fording place. H, Tavern. I, Smith's Store. J, James Walker. K, Mill Town. L, Rising Sun Tavern.

1, The Bottom Road, passing Brandywine at Chad's Ford (18). 2, Newlin's. 3, The line dividing the counties of Chester and Newcastle. [This is the curved northern boundary of Delaware.] 4, Gibson's Mill. 5, Gibson's Ford. The Center Road [runs to F]. 6, Kennet Meeting-house. 7, Clark's Inn. 8 [to 7 and beyond], The Road leading from Wilmington to Kennet's. 9, Naaman's Creek. 10, Grubb's Inn. Grubb's Road [leads from 10 to 5]. 11, The Road leading from Wilmington to Chester. 12, Shelpot Creek. 13, Foulk's Road. 14, The Concord Road. 15, Brandywine Creek. This creek, except the fording place, impassable. 16, Bridge. 17, M'Kim's [?] Mill. 18, Chad's Ford. 19, 20, Delaware River. 21, Wm. Miller's Mill. 22, Red Clay Creek. 23, Christiana River. 24, The Borough of Wilmington. 25, The Road leading from Wilmington towards Lancaster. 26, Mill Creek. 27, Bridge. 28, The Road leading from Wilmington to Newcastle. 29, Ferry. 30, Newport. 31, The Road leading from Newport towards Lancaster [with bridge at 32]. 33, The Lancaster Road. 34, Mill creek. 35, Bridge. 36 [to 46], White Clay Creek. 37, New Castle. 38, The Road leading from N. Castle to Christiana Bridge. 39, Bridge [Christiana]. 40, Hamburgh. 41, [The Road] to the Red Lyon. 42, The Road leading from New Castle to the Elk River. 43, The Road leading from Christiana Bridge to Elk River. 44, Ogle Town. 45, The Road leading from Ogletown to the Head of Elk. 46, Mill of Capt. Black's. 47, 48, [Shaded space showing where the original is worn through]. 49, Newark. 50, The Road to Johnson Ferry on Susquehanna. 51, [Road to Nottingham]. 52, Iron Hill. 53, The Road leading from Red Lyon to Black Bird Creek. 54, St. George's Creek. 55, Mill Pond. 56, Trap [?] 57, Drawyer's Creek. 58, Appoquinimink Creek. 59, Cantwell's Bridge. 60, Witherspoon's. 61. Part of Bohemia. 62, The upper Road leading from Red Lyon to Blackbird Creek. 63, Clemon Mill. 64, Elk. 65, Part of Elk River. 66, Joseph Gilpin's. 67, Harris Inn. 68, The Road leading towards Bohemia.

[1] *Washington*, v. 463; Dawson, 326; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec., 1866, p. 418; Amory's *Sullivan*, 57; and in part in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 705.

[2] Sparks, v. 78, 86, 102; Dawson, i. 325; Heath Papers, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 76. Other contemporary evidence is in the letters of Wayne (Dawson, i. 328; cf. lives of Wayne); Gen. Adam Stephen (Sparks, v. 467); Gen. Armstrong (Dawson, 329); Knox (Drake, 52); William Heth (Leake's *Lamb*, 183). Other contemporary statements and documents are in Moore's *Diary*, 504; *Penna. Archives*, v. 646; *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 13, 399, 400, 401; ii. 283; Tilghman's *Memoirs*, 160; Davis's *Lacey*, 48; Watson's *Annals of Philad.*, ii. 67; *Hist. Mag.*, xi., 82, 148; Moore's *Laurens, Corresp.*, 54. Accounts of participants given at a later day are by C. C. Pinckney (1820), who was on Washington's staff (*Hist. Mag.*, x. 202), and Col. J. E. Howard, who addressed a letter to Pickering in 1827, a copy of which in his own hand, with a rude plan, is in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xlix. vol. i., and it is printed in Sparks, v. 468.

[3] Cf. *No. Amer. Rev.*, April, 1825, p. 381; Oct., 1826, p. 414; *National Intelligencer*, Dec. 5, 1826, and Jan. 27, Feb. 24, 1827. Cf. Hazard's *Register*, i. 49. On the 21st November, 1777, James Lovell at York expressed the discontent with Washington in a letter to Joseph Whipple at Portsmouth. He complained that the naval

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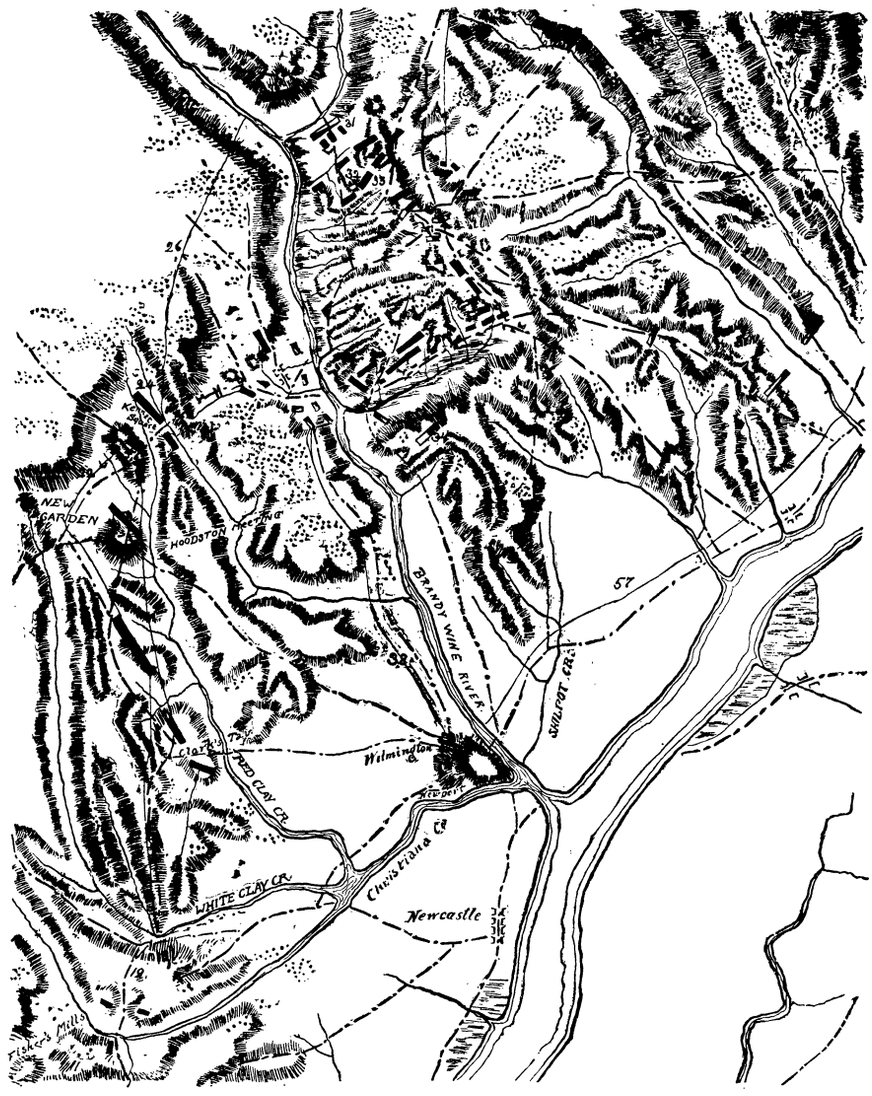

BRANDYWINE.[1]

force at Fort Mifflin was not properly seconded by the land force; and adds: "I have reason to think the battle of Germantown was *the* day of salvation offered by Heaven to us, and that such another is not to be looked for in ten campaigns."

[1] Sketched from a large MS. Hessian map in the library of Congress, *Plan générale des opérations de l'armée Britannique contre les Rebelles*, etc. KEY: "19, Marche de l'armée pour New Gardens. 22, Marche du général Knyphausen pour Kennet Square, 9 Sept. 24, Camp que l'armée occupa aux environs de Kennet Square. 26, Marche du général Cornwallis vers le Brandywine. 30, Première position du Gen. Cornwallis. 31, 2me position de ce général. 32, Attaque de ce général. 33, Position des enemis. 34, Retraite des enemis. 38, Marche du corps detaché à Wilmington. 57, Marche du corps detaché à Wilmington pour Philadelphia le 16 Oct." The lines (- — - —) represent roads.

The published plans of Brandywine are the following: In the *Examination of Joseph Galloway and letters on the Conduct of the war.* In Sparks's *Washington*, v. 58. Cf. also Duer's *Stirling*, ii.; Irving's *Washington*, iii. 190. In Marshall's *Washington*, vol. v. Sketch by J. S. Bowen and J. S. Futhey in *Penna.*

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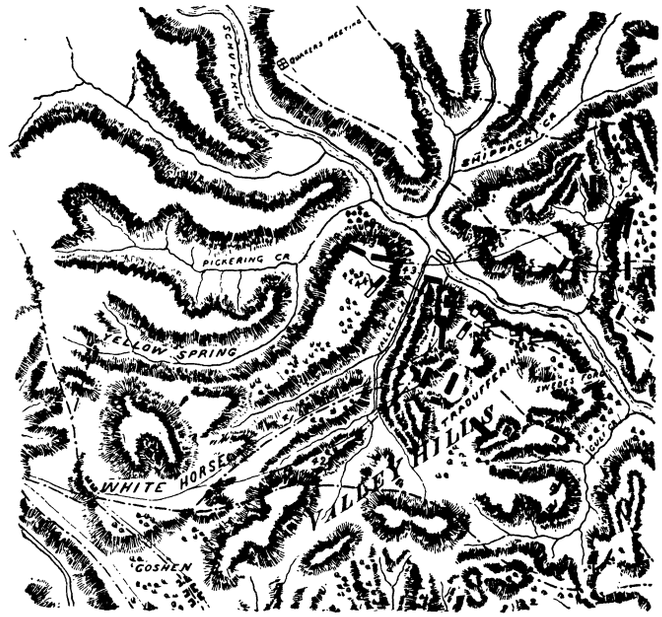
Of the writers near the event, Gordon drew from original sources; Marshall was an actor in the scenes; and there are accounts in Wilkinson, i. 353, 359, 361. G. W. P. Custis's *Recollections*, ch. 4, and the later writers need to be consulted.[1]

On the English side, Howe's despatch to Germain is in Dawson (i. 330). The letter of a British officer, dated Philadelphia, Oct. 19, 1777 (London Chronicle, Jan. 3–6, 1778), is reprinted in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, April, 1887, p. 112.[2]

The seaward defence of Philadelphia depended on the forts Mercer and Mifflin, on the



TRUDRUFFRIN, OR PAOLI.[3]

Hist. Soc. Bull., i. no. 7 (1846). In *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., x. 316; Carrington's *Battles*, p. 382; Hamilton's *Grenadier Guards*, ii.; Lowell's *Hessians*, 198; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 377 (with views of the ground, 378, 379).

There are among the Faden maps (nos. 78, 79) in the library of Congress a careful topographical drawing of the battle of Brandywine, and a corrected proof of the map as published by Faden in 1778. There are among the Faden maps (nos. 80, 80½) plans, by the Hessian Wangenheim, of the camp at Wilmington to cover the British hospitals after the fight at Brandywine, and a map of the positions of the army in the action of Sept. 19th, as well as Cornwallis's march in November to Philadelphia.

[1] Lives of Washington by Sparks (vol. i.), Irving (iii. ch. 23); of Greene by Johnson and Greene; Muhlenberg's *Muhlenberg;* the collated narrative in Dawson (i. 318); the military criticism in Carrington (ch. 51), and accounts in Bancroft (ix. 424, — controverted in Amory's *Sullivan*); Reed's *Reed* (i. 319); Sargent's *André* (p. 112); Lossing, Gay, etc. Cf. Lowell's *Hessians* (p. 197); notes in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix. 183; *Harper's Mag.* (i. 148; vii. 448); Potter's *Amer. Monthly* (vii. 81); T. Ward on the Germantown Road, in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, v. p. 1, etc. At the centennial ceremonies in 1877 there were addresses by Judge Thayer and by A. C. Lambdin (*Penna. Mag. Hist.*, i. 361).

[2] Cf. Stedman (i. ch. 15); Mahon (vi. 163); Hamilton's *Grenadier Guards* (vol. ii.). Also see Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i. 369, for Howe's orders; Hunter's diary in Moorsom's *Fifty-second Reg.*, 20; Lord Lindsay in *Memoirs of Admiral Gambier* (*Hist. Mag.*, v. 69); Harcourt in *Evelyns in America*, 244.

[3] Sketched from a portion of a MS. Hessian map in the library of Congress, called *Plan générale des opérations de l'armée Britannique contre les Rebelles*, etc. The lines (· — · —) represent roads.

KEY: "41, marche du général Knyphausen et son camp le 18me; 42, marche du général Cornwallis le même jour; 43, camp du corps près de Valley Forge; 44, corps des Rebelles surpris par le général Grey le 21me; 45, camp et marche du général Knyphausen le 21me; 46, marche de l'armée par le Schuylkill près de Valley Forge, et le camp qu'elle occupa le 23me près de Norris Town House." The British are shown in solid black blocks, the Americans in black and white.

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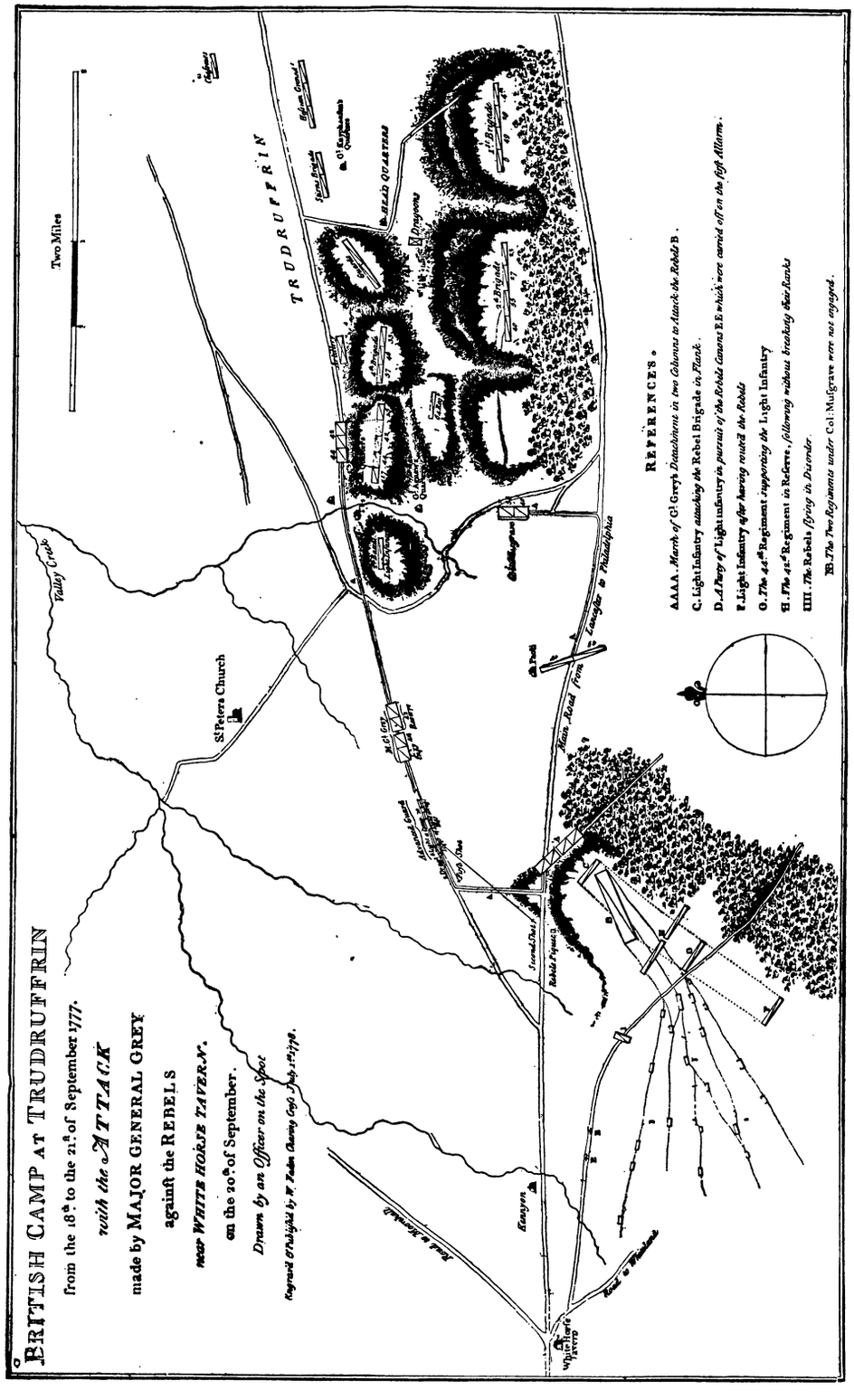
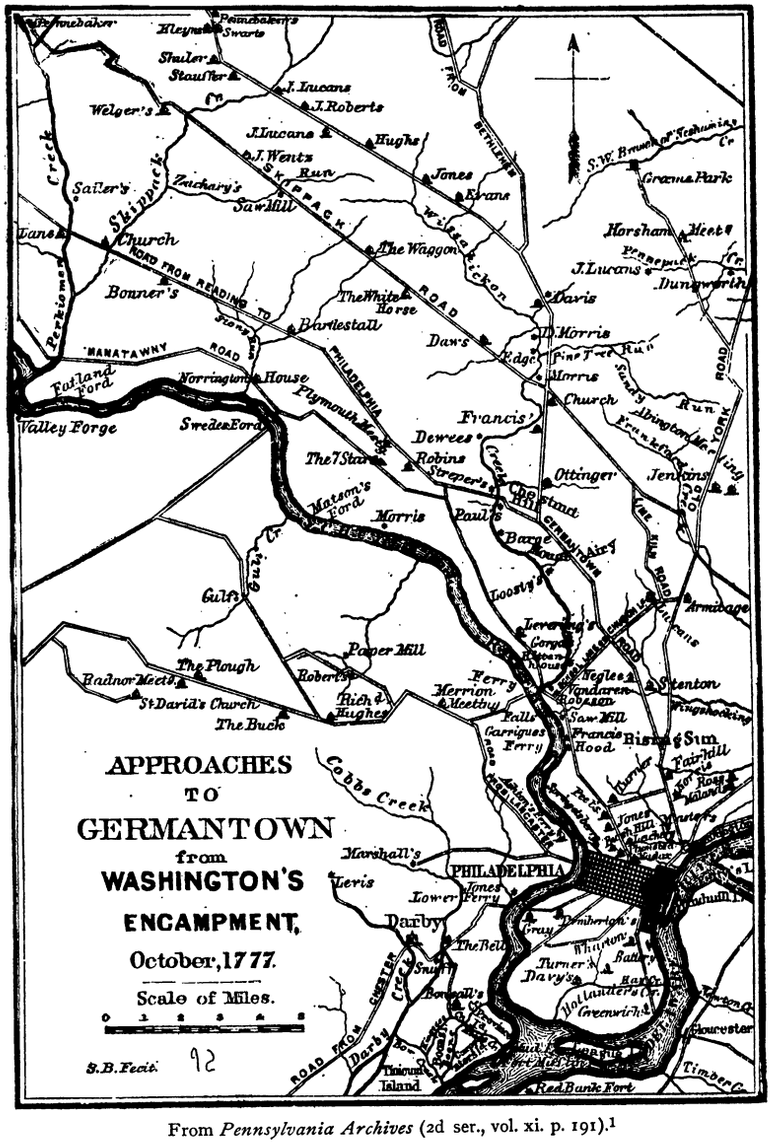

BRITISH CAMP AT TRUDRUFFRIN
from the 18th to the 21st of September 1777.
with the ATTACK
made by MAJOR GENERAL GREY
against the REBELS
near WHITE HORSE TAVERN.
on the 20th of September.
Drawn by an Officer on the Spot
Engraved & Published by W. Faden Charing Cross, July 1st 1778.
Two Miles
TRUDRUFFRIN
St Peters Church
Valley Creek
Lancaster & Philadelphia
Swedes Ford
Rebels Pursued
Conyn
REFERENCES.
AAAA. March of Gl Grey's Detachment in two Columns to Attack the Rebels B.
C. Light Infantry attacking the Rebel Brigade in Flank.
D. A Party of Light infantry in pursuit of the Rebels Cannon EE which were carried off on the first Alarm.
F. Light Infantry after having routed the Rebels
G. The 44th Regiment supporting the Light Infantry
H. The 42d Regiment in Reserve, following without breaking their Ranks
IIII. The Rebels flying in Disorder.
KK. The two Regiments under Col: Musgrave were not engaged.



From *Pennsylvania Archives* (2d ser., vol. xi. p. 191).[1]

chevaux-de-frise in the river, and on the Pennsylvania navy. Howe's first attempt, in October, to get his shipping up to support his army failed.[2]

The *chevaux-de-frise* at Billingsport was laid by Robert Whyte, who went subsequently over to the enemy, and he is charged with placing

NOTE. — The opposite map is a fac-simile from one of Faden's maps. There is among the copies of the Lafayette maps in the Sparks collection at Cornell University one of the *British Camp at Trudruffrin, from the 13th to the 21st of September, with the attack made by Major-General Grey against the Rebels near White Horse tavern on the 20th of September.* This is merely a transcript of the Faden map, of which there is a fac-simile in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 285. Cf. *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., x. 316. The MS. of Faden's maps is among the Faden maps in the library of Congress (no. 81). There is a view of the Paoli monument in Scharf and Westcott's *Philad.*, i. 349, and in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 372.

1 Cf. the maps in Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 353, and in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 375.

2 Wallace's *Col. Wm. Bradford, the patriot printer of 1776* (Philad., 1884), ch. 30; Bancroft, ix. ch. 25.

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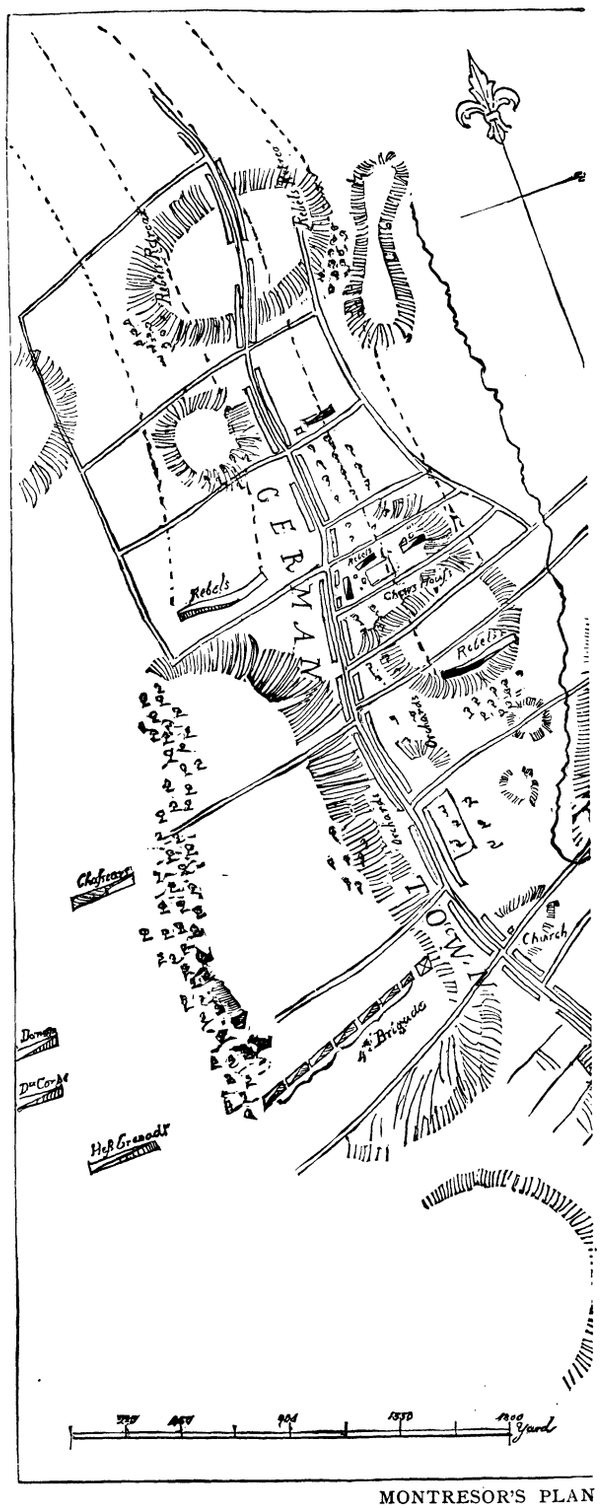
NOTE. — This map is sketched after an original in Harvard College library. There is a duplicate, evidently made by the same hand, among the Peter Force maps, in the library of Congress. The map was engraved and published in London. There is a map published by Faden in London, March 12, 1784, which is not trustworthy, however, as to roads, which was called *Sketch of the Surprise of Germantown by the American forces commanded by General Washington, Oct. 4, 1777, by J*[ohn] *Hills, Lt. 23d Reg.*

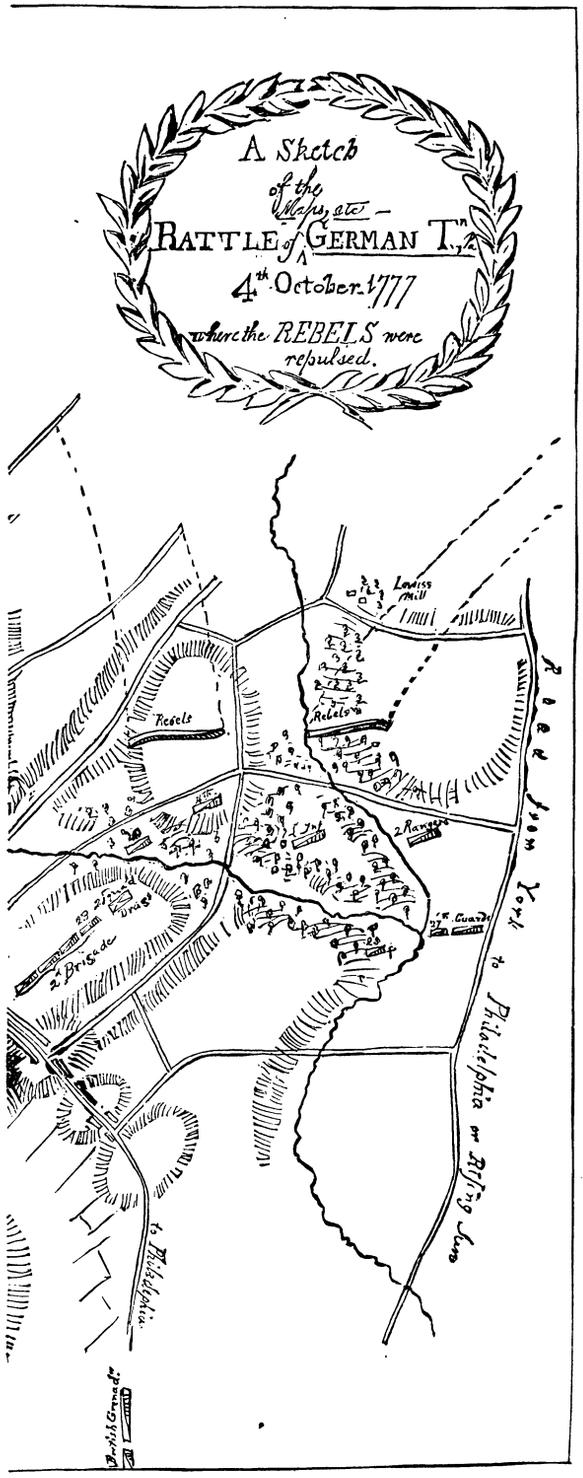
Other published maps are the following: in Johnson's *Greene*, i. 80 (showing three stages); Sparks's *Washington*, v. 86 (also in Duer's *Stirling*, ii. 177; Irving's illustrated *Washington*, iii. 286; Guizot's *Atlas*); Carrington's *Battles*, 392; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 314; Scharf and Westcott's *Philad.*, i. 354; *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., xi. 188; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 368.

For views of the Chew House, see Day's *Hist. Coll. of Penna.*, 492; Scharf and Westcott's *Philad.*, i. 356; Egle's *Penna.*, 178; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 514; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (March, 1880), iv. 192.

The following are the main portions of Howe's despatch to Lord George Germain, dated at Germantown, Oct. 10, 1777: "The enemy marched at six o'clock in the evening of the third from their camp near Skippach Creek, about sixteen miles from Germantown. This village forms one continued street for two miles, which the line of the encampment, in the position the army then occupied, crossed at right angles, near a mile from the head of it, where the second battalion of light infantry and the fortieth regiment were posted. At three o'clock in the morning of the fourth, the patrols discovered the enemy's approach, and the army was immediately ordered under arms. Soon after the break of day the enemy began their attack upon the second light infantry, which they sustained for a considerable time, supported by the fortieth regiment; but at length being overpowered by increasing numbers, the light infantry and a part of the fortieth retired into the village, when Lieutenant-Colonel Mulgrave with six companies of the latter corps threw themselves into a large stone house [Chew's], which, though surrounded by a brigade, and attacked by four pieces of cannon, he most gallantly defended, until Major-General Grey,



MONTRESOR'S PLAN



OF GERMANTOWN.

at the head of three battalions of the third brigade, turning his front to the village, and Brigadier-General Agnew, who covered Major-General Grey's left with the fourth brigade, by a vigorous attack repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. The fifth and fifty-fifth regiments from the right, engaging them at the same time on the other side of the village, completed the defeat of the enemy in this quarter. The regiments of Du Corps and Donop being formed to support the left of the fourth brigade and one battalion of the Hessian grenadiers in the rear of the Chasseurs, were not engaged. The precipitate flight of the enemy preventing the two first corps from entering into action, and the success of the Chasseurs in repelling all efforts against them on that side, did not call for the support of the latter. The first light infantry and the pickets of the line in front of the right wing were engaged soon after the attack began upon the head of the village. The pickets were obliged to fall back, but the light infantry, being well supported by the fourth regiment, sustained the enemy's attack with such determined bravery that they could not make the least impression on them.

"Two columns of the enemy were opposite to the guards, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regiments, who formed the right of the line. Major-General Grant, who was upon the right, moved up the forty-ninth regiment about the time that Major-General Grey had forced the enemy in the village, and then advancing with the right wing, the enemy's left gave way, and was pursued through a strong country between four and five miles.

"Lord Cornwallis, being early apprised, at Philadelphia, of the enemy's approach, put in motion the two battalions of the British and one of the Hessian grenadiers, with a squadron of dragoons, and his lordship getting to Germantown just as the enemy had been forced out of the village, he joined Major-General Grey, when, placing himself at the head of the troops, he followed the enemy eight miles on the Skippach road; but such was the expedition with which they fled, he was not able to overtake them. The grenadiers from Philadelphia, who, full of ardor, had run most of the way to Germantown, could not arrive in time to join in the action."

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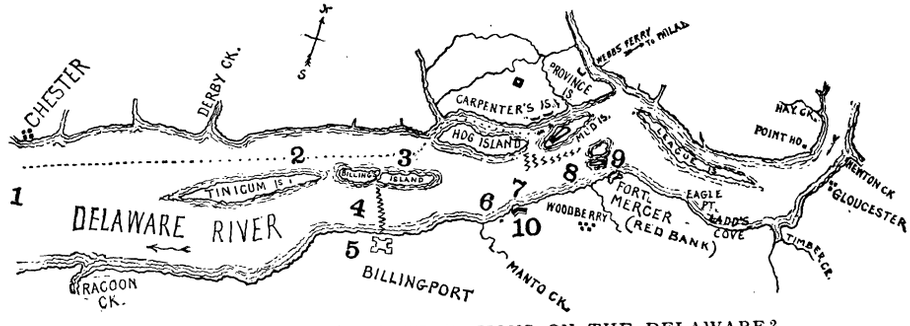
BUCKINGHAM MEETG.
BAPTIST MEETG.
S. W. BRANCH.
CROOKED BILLET
DUTCH MEETG.
BAPTIST MEETG.
SANDY RUN
CHURCH
WHITE MARSH
FLOURTOWN
JENKINS TOWN
BLACK HORSE
OXFORD CHURCH
GERMANTOWN
MEETING
MEETING
MEETING

STENTON (JAMES LOGAN'S HOUSE).[1]



FADEN'S MAP OF THE OPERATIONS ON THE DELAWARE.[2]

1 This view of the house occupied by Howe and Washington as headquarters is taken from a painting in the Penna. Hist. Society. It is a rear view of the building. There is in the same collection a pen-and-ink sketch by Joseph Pennell. The position of the house can be seen in the map on another page, called "Approaches to Germantown." Howe occupied it at the time of the battle of Germantown. Cf. Scharf and Westcott, p. 871.

2 Sketched from an adaptation of Faden's *Course of the Delaware river from Philadelphia to Chester, exhibiting the several works erected by the rebels to defend its passage, with the attacks made upon them by his majesty's land and sea forces, engraved by Wm. Faden*, 1778, which is given in Wallace's *Col. Wm. Bradford*, p. 228.

KEY: 1, Lord Howe in the "Eagle," with the "Apollo" and transports; 2, the "Camille" and "Zebra;" 3, the "Vigilant" and "Fury," which moved up by the dotted line to a position in the channel between Mud Island and Carpenter's Island, to attack Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island; 4, the "Experiment" and transports, below the "lower stackadoes" (shown by the zigzag line) through which there was a passage of seventeen feet near the fort at "Billingport," which was abandoned to Lt.-Col. Stirling, Oct. 1st; 5, camp on Nov. 18th; 6, wreck of "Merlin;" 7, the "Augusta" blown up; at these points (6 and 7) were the other British vessels, "Somerset," "Isis," "Roebuck," "Pearl," "Liverpool," "Cornwallis's galley," — some attacking Fort Mifflin, others engaging the American fleet at 8, others the battery of two 18-pounders and two 9-pounders at 10; the house of Tench Frances is between this battery and Manto Creek; 8, between the American fleet at this point and Mud Island is the "upper stackadoes" (shown by the zigzags); 9, the nearer of the two islands off Fort Mercer is Woodberry Island, and the other is Red Bank Island. These two islands have since disappeared. The rest of the American fleet was at this point. Beside the shore batteries on Carpenter's Island, there was a redoubt further inland, and another redoubt protected Webb's Ferry and the road to Philadelphia.

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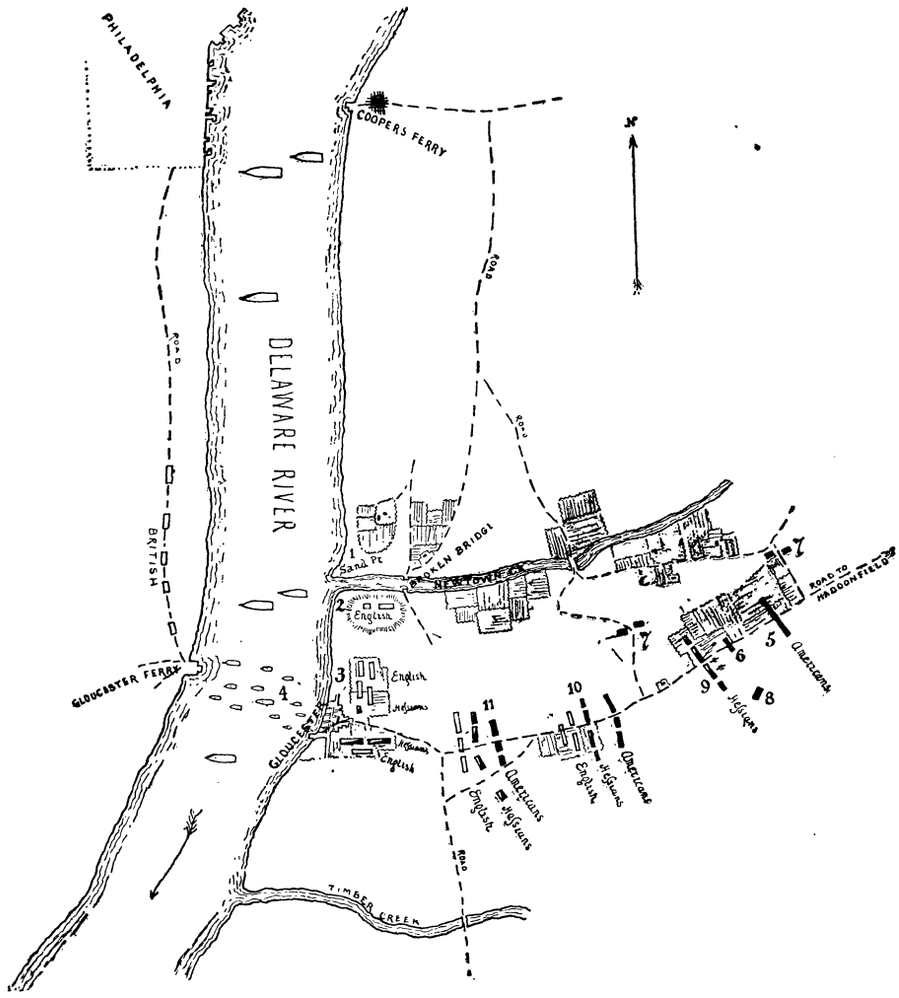

LAFAYETTE'S VICTORY NEAR GLOUCESTER, N. J.[1]

is in Sparks's *Washington*, v. 112, and Dawson, i. 355, as is also Commodore Hazlewood's description of the naval part of the attack.[2]

Lafayette talked with Sparks of Donop (*Sparks MSS.*, xxxii.). Knyphausen's report is in the archives at Marburg, and is used by

[1] This sketch follows a colored map among the Lafayette maps in the Sparks collection at Cornell University, entitled *Carte de l'action de Gloucester entre un parti Américain, sous le Gl. Lafayette et un parti des Troupes de Lord Cornwallis, commandé par ce Gl. après son fourage dans le Jersey, le 25 9bre, 1777.* While Lafayette's forces were at Haddonfield, the enemy at Gloucester were reconnoitred from Sand Point (1), and when the troops moved along the Haddonfield road the American riflemen (6), supported by the militia, attacked the Hessian outposts (9), when detachments were stationed on the cross-roads (7, 7) to protect the American right flank, while some chasseurs (8) threatened the Hessians' right flank. The enemy were driven back (10) till Cornwallis supported them with some English. They were still further pushed back till within a mile of Gloucester (11), when night closed the conflict. The legend on the map puts the English and Hessians (2, 3, 9) at 5,000 men, the boats (4) representing the withdrawal of part of them with their baggage across the river.

Lafayette's narrative, as given by him to Sparks, is in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii.

[2] For other contemporary records see 2 *Penna. Archives*, v.; Moore's *Diary*, 514; Pickering's in *Life of*

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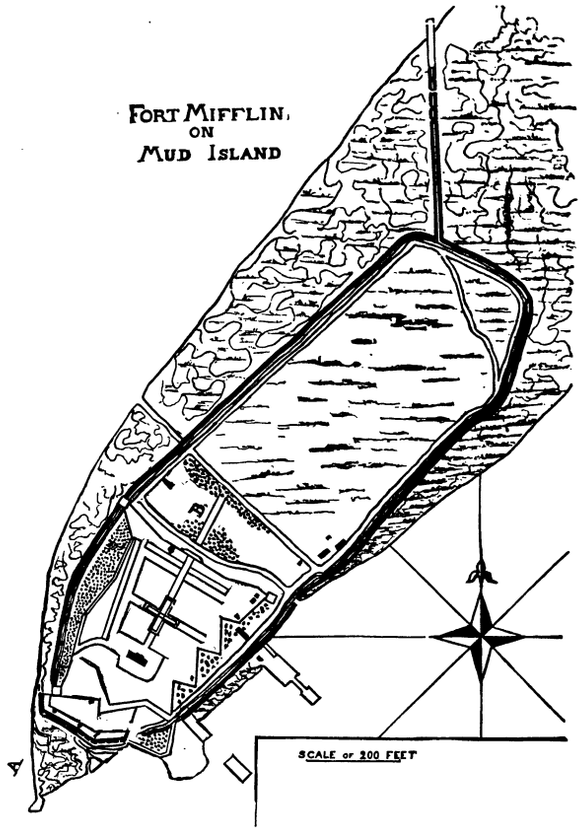

(From a large map in the library of Congress.)

Lowell (*Hessians*, 206). The despatches of the Howes are in Almon (v. 499), and Dawson (i. 356, 357).

Of the attack (Nov. 10–16) on Fort Mifflin (Mud Island) and its evacuation, with the opening of the river to the British fleet, the best garner of contemporary accounts with comment, is in Wallace's *Bradford* (p. 194, etc.), but some of this material is found also elsewhere.[1]

There has been some dispute over the respective claims of Col. Samuel Smith[2] and Commodore Hazlewood for the defence of the fort (Wallace, App. 10).

On the British side we have the despatches of

Pickering, i. 174; Joseph Reed's letter, Oct. 24, to President Wharton (cf. Reed's *Reed*, i. 336); Jones (i. 193) gives the accredited British reports. The best later narrative is in Wallace's *Bradford* (p. 183). Cf. Bancroft, ix. 430; Smith's *Delaware County*, p. 321.

1 Varnum's and Angell's letters in Cowell's *Spirit of '76 in R. I.*, 296; Col. Laurens' diary in the *Army papers of Col. John Laurens*, p. 74, and his letter to Henry Laurens in Moore's *Laurens Correspondence* (1861), p. 63; Major Fleury's diary in Marshall and in Sparks (v. 154); Robert Morton's diary in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (i. 28); Bradford's letter in Force (vi. p. 11). The story as given in the *United States Mag.*, May, 1779 (p. 204), used by Bancroft (ix. 434), is reprinted in the *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, App. 1887, p. 82. Moore (*Diary*, i. 520) reprints the account in the *N. Jersey Gazette*. Washington's instructions and his report to Congress are in Sparks (v. 100, 112, 115, 151, 154; Dawson, i. 364).

Other details are found in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 3, 7, 12, 18, 20, 42; *Penna. Archives*, v. and vi.; Chastellux's *Travels*, Eng. tr., i. 260; *Hist. Mag.*, xxi. 77; Tuckerman's *Com. Talbot;* Hamilton's *Repub. U. S.*, i. 297; *Life of Pickering*, i. 174; Greene's *Greene*, i. 501; Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, Feb., 1877.

2 There is some confusion in the accounts of the grounds given for the defence (Arnold's *Rhode Island*, ii. 410).

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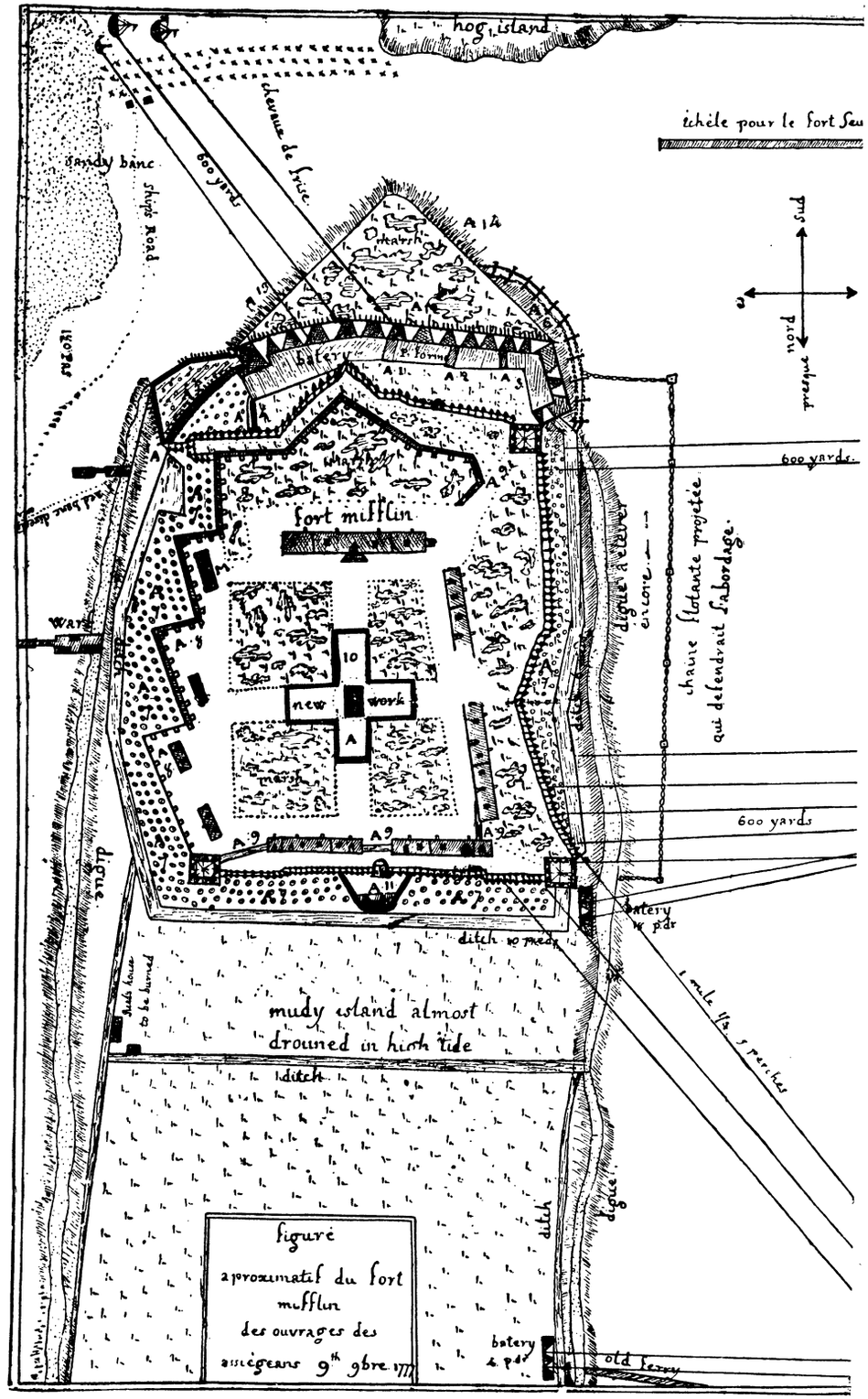
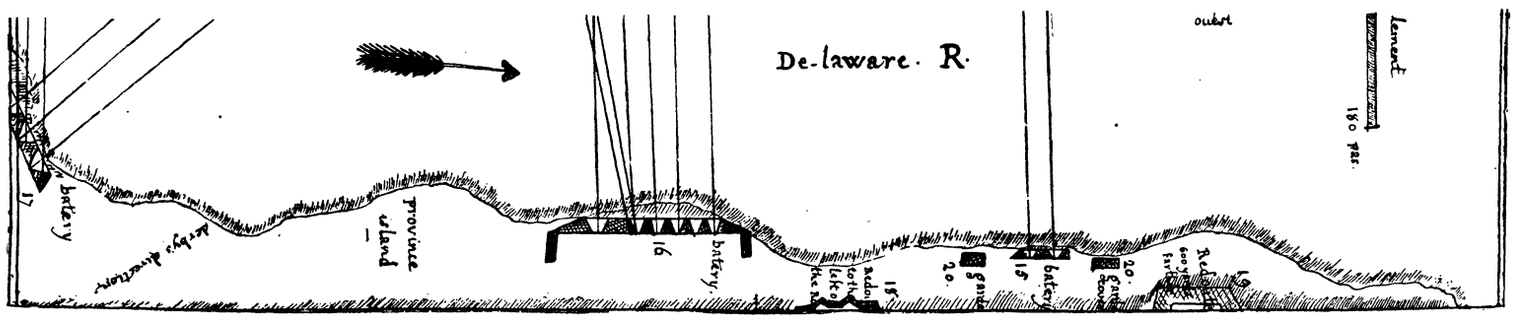

hog island
échèle pour le fort Sec
sandy banc
ship's Road
chevaux de frise
600 yards
A 14
Ostearth
battery
fort mifflin
sud
nord
presque entier
600 yards
chaine flotante projetée qui defendrait l'abordage.
digue à fleur d'eau entiere
WATER
new work
600 yards
battery
ditch
mudy island almost drowned in high tide
1 mile 1/2 5 trenches
figure
approximatif du fort
mifflin
des ouvrages des
assiegeans 9th 9bre 1777
old ferry



FLEURY'S PLAN OF FORT MIFFLIN.

NOTE. — The annexed plan is a fac-simile, somewhat reduced, of a pen-and-ink sketch among the Sparks maps in the library of Cornell University. It is endorsed "Maj. Fleury's Plan of Fort Mifflin," and it bears also on the back in the author's hand these words :

"The engineer author of this imperfect draugh begg endulgence for it; considering that he has not paper, pen, rule, neither circel, and being disturbed by good many shells or cannon balls flying in the fort. LEWIS FLEUR."

The reverse also bears an "Explanation" in French in Fleury's hand, and beneath an English translation in another hand, seemingly made at the time. This last is as follows : —

"Explanation — All marked A are new works. A 1, 2, 3. Traverses to defend the battery from ricochet shot. A 4, 5. Ditches to close the left of the battery, which was open. A 6. A double iron chain which encloses the right of the battery. A 7. Pits with sharp upright stakes to defend the approaches to our enclosure. A 8. Banquet raised round the wall. A 9. Ditches and parapet of reunion between our barracks, which will make a second inclosure and be furnished with loop-holes. A 10. Last retreat in the middle of the Fort, made when we had only 120 men in garrison. A 11. Demilunes to flank the front, substituted to [*sic*] the block house, which was blown up. A 12, 13, 14. Fraise-work.

"15. Enemy's battery of 2 mortars. 16. [Ditto] 5 pieces large cannon, 1 mortar. 17. [Ditto] 2 pieces cannon, 1 mortar. 18. Unfinished Redoubt at a mile and a third from the fort, near the road. 19. A pretty extensive work at about the same distance. 20. Epaulements for the guards."

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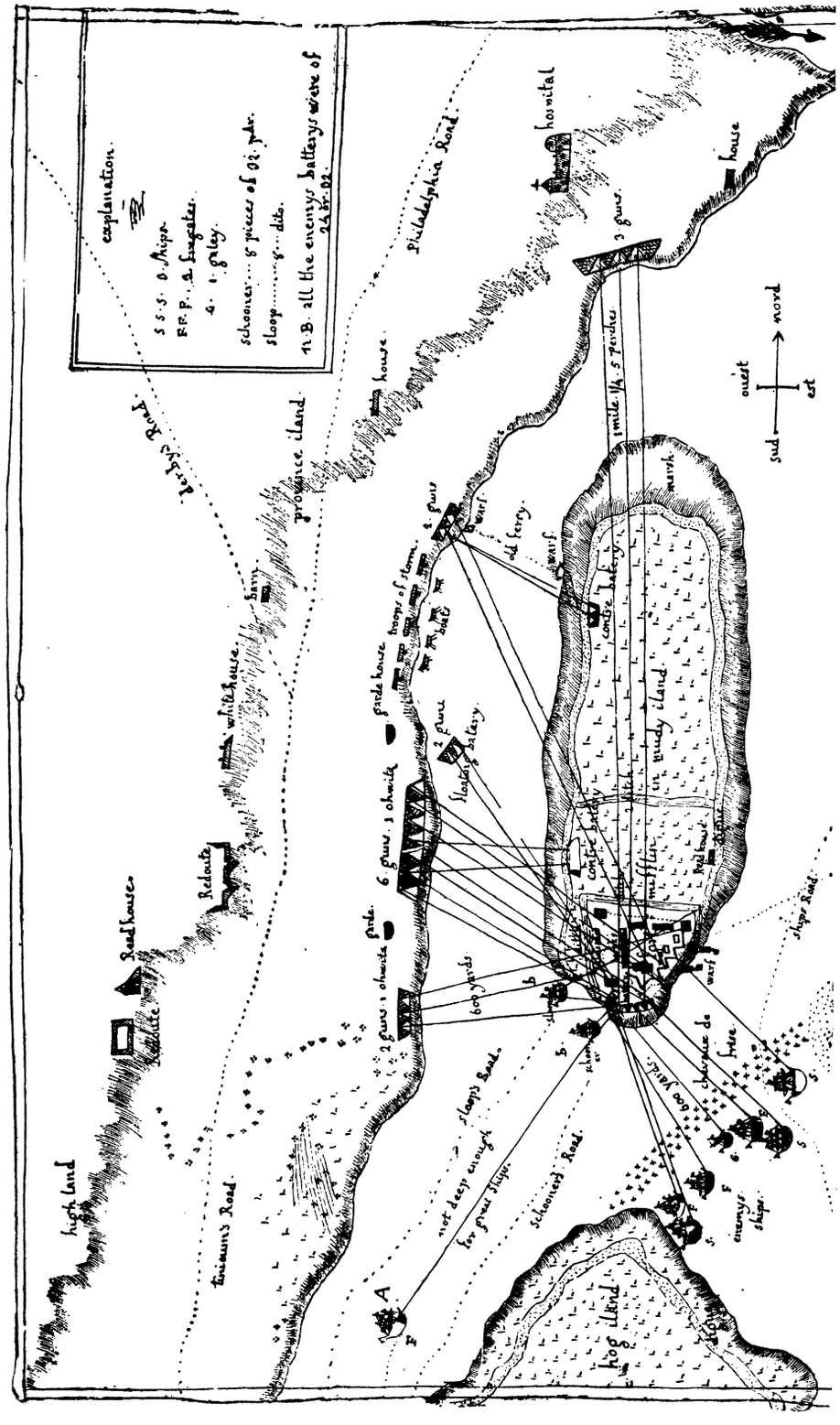
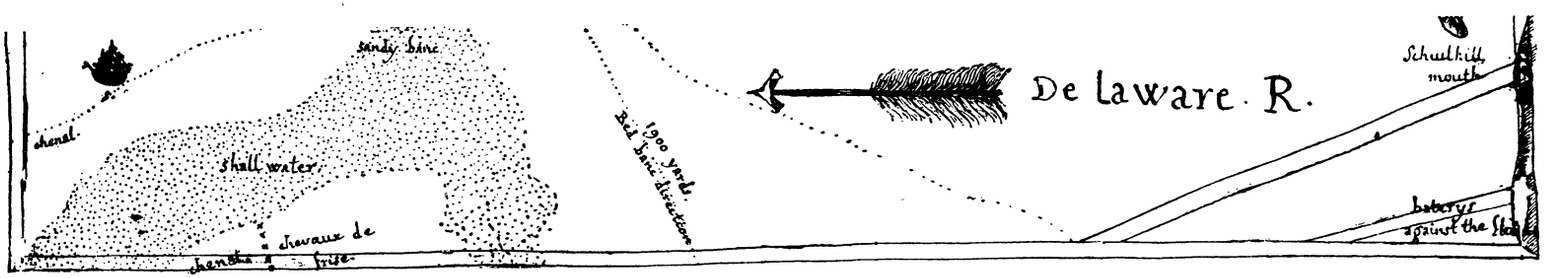

explanation.
5 S.S. 5 Ships
F.F. 2 Frigates
4 1 Galley
schooner... 8 pieces of 32 pdr.
sloop.....6... dito.
N.B. all the enemys batterys were of 24 pdr.
Philadelphia Road
hospital
house
3 guns
Jarvis's Road
province island
barn
whitehouse
Redoubt
Redoubt
Redoubt



ATTACK ON FORT MIFFLIN.

NOTE. — This map is reduced in fac-simile from one of Fleury's pen-and-ink sketches among the Sparks maps at Cornell University. It is endorsed "Mudd Island," but not by Washington, as the *Sparks Catalogue* (p. 207) says. There are noted in the same catalogue (p. 207) two other pen-and-ink drafts of the fort and its vicinity, both apparently the work of Fleury, also. One is smaller, covering much the same ground as the present fac-simile except that it does not show the ships and Hog Island. It is entitled: "Figuré aproximatif de fort island et des ouvrages des assiégeans. 16 octobre, 1777." It has an "Explanation" in French on the reverse, accompanied by a statement that it had been scrawled on a gun-carriage, without compasses, rule, or scale, and under difficulties arising from the bursting of one bomb which carried away his inkstand, and of another which ploughed the ground where he sat.

The other plan is larger, and has been folded like a letter, and is addressed on the outside, "His Excellency General Washington, Headquarters." It shows only the west edge of Mud Island, but marks particularly the distance, range, and armament of the attacking batteries, and is called, "Figuré aproximatif des ouvrages des assiégeans 14 9^{bre}, 1777." It marks the distance from the redoubt on the highland to Fort Mifflin as "1 mile 1-4 5 p." The wharf on the island is described as "où l'enemie déscendra, quoi que nous l'ayons detruite."

Other published maps of Mud Island (Fort Mifflin) are in Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 363; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 296; Wallace's *William Brcdford*, p. 229.

Scharf and Westcott (p. 361) also give a plan made before the attack, by Col. Downman, of the British army.

Red Bank is particularly delineated in Smith's *Delaware Co.*, 321; *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vol. v.; and Lossing, ii. 290, with views, etc.

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the Howes (Dawson, i. 364, 366), the journal of Montresor (*Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, 1882, v. 393; vi. 34); the letters in Scull's *Evelyns in America*, 246, 253; and the account in Rivington's *Gazette*, cited by Wallace.

In addition to the references already made for the two attacks, the entire movements on the river are illustrated more generally in the letters of Washington, copied from the Penna. Archives, as well as in the diary of the Council of War in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. 2. There are other contemporary accounts.[1]

Lafayette's attack on Gloucester soon followed. See plan on page 430.

The contrasts between the hilarities of the British in Philadelphia and the trials of the Americans at Valley Forge during the winter are abundantly illustrated.

The publication of the *Penna. Evening Post* was resumed in Philadelphia, Oct. 11, 1777, and continued during the British occupation of Philadelphia.[2]

Various diaries kept in and near Philadelphia have been preserved,[3] and the details of the life in the town have been worked up by modern writers.[4]

The complimentary festival given to General Howe on his departure, known as the Mischianza, took place May 18th, at the Wharton house.[5]

On the condition of Washington's camp at Valley Forge we have first the testimony of his own letters and those of his correspondents,[6] as well as that of sundry diaries and journals.[7]

The question of supplies as affecting the camp is considered in Stuart's *Trumbull* and Greene's *Greene* (ii. 48), this general being made quartermaster-general in March.

[1] Pickering's Journal in his *Life* (i. 180); Knox's letters in Drake's *Knox*, 135, and in Leake's *Lamb*, 192; the account in Williams's *Olney;* and further in Gordon, Marshall (i. 178), Henry Lee's *Memoirs;* Reed's *Reed* (i. ch. 16); Almon, v.; Stone's *Invasion of Canada* (p. 75); *Hist. Mag.*, Feb., 1872; Dawson, i. ch. 29, 30; Carrington (ch. 52); Lossing, etc.

[2] The broadside orders of the British commanders can be found in Sabin, xv. p. 577, etc.; Hildeburn's *Issues of the press*, under 1777 and 1778; some of them are in fac-simile in Smith's *Hist. and Lit. Curios.*, 2d series.

[3] Those of Christopher Marshall; James Allen (*Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Oct., 1885, p. 278; Jan., 1886, p. 424); Robert Morton (*Ibid.*, i. p. 1); Miss Sally Wister (*Ibid.*, 1885 and 1886; Howard Jenkins' *Hist. Coll. relating to Gwynedd;* extracts in Watson's *Annals*); Margaret Morris, *Private journal kept for the amusement of a sister*, Philadelphia, 1836, p. 31, — also copy in *Sparks MSS.*, no. xlviii.); notes in *Evelyns in America* (also in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, 1884, p. 223). Cf. also a letter, Oct. 23, 1777, in Lady Cavendish's *Admiral Gambier* (also in *Hist. Mag.*, v. 68); the letters of Samuel Cooper in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, April, 1886; the account of a Hessian captain, Henrich, is in the *Schlözer Correspondenz* (vol. iii., — translated in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, vol. i. 46; cf. Lowell's *Hessians*, p. 100).

[4] Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia;* Sargent's *André*, p. 119; *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, iii. 361, by F. D. Stone; *Life of Esther Reed*, p. 278, by W. B. Reed; *United Service Journal*, 1852. The house in Market Street, occupied successively by Washington and Howe as headquarters, is depicted in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 302; Scharf and Westcott, i. 351; Brotherhead's *Signers* (1861), p. 3.

[5] The contemporary accounts of it are in the *Annual Register*, 1778, p. 264; *Gent. Mag.*, August, 1778; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 52; *Bland Papers*, i. 90; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 242, 718. André played a conspicuous part and described it (Sargent's *André*, 168; Lossing's *Two Spies*, 46). Israel Mauduit made it the occasion of a severe condemnation of Howe in his *Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianza, or Triumph upon leaving America unconquered* (London, 1779, — *Sparks Catal.*, no. 2,550). Later accounts will be found in the *Lady's Mag.* (Philad., 1792); Anna H. Wharton's *Wharton Genealogy*, and her paper in the *Philadelphia Weekly Times*, May 25, 1878; Watson's *Annals*, vol. iii.; Egle's *Penna.*, 185; Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Rev.*, i. 182, and *Domestic Hist.*, etc., ch. 12; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 303. Views of the Wharton house and other illustrations are in Smith and Watson's *Lit. and Hist. Curiosities;* Lossing; Scharf and Westcott (i. 377–380).

[6] Sparks's *Washington*, i. 276; v. 240, 522; *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii.; Custis's *Recollections*, ch. 9.

[7] Henry Dearborn's, the original of which is in the Boston Public Library, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1886, p. 110; Surgeon Waldo's, in *Hist. Mag.*, May, 1861, vol. v. p. 129; of John Clark, in *N. Jersey Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. There is illustrative material among the John Lacey papers in the N. Y. State Library, and various letters from the camp in the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. vi. pp. 46, 50, — from Jed. Huntington, speaking of their "shameful situation"); others in *Hist. Mag.*, April, 1867; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1860 (v. 48), and Feb., 1874 (xiii. 243), — the last from Col. John Brooks. More or less of personal experience and observation of the suffering will be found in Greene's *Greene* (i. ch. 24, 25); Reed's *Reed* (i. ch. 17); Pickering's *Pickering* (i. 200); Read's *Geo. Read* (326); Hull's *Rev. Services* (ch. 12).

General treatment will be found in Bancroft (ix. ch. 27); Egle's *Penna.*, 955; Irving's *Washington* (iii. ch. 27, 31); T. Allen's *Origination of the Amer. Union* (vol. ii.); Lossing's *Field-Book* (ii. 331); Mrs. Ellet's *Domest. Hist.;* T. W. Bean's *Washington and Valley Forge;* Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, May, 1875, and July, 1878.

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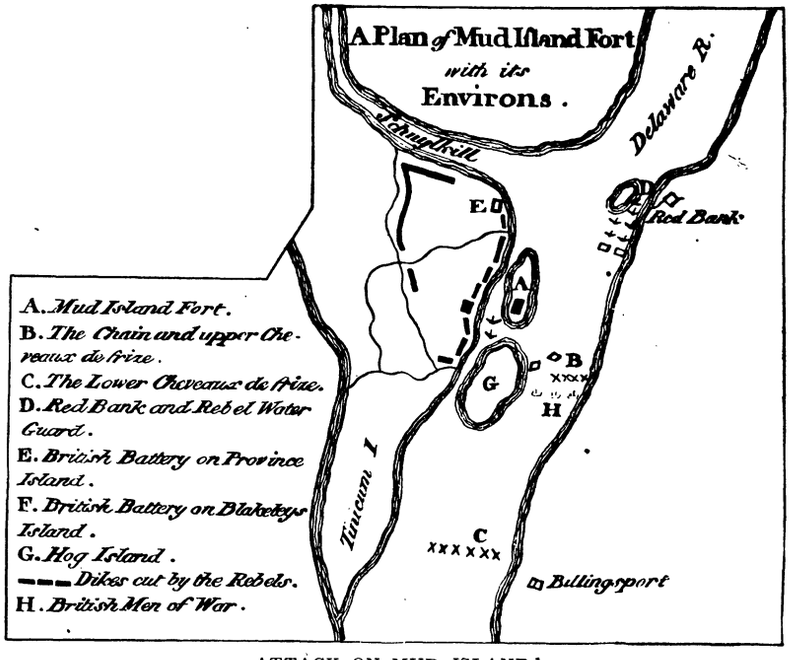

ATTACK ON MUD ISLAND.[1]

There are preserved various orderly-books of the camp.[2]

There were efforts to reorganize the army during the winter. Congress had created a board of war in November, 1777 (Pickering, i. 187; Lossing, ii. 867). On Jan. 10, 1778, a committee of Congress was appointed to visit the camp and concert plans for the reorganization (*Journals*, ii. 401). A plan was drawn up by conference, and later adopted by Congress (Sparks, v. 525). Francis Dana wrote from the camp, Feb. 12th, to Congress, and the draft, found among the papers of Laurens, was printed in the *Polit. Mag.* (vol. i., — 1780), by which it was thought to appear that Howe could have destroyed the American army if he had had enterprise.[3]

A few days after the taking of Philadelphia, the Rev. Jacob Duché, of that city, who had been an approved supporter of the Americans, transmitted a letter to Washington, tempting him to desert the cause. Washington sent the letter

[1] From Galloway's *Letters to a Nobleman*, London, 1779. The leading published map of Delaware Bay and River at this time was one surveyed by Joshua Fisher, and published in London by Sayer and Bennett, 1775 and 1776. It was reproduced in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vol. iii.; and maps based on them are in the *Gent. Mag.*, July, 1779. There was a French edition issued in Paris by Le Rouge in 1777, which also made part of the *Atlas Amériquain*. Other charts are in the *No. Amer. Pilot*, 1776, and in the *Neptune Amérco-Septentrional*, 1778.

There are plans for obstructing the river, in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., i. 749. Other maps of the river defences will be found in Sparks's *Washington*, v. 156; Irving's *Washington* (quarto), iii. 278; Smith's *Delaware County*, p. 321; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 298; Carrington's *Battles*, p. 396.

[2] Col. H. A. Dearborn's, Jan. 12–Feb. 4, in J. H. Osborne's collection at Auburn, N. Y.; of a German battalion of Continentals, Jan., 1777–June, 1781, in the Penna. Hist. Society. General Wayne's was sold in the Menzies sale, no. 2,095 ($100); it covered Feb. 26–May 27, 1778, and had been used by Sparks, Irving, and Bancroft. One covering May–June is in the Boston Athenæum, extracts from which are in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (vii. 133), which speaks of the mud being removed towards spring from the chinks of the huts, to increase the fresh air. Records of some courts-martial are in the Moses Greenleaf MSS. (Mass. Hist. Soc.). Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vii. 133.

[3] Cf. further, on this reorganization of the army, Hamilton's *Works*, ii. 138; Bancroft, ix. ch. 27. In the spring (May 5th) a new impulse was given in this direction by the appointment of Steuben as inspector-general (*Journals of Congress*, ii. 539; Sparks's *Washington*, v. 349, 526; Greene's *Hist. View*, 233; Kapp's *Steuben*; Greene's *German Element*; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, iii. 2).

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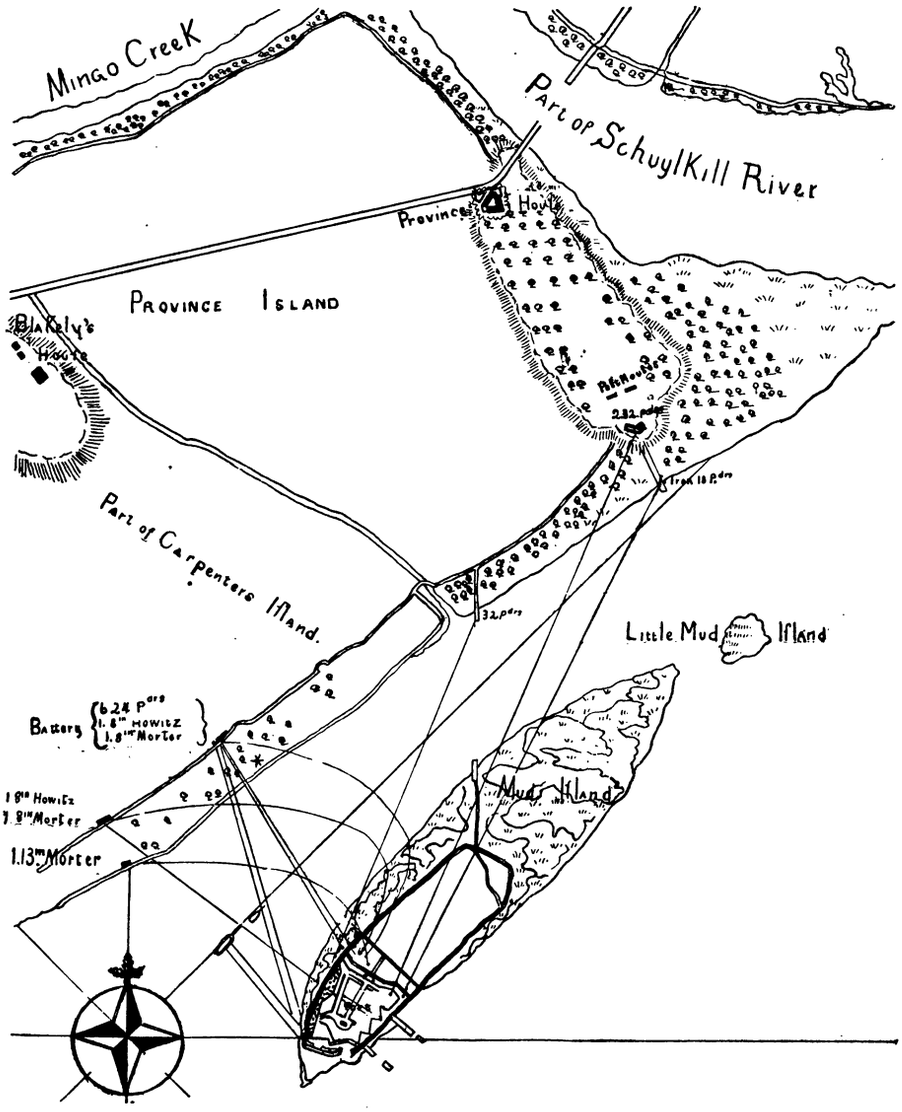

MUD ISLAND, 1777–1778.[1]

to Congress; but Sparks could not find it in the Archives at Washington, and prints it from *Rivington's Gazette* (*Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 448). The letters which grew out of this act, including one of expostulation from Francis Hopkinson, the brother-in-law of Duché, and that of repentance sent to Washington by Duché in 1783, can be found in Sparks, v. 94, 476.[2]

The military movements during the autumn of 1777 were mainly to try the temper of the opposing forces and to secure forage, and the in-

[1] Sketched from a corner map of the large MS. map, called on another page, "The Defences of Philadelphia, 1777–1778."

[2] Cf. *Washington at Valley Forge, together with the Duché Correspondence* (Philad., 1858?); Graydon's *Memoirs*, 429; Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia;* Wilson's *Memoir of Bishop White.*

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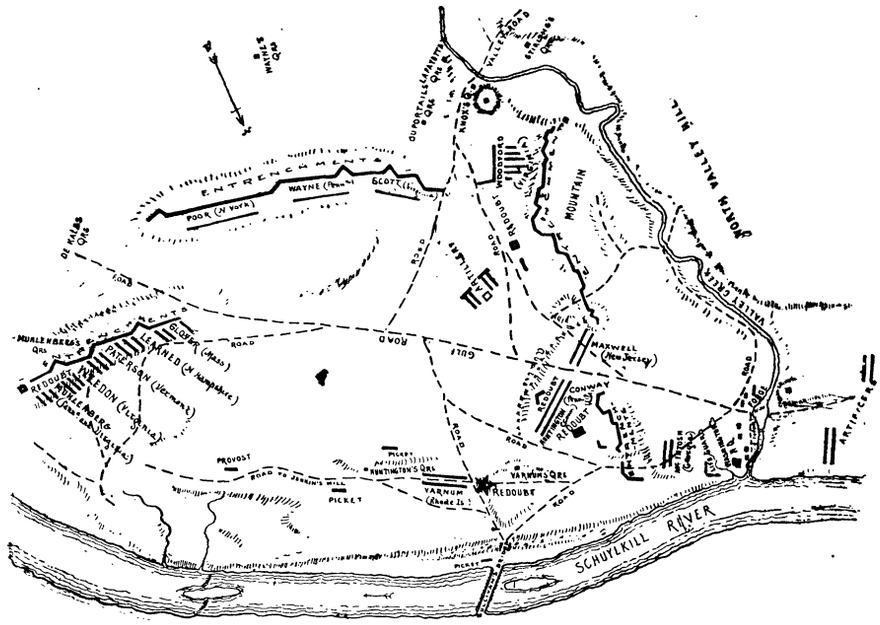

ENCAMPMENT AT VALLEY FORGE, 1777–1778.[1]

cessant watching of each other's motions made Pickering write to Elbridge Gerry (Nov. 2d,—*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1884, p. 461) that "since Brandywine we have been in a constant state of hurry."[2]

During this time, Oct.–Dec., Washington was kept informed of the British movements through the letters of Maj. Clark (*Penna. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, vol. i.). There was in November a project discussed of taking Philadelphia by storm (Drake's *Knox*, 136). Congress was urging the States to renewed efforts (*N. H. State Papers*, viii. 728). Early in December Howe had tried to allure Washington to a battle near Chestnut Hill or Whitemarsh (Sparks, v. 180; Dawson, i. ch. 31). By the middle of December the American army had gone into winter-quarters at Valley Forge (Reed's *Reed*, i. 345), but not without having thought at the same time of an attack on New York (*Ibid.*, 344). In January an attempt by the

[1] A sketch made by combining two in the Sparks collection at Cornell University. One is a French plan, from the Lafayette maps, which gives the main features of the topography to the present sketch. The other is one transmitted by General Armstrong to Mr. Sparks in 1833, embodying the recollections of a Mr. William Davis, "a remarkably active and intelligent man, who resided within the limits of the camp during its continuance there." General Armstrong cites the testimony of a son of General Wayne, that the recollections of Davis "of the most minute occurrences of the period were entirely unaffected by age." Upon this dependence has been put for the positions of the troops and the quarters of the general officers. The plan given by Sparks (*Washington*, v. 196) seems to have been made by a similar combination, though he omits the locations of the general's quarters. The plan of Sparks is essentially followed in Guizot's *Washington*, in Lossing's *Field-Book* (vol. ii. 334,—also see *Harper's Monthly*, xii. 307), and in Carrington's *Battles*, p. 402 (and in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1882).

There is a view of Washington's headquarters in Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 369; Egle's *Pennsylvania*, p. 182; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 332, and in his *Mary and Martha Washington*, p. 168; and *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1882.

The French alliance was celebrated in camp May 6, 1778 (Sparks, v. 355; Moore's *Diary*, ii.).

For landmarks, etc., of Valley Forge, see Lossing's *Field-Book;* Read's *Geo. Read* (p. 326), from the *Ohio State Journal; Harper's Mag.*, lx., 660, April, 1880.

At the centennial celebration, June, 1878, there were addresses by Henry Armitt Brown (in his *Memoir and Orations*, edited by J. M. Hoppin), and one by Theodore W. Bean, printed in the *Daily Local News*, Westchester, Pa., June 20, 1878.

[2] Cf. Simcoe's *Journal;* Reed's *Reed*, i.; Greene's *Greene*, i. ch. 24; Pickering's *Pickering*, i. 193; Graham's *Morgan*.

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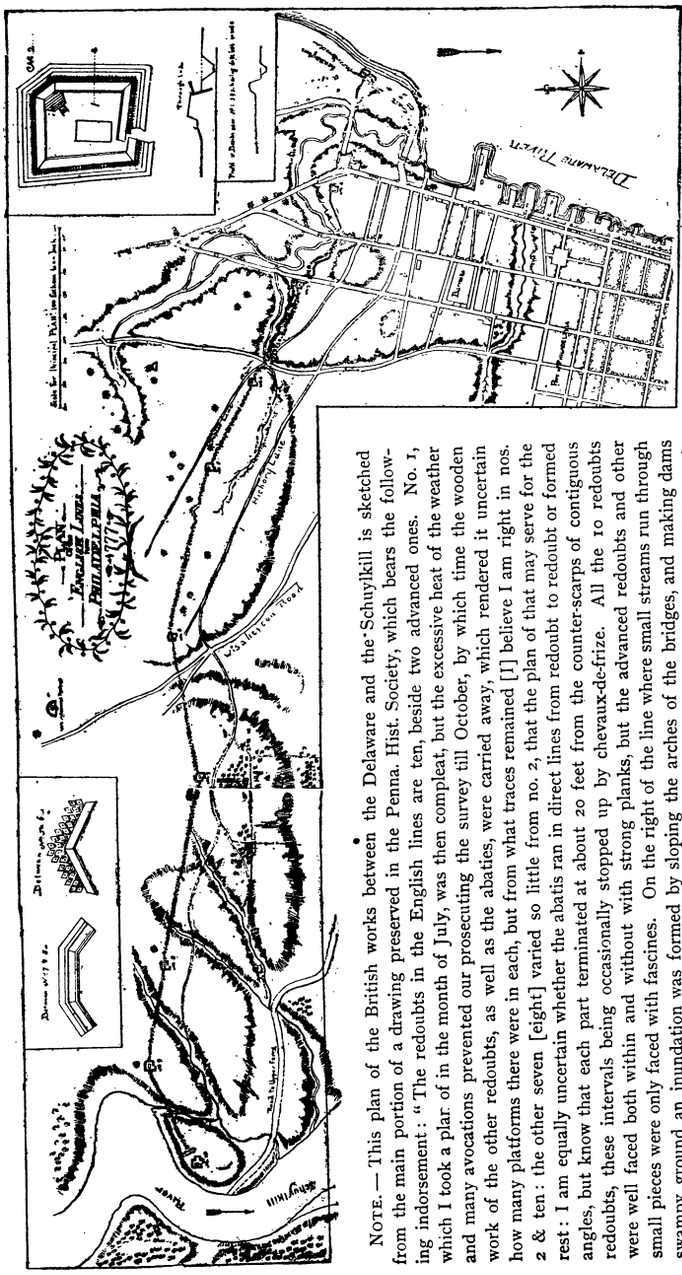

NOTE. — This plan of the British works between the Delaware and the Schuylkill is sketched from the main portion of a drawing preserved in the Penna. Hist. Society, which bears the following indorsement: "The redoubts in the English lines are ten, beside two advanced ones. No. 1, which I took a plan of in the month of July, was then compleat, but the excessive heat of the weather and many avocations prevented our prosecuting the survey till October, by which time the wooden work of the other redoubts, as well as the abaties, were carried away, which rendered it uncertain how many platforms there were in each, but from what traces remained [I] believe I am right in nos. 2 & ten: the other seven [eight] varied so little from no. 2, that the plan of that may serve for the rest: I am equally uncertain whether the abatis ran in direct lines from redoubt to redoubt or formed angles, but know that each part terminated at about 20 feet from the counter-scarps of contiguous redoubts, these intervals being occasionally stopped up by chevaux-de-frize. All the 10 redoubts were well faced both within and without with strong planks, but the advanced redoubts and other small pieces were only faced with fascines. On the right of the line where small streams run through swampy ground an inundation was formed by sloping the arches of the bridges, and making dams were necessary, each furnished with a tumbling dam, well planked on the top and slopes of the main dam, to carry off superfluous water.

LEWIS NICOLA."

Enlarged plans and cross-sections of redoubts nos. 1, 2, and 10 are given in the margin, as well as of the western advanced redoubt, and other small works, including the "Barriers across Kensington and Germantown roads with a cremaillered work between them cut out of the bank between the roads." The stars near the lines denote the places of "houses destroyed by the English." Cf. description in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iv. 181.

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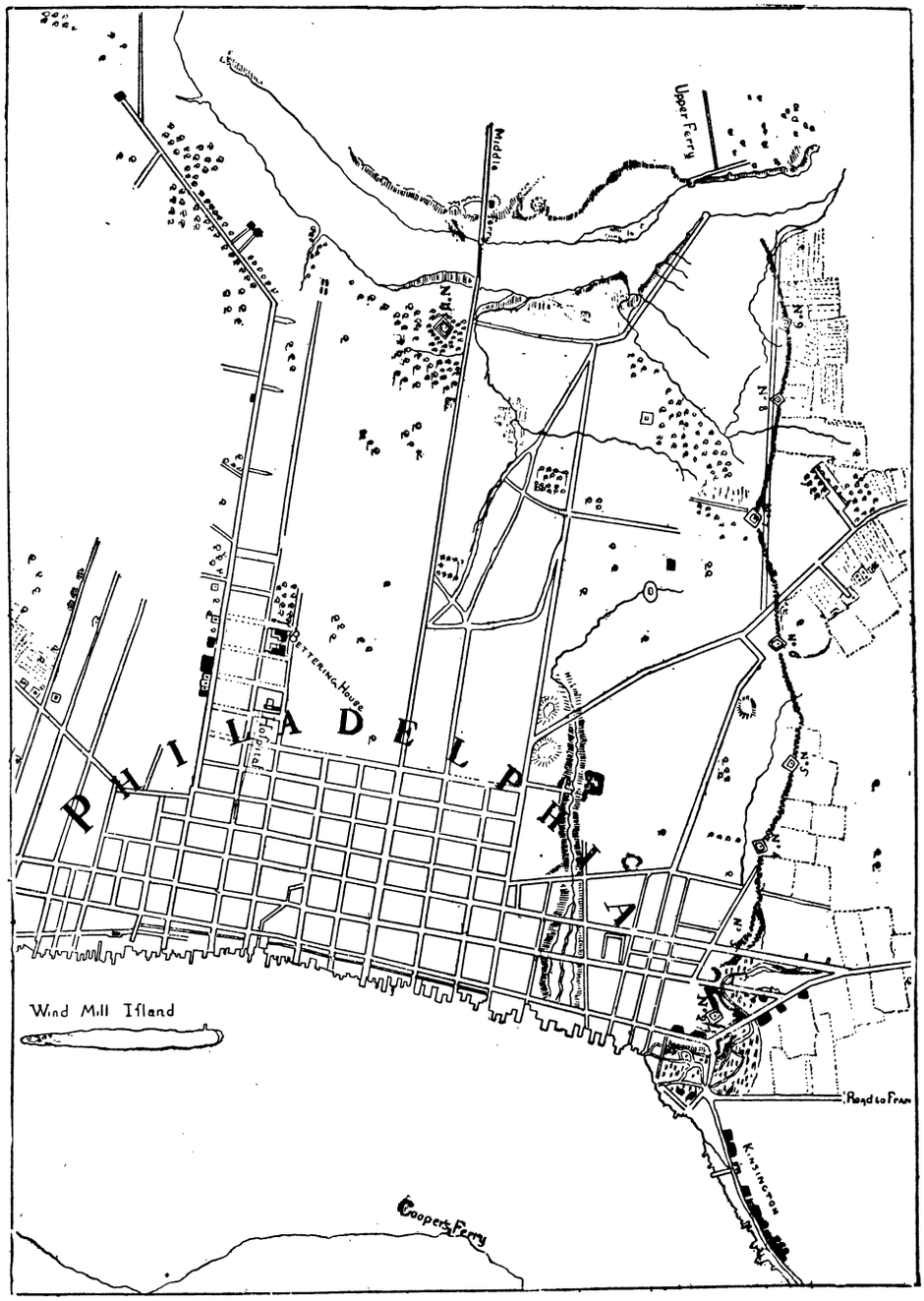

DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA, 1777–1778.[1]

1 Sketched from a large MS. map by John Montresor in the library of Congress, dedicated to Sir William Howe, and called *Plan of the City of Philadelphia and its environs, shewing the defences during the years 1777–1778, together with the Siege of Mud Island.* A similar map by Montresor is among the King's maps in the British Museum (*Catal.*, ii. 176).

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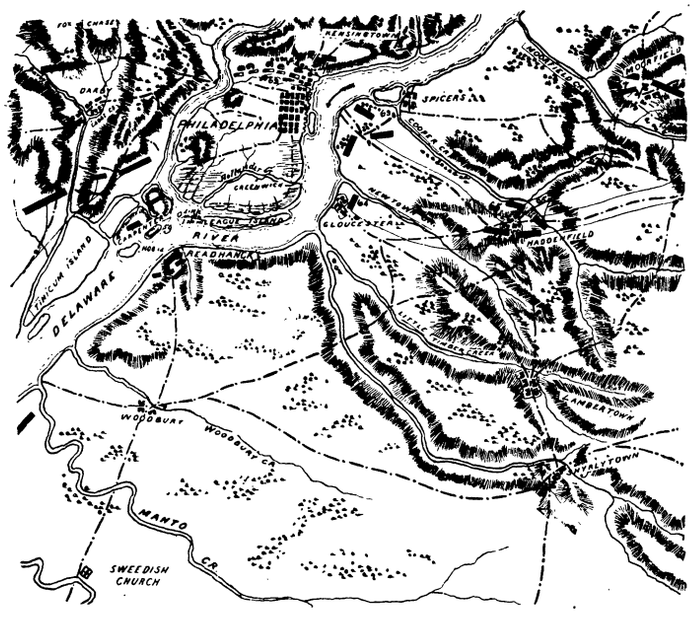

VICINITY OF PHILADELPHIA.[1]

Americans to destroy the shipping at Philadelphia, by floating combustibles down the river from above, failed; but it gave rise to Hopkinson's humorous verses on the "Battle of the Kegs."[2]

In March Congress was urging young men of spirit and property to raise light cavalry troops (*Journals*, ii. 463), for Simcoe's British horsemen were raiding about the country for forage, meeting, however, now and then with resistance, as at Quintin's Bridge (March 18th) and Hancock's Bridge (March 21st).[3] At the beginning of May there was another conflict at Crooked Billet.[4] Three weeks later (May 20th) Lafayette skilfully extricated himself from an advanced position at Barren Hill, whither Washington had sent him

[1] Sketched from a part of a MS. Hessian map in the library of Congress, called *Plan générale des opérations de l'Armée Britannique contre les Rebelles, etc.* The lines (. — . —) are roads. KEY: "59, Attaque de mudden island le 15 Novembre. 60, Position du général Howe le 4 Dec. pour forcer le général Washington à quitter sa position sur les hauteurs de White Marsh. 61, Marche du général Howe pour fourages entre Derby et Chester. 62, Camp de l'armée près de Philadelphia. 63, Camp de l'armée après avoir evacué Philadelphia le 26me Juin, 1778. 64, Corps detaché à Gloucester. 65, Marche du général Knyphausen le 18me Juin et son camp à Haddenfield. 66, Marche et camp du général Cornwallis le 18me Juin. 67, Marche du général Knyphausen le 20me Juin et son camp à Moorfield."

The published maps of Philadelphia and its vicinity at this time are the following: N. Scull and G. Heap's, originally in 1750 (cf. Vol. V. 240), and reproduced by Faden in 1777, and reduced in the *Gent. Mag.*, Dec., 1777. Kitchin's *Philadelphia and Environs*, in *London Mag.*, Dec., 1777, and reproduced in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d series, vol. iii. A map surveyed by Eastburn in 1776, Philad., 1777; one surveyed by Hill, Philadelphia, 1777. Plan of Philadelphia in the *Atlantic Neptune* (1777), vol. i. Plan in the *American Atlas* (1777). *Gegend und Stadt von Philadelphia*, in *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa*, Nürnberg, 1778, Zehnter Theil. There was published by John Reed, in 1774, *An Explanation of the Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia.* A folding plan showing the British works is in Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 360. Various MS. plans of Philadelphia and its neighborhood, with the river defences, are among the Faden maps (nos. 82–86) in the library of Congress. Among the Penn papers in the Hist. Soc. of Penna. is a MS. map showing the positions of the British at Germantown before the battle.

[2] Moore's *Songs and Ballads*, 209; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii.; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, April, 1882, p. 296; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 5.

[3] Cf. Simcoe; Stedman, ii.; Dawson, i. ch. 33, 34; Lossing, ii. 344; Johnson's *Salem, N. Jersey.*

[4] Dawson, i. 386; W. W. H. Davis's *John Lacey*, Doylestown, 1868; *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 167; Moore's *Diary* ii. 41.

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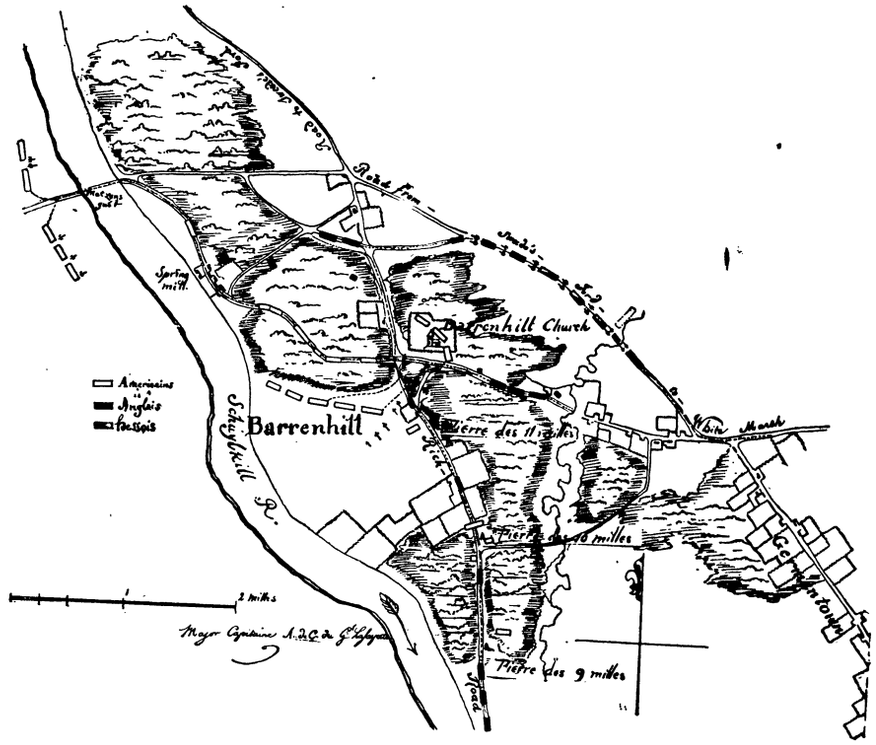

BARREN HILL.[1]

towards the enemy, and where the British commander sought to cut him off.[2]

Clinton, on relieving Howe from the command in Philadelphia, was instructed to evacuate the city (Sparks, v. 548). This materially changed the plans for the campaign, which had been determined upon prior to the announcement of the French alliance (*Sparks MSS.*, xlv. and lviii.). Washington meanwhile was considering an alternative of plans, and getting the opinions of his

[1] This map is sketched and reduced from a MS. map preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, signed "Major Capitaine, A. D. C. du Gen^{l}. Lafayette," and called *Plan de la retraite de Barrenhill en Pensilvanie, où un detachement de 2,200 hommes sous le Général la Fayette, etoit entourré par l'armée Anglaise sous les G^{x} Howe, Clinton, et Grant, le 28 May, 1778*. It bears the following KEY: (*translation*) *a.* Position of the American detachment on Barren Hill, eleven miles from Philadelphia and twelve miles from Valley Forge, on the right bank of the Schuylkill. *b.* Pickets of the Americans, which retired on the approach of the enemy. *c.* A French company under Captain M'Clean, with fifty Indians. *e.* Place where the militia were ordered to gather, but they failed to do so. *f.* March of Maj.-Gen. Grant at the head of grenadiers and chasseurs, and two brigades, making in all 8,000 men, with 15 pieces of cannon. *g.* Where the enemy were first discovered. *h.* Americans occupying the meeting-house and burial-ground, deploying to defend their left flank. *i.* March of the detachment on the second warning to reach Matson's Ford. *k.* Chasseurs detached to confront Gen. Grant. *l.* Body of English cavalry, followed by a body of grenadiers and chasseurs. *m.* March of Gen. Grant, always following the Americans. *n.* Matson's Ford, which the Americans gained and passed, when they occupied the highlands, *o*, while a small force was sent to Swede's Ford. *p.* Rich road by which Howe and Clinton advanced with the rest of the British army. *q.* Point where Howe and Grant formed, whence, seeing that their attempt had failed, they returned to Philadelphia. *r.* Road from Swede's Ford, by which the American detachment returned the next day to occupy Barren Hill.

There is among the Sparks maps at Cornell University a duplicate copy of this map, made from Lafayette's original. Cf. maps in Sparks, v. 378; Carrington's *Battles*, p. 408; Lossing, ii. 329; and the view of the church (p. 322).

[2] Sparks, v. 368, 378, 545; *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii., for Lafayette's narrative given to Sparks; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i. 822; Irving, iii. 33.

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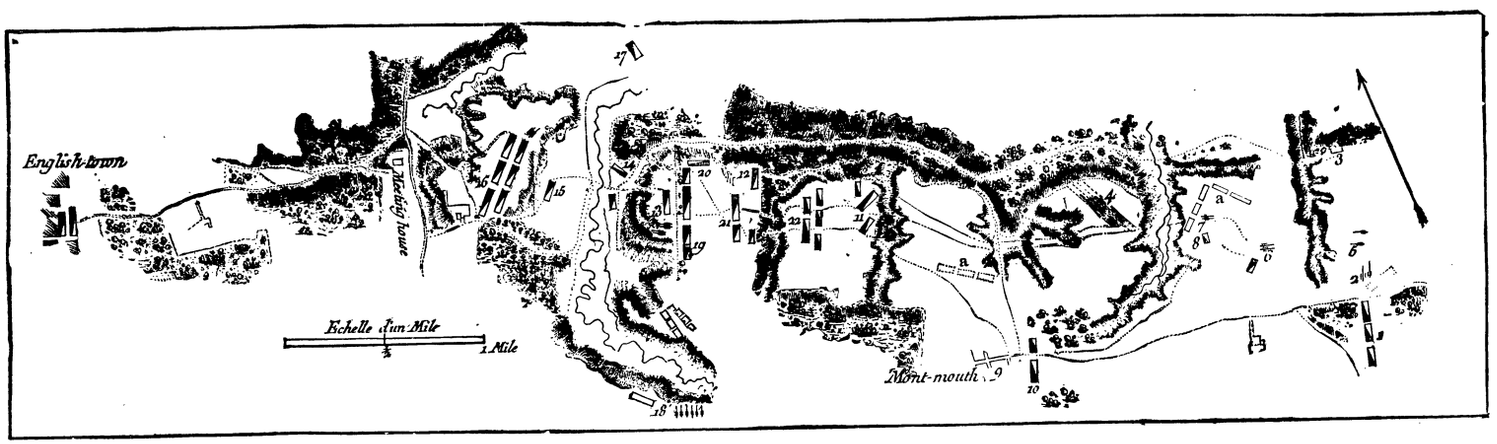

PLAN OF MONMOUTH BATTLE.[1]

1 From a plan in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais*, i. p. 270. KEY: The English had passed the night at *a*. Lee's advance showed itself at 3, when the British debouched from their position at 1, while their guns at 2 fired on the Americans. The Americans at 3 retired into the wood, and joined Lee's main body, which debouched from the wood at 4, their guns taking position at 6 and 7, while the British guns were at 5. The Americans (4, 8, and 10) retired and took position at 11; and while still further retreating, the British attacked at 12, and the Americans made a stand at 13, and before all could retire still farther the British again attacked at 14. The Americans again formed at 15, when Washington, coming up by way of the new Baptist meeting-house with the main body, formed at 16, Stirling and Greene in front, and Lafayette in the rear, while Lee's men at 15 passed to Washington's rear, a British reconnoitring force appearing meanwhile at 17, and Plessis-Mauduit's battery, supported by 500 men, taking position at 18. The British at 14 and 17, being repulsed, united at 19, whence they were further repulsed and took position at 20. They formed again at 21 after Washington's attack. They passed the night at 22.

This map was apparently engraved from an original, followed in two plans, differently drawn, but in effect the same, which are among the maps in the Sparks collection at Cornell University, and which were copied from Lafayette's own plan at Lagrange. It is called *Carte de l'affaire de Montmouth, où le général Washington commandait l'armée Américaine et le général Clinton commandait l'armée Anglaise, le 28 Juin, 1778*. The "legende" shows references from 1 to 22, with extra ones *a* and *b*, the latter (*b*) being at the junction of the two dotted lines in the rear of 16, and is explained as the "movement of the second line, commanded by General Lafayette, which, as soon as the column at 17 was perceived, was detached to occupy the wood west of the meeting-house, which the column 17 was approaching; but when this column 17 was repulsed the line was restored."

There is also among the Sparks maps (Lafayette copies) a pen-and-ink sketch-plan, — differing somewhat, giving more detail, — made on the American side, and this more nearly resembles the plan given by Sparks in his *Washington* (v. p. 430, — repeated in Duer's *Stirling*, ii. 196; and in Guizot's *Washington*. Cf. Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed.). The plan in Lossing's *Field-Book* (ii. 356) is based on the one here engraved, and he also gives a view of the Freehold meeting-house (p. 359) and of the field (p. 362). Carrington (ch. 56) gives an eclectic plan with more detail than any other.

A view of the monument commemorating the battle is in the *U. S. Art Directory* (1884).

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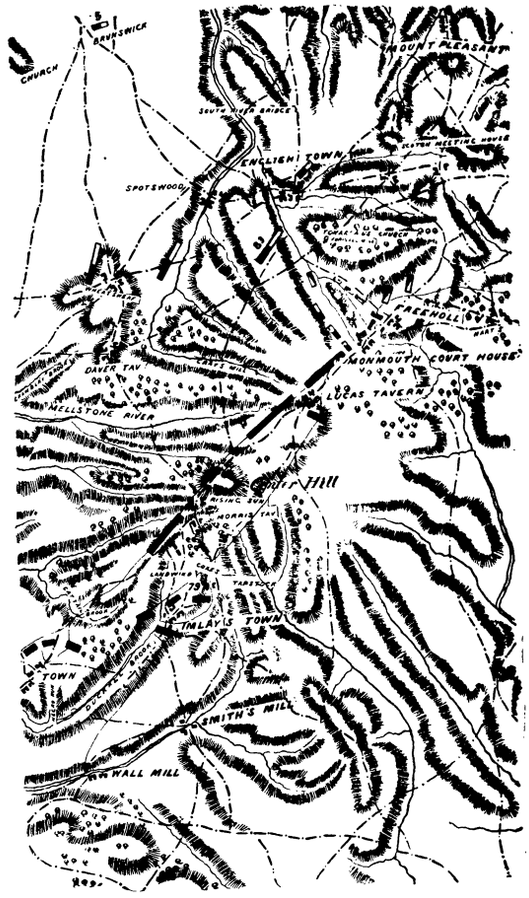

MONMOUTH AND VICINITY.[1]

general officers;[2] but the movements of the British to evacuate Philadelphia soon changed all.[3]

The battle of Monmouth, though in the end a victory for Washington, secured for the British what they fought for, a further unimpeded march toward New York. Washington's letters are of the first importance.[4] We have also accounts by Hamilton;[5] by Lafayette,[6] as given

1 Sketched from a part of a MS. Hessian map in the library of Congress, called *Plan générale des opérations de l'armée Britannique contre les Rebelles*, etc. The lines (. — . —) represent roads. KEY: "79, Marche du général de Knyphausen de son camp devant Englishtown le 24 Juin. 80, Marche du général Cornwallis. 83, Retraite des enemis."

There is a copy of the map of the region of the march by Clinton's engineer in the library of the N. Y. Hist. Soc. (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1878, p. 759).

2 Sparks, v. 320; *Sparks MSS.*, lii. vol. iii.; Muhlenberg's *Muhlenberg*, chap. 5.

3 Wayne's letter, May 21st, in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, April, 1887, p. 115; journal by Andrew Bell, Clinton's secretary, of the march through New Jersey, in *N. Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vi., and journal of Joseph Clark in *Ibid.*, vii. 93; Eelking, ch. 10; *Mag. Am. Hist.*, Jan., 1879, p. 58. A British orderly-book, Philad., April–June, 1778, is in the Amer. Antiq. Society. The American vessels scuttled above the city were raised (Wallace's *Bradford*, 292).

4 Sparks, v. 422, 431; Dawson, i. 412; *Lee Papers*, N. Y., 1872, p. 441. Cf. *Recollections* by Custis, ch. 5.

5 *Lee Papers*, p. 467; *Pa. Mag. Hist.*, ii. 139; Hamilton's *Works*, ed. Lodge, vii. 550; Hamilton's *Repub. U. S.*, i. 468, 478.

6 *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii., printed in Sparks's *Washington*, v. 552, and his letter in Marshall's *Washington*, i. 255.

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to Sparks; and statements by several other witnesses.[1]

The trial of Lee, and the papers produced by it, furnish abundant contemporary evidence. The trial was published at Philadelphia, 1778, as *Proceedings of Court-Martial held at Brunswick in New Jersey, July 4, 1778*.[2]

On the British side, Clinton's despatch is in *Lee Papers* (1872), p. 461; Dawson, i. 415. A British journal kept during the march is in the *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 15; an orderly-book picked up on the field is in a transcript in the Penna. Hist. Society.[3]

The British retreat is commended in Baron von Ochs's *Betrachtungen über die neuere Kriegskunst* (Cassel, 1817). Cf. Lowell's *Hessians*, p. 209.

Respecting the Conway Cabal, the best gathering of the documentary evidence is in an appendix to Sparks's *Washington*.[4] Sparks's conclusion is that the plot never developed into "a clear and fixed purpose," and that no one section of the country more than another specially promoted it. Mahon (vi. 243) thinks that Sparks glides over too gently the participation of the New Englanders, who have been defended from the charge of participation by Austin in his *Life of Elbridge Gerry* (ch. 16). Gordon implicates Samuel Adams, and J. C. Hamilton is severe on the Adamses (*Repub. U. S.*, i. ch. 13, 14). Mrs. Warren found no cause to connect Sam. Adams with the plot, and Wells (*Sam. Adams*, ii. ch. 46) naturally dismisses the charge. It is not to be denied that among the New England members of Congress there were strong partisans of Gates, and the action of Congress for good in military matters was impaired by an unsettled estimate of the wisdom of keeping Washington at the head of the army, though it did not always manifest itself in assertion (Greene's *Greene*, i. 287, 403, 411). Nothing could be worse than John Adams's proposition to have Congress annually elect the generals (*Works*, i. 263); and he was not chary of his disgust with what was called Washington's Fabian policy. Sullivan, in one of his oily, fussy letters to Washington (*Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 366) finds expression of a purpose to revive the plot in William Tudor's massacre oration in Boston in March, 1779. The expressions of Charles Lee, that "a certain great man is most damnably deficient" (Moore's *Treason*

[1] By Col. John Laurens (*Lee Papers*, pp. 430, 449); by W. Irvine (*Penna. Mag. Hist.*, ii. 139); by Colonel Richard Butler, July 23, 1778, to General Lincoln, in *Sparks MSS.*, lxvi., and other light in the Lincoln papers as copied in *Ibid.*, xii.; by Generals Wayne and Scott (Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 150; *Lee Papers*, 438); by Wayne to his wife (*Ibid.*, 448); by Knox (*Sparks MSS.*, xxv.; Drake's *Knox*, 56); by Persifer Frazer (*Sparks MSS.*, xxi.); the account in the *N. Jersey Gazette*, June 24, 1778 (*Lee Papers*); the narrative from the *N. Y. Journal* (Moore's *Diary*, ii. 66); the journal of Dearborn (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1886, p. 115); diary of John Clark (*N. Jersey Hist. Soc.*, vii.). Cf. James McHenry in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 355.

[2] Other editions: Cooperstown, 1823; N. Y., private ed., 1864; Sabin, x. nos. 39,711, etc. It is reprinted in the *Lee Papers* (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3 vols., 1873), as is also (iii. 255) Lee's vindication, printed in the *Penna. Packet*, Dec. 3, 1778. Cf. also Langworthy's *Lee*, p. 23; Sparks's *Lee;* Davis's *Burr;* Reed's *Reed*, i. 359; and the correspondence of Washington and Lee after the battle, in Sparks, v. 552, etc.

The *Sparks MSS.* contain various papers, including the statement of John Clark, who bore Washington's orders to Lee (dated Sept. 3, 1778), and a statement of John Brooks, who had personal knowledge of Washington's treatment of Lee in the field.

Sargent (*André*, 188) is inclined to acquit Lee of blame for his retreat at Monmouth.

Colonel Laurens called Lee out for using language disrespectful to Washington, when Lee was slightly wounded (account by the seconds in Hamilton, Lodge's ed., vii. 562).

The more general accounts, early and late, are in Marshall (iii. ch. 8, — who was present); Heath's *Memoirs* (p. 186); Hull's *Rev. Services* (ch. 14); Reed's *Reed* (i. ch. 17); Williams's *Olney* (p. 243); Armstrong's *Wayne; Washington*, by Sparks (i. 298), and Irving (iii. ch. 34, 35); Drake's *Knox;* Kapp's *Steuben* (p. 159); Quincy's *Shaw* (ch. 4); Hamilton's *Hamilton* (i. 194), and his *Repub. U. S.* (i. 471); Bancroft (ix. ch. 4); Gay (iii. 603).

Henry Armitt Brown delivered the oration in the Centennial ceremonies (*Memoir with orations, edited by J. M. Hoppin*, Philad., 1880).

Critical examinations of the battle have been made by Gen. J. W. De Peyster in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, July and Sept., 1878; March and June, 1879; cf. 1879, p. 355 (by J. McHenry); by Dawson (ch. 37, praised by Kapp); and by Carrington (ch. 54–56).

Cf. for various details, C. King in *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 125; *Amer. Hist. Rec.*, June, 1874; Barker and Howe's *Hist. Coll. N. J.;* Linn's *Buffalo Valley*, 159; the Moll Pitcher story in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1883, p. 260, and *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, iii. 109. For a visit to the field a few days after the battle, *U. S. Mag.*, Philad., 1779, by H. H. Brackenridge, reprinted in *Monmouth Inquirer*, June, 1879. For landmarks, Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 356, and *Harper's Mag.*, vii. 449, lvii. 29.

[3] Cf. further Simcoe's *Journal;* Stedman (ii. ch. 22); Murray (ii. 448); Mahon (vi. ch. 58).

[4] Vol. v. 483–518; cf. also *Ibid.*, i. 266; v. 97, 390; and his *Gouverneur Morris*, i. ch. 10.

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of Lee, p. 68), like utterances of others, are rather indicative of ordinary revulsions of feeling under misfortunes than of a purpose of combination among the disaffected. Gates's refusal to reinforce Washington, and Hamilton's vain efforts to persuade him, naturally fall among the indicative signs;[1] and this apathy of Gates very likely conduced immediately to the loss of Fort Mifflin at the time it was abandoned (Wallace's *Bradford*, App. 12). The attempt to gain over Lafayette by the attractions of a command in invading Canada, can be followed in Sparks's *Washington*.[2]

THE TREASON OF ARNOLD.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE AUTHORITIES BY THE EDITOR.

JUST when and by what act Arnold was put in treasonable correspondence with the British is not clearly established. Bancroft[3] says it was towards the end of February, 1779,[4] but he gives

ARNOLD.[5]

1 Hamilton's *Works*, i. 100; J. C. Hamilton's *Repub. U. S.*, i. 339; Irving's *Washington*, iii. ch. 25.

2 Vol. i. 311; v. 530 (App.); vi. 106, 114, 149. There are extracts from the Lafayette papers in *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii. Cf. Marshall, iii. 568; Irving, iii. 334; Jay's *Jay*, i. 83; Stone's *Brant*, ch. 14.

There is a good account of the conspiracy in Greene's *Greene* (ii. p. 1; also see i. 22, 34, 483). The account in the *Memoirs* of Wilkinson (i. ch. 9) is called grossly inaccurate in Duer's *Stirling* (ch. 7). Cf. Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 390); Kapp's *De Kalb;* Hamilton's *Hamilton* (i. 128–163); Reed's *Reed* (i. 342); Wirt's *Patrick Henry* (p. 208); Stone's *Howland* (ch. 5); Marshall's *Washington* (iii. ch. 6); Irving's *Washington* (iii. ch. 25, 28, 29, 30); Bancroft (ix. ch. 27); Lossing's *Field-Book* (ii. 336); the account of Col. Robert Troup, written for Sparks in 1827 (*Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. i. no. 3); Dunlap's *New York*, ii. 131, and a note in Sargent's *Stansbury and Odell*, p. 176.

3 Vol. x. 378.

4 It was at this time, Feb., 1779, that a story reached Christopher Marshall, in Lancaster, Pa., that Arnold had gone over to the British. *Hist. Mag.*, ii. 243.

5 After the medallion, engraved by Adam, of a picture by Du Simitière, painted in Philadelphia from life.

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BENEDICT ARNOLD.[1]

no authority. Clinton, in Oct., 1780,[2] says it was eighteen months before, which would place it about April, 1779, and this is the period adopted by Sparks[3] and Sargent.[4] The latter writer

The original is in Marbois' *Complot d'Arnold et de Sir Henry Clinton* (Paris, 1816), where it is inscribed "Le Général Arnold, déserté de l'armée des Etats Unis, le 25 Septbre, 1780." The copy of Marbois in the Brinley sale (no. 3,961) had also the sepia drawing from which the engraver worked. The Du Simitière head had already appeared in the *European Magazine* (1783), vol. iii. 83, and in his *Thirteen Heads*, etc.

A familiar profile likeness, looking to the right, was engraved by H. B. Hall for the illustrated edition of Irving's *Washington*, and is also to be found in H. W. Smith's *Andreana*. Another profile, similar, but facing to the left, is in Arnold's *Arnold*, and was etched by H. B. Hall in 1879. Cf. Harris and Allyn's *Battle of Groton Heights*.

Lossing has given us views of Arnold's birthplace in Norwich (*Harper's Mag.*, xxiii. 722; *Field-Book*, ii. 36), and of his house in New Haven (*Harper*, xvii. 13; *Field-Book*, i. 421), and of his Willow (*Harper*, xxiv. 735).

1 From the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa, Eilfter Theil*, Nürnberg, 1778.

2 *Report to Germain.*

3 *Life and Treason of Arnold.*

4 *Life of André.*

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thinks Arnold made the advances; the former believes them to have come from the British.[1] It has also been believed that the mutual recognition was effected in some way through a Lieutenant Hele, a British spy, who was in Philadelphia after Arnold took command. There might arise a suspicion that the understanding was induced through the Tory family of Miss Peggy Shippen, whom Arnold had married in April, 1779. There are stories of her maintaining correspondence with her British friends in New York, but we do not know of any letters remaining as proof of it, except one from André to that lady after her marriage to Arnold, and after the British correspondence with him under feigned names had begun, in which letter the gambolling Major André commiserated his fair friend of the previous winter on the difficulty she might experience in buying gewgaws in Philadelphia, and offering to find them for her in New York. Whether this language, like the commercial phrases in which Arnold was at this time conducting his correspondence under the name of "Gustavus" with one "John Anderson," a British merchant in that city, was likewise a blind is not probably to be discovered, and it might or might not involve a doubt as to the privity of Peggy Arnold in the rather lagging negotiations;[2] but the probability is that André wrote the letter in his own name in order that Arnold might, by the similarity of the handwriting, identify his *pseudo* Anderson; for by this time the nature of information which inured to the advantage of the British, and which Gustavus communicated to Anderson from time to time, had pretty well convinced Clinton that the person with whom he was dealing was high in rank, and probably near headquarters in Phil-

ARNOLD.[3]

[1] Clinton says Arnold "found means to intimate to me," etc.

[2] The question of Mrs. Arnold's privity to her husband's plot has been much discussed, but most investigators acquit her. Her innocence is maintained by Irving (*Washington*, iv. 151), Isaac N. Arnold (*Arnold* ch. 17), Sargent (*André*, p. 220), and Sabine (*Loyalists*, i. 122). The chief accusations are in Leake's *General Lamb*, 270, and in the Lives of Aaron Burr by Davis (i. 219) and Parton (p. 126). Cf. Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Rev.*, ii. 213; Stone's *Brant*, ii. 101; Reed's *Joseph Reed*, ii. 373. The scene in which she showed disorder of mind, when she accused Washington of attempting to kill her child, is held by some to have been mere acting. (Cf. Jones, *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 745.) It seems clear that she did not wish to join her husband when the authorities of Pennsylvania drove her to New York.

[3] From Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the present War*, ii. p. 48.

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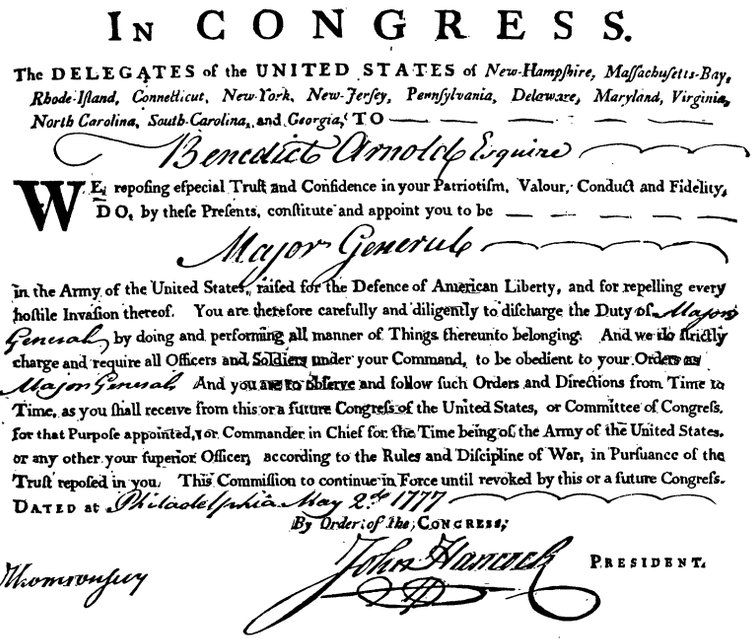
adelphia. Arnold had warm admirers; and those who trusted him for certain brilliant merits in the field included, among others, Washington himself; but Congress did not confide in him with so unquestioning a spirit. That body had raised over him in rank several of his juniors, much to Arnold's chagrin[1] and Washington's annoyance; and it was only after a renewed exhibition of his intrepidity at Danbury that it had tardily raised him to a major-generalship. enemies. The Council of Pennsylvania by a resolution (*Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1870), as we have seen, brought Congress to the point of ordering a court-martial to decide upon the charges preferred against the general, and to Arnold's revulsion of feelings at this time has been traced, by some, the beginning of his defection.[4] Certain it is that he was kept in suspense too long to render him better proof against insidious thought, for it was not till December, 1779, that



IN CONGRESS.

The DELEGATES of the UNITED STATES of *New-Hampshire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia*, TO

Benedict Arnold Eſquire

WE, repoſing eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your Patriotiſm, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO, by theſe Preſents, conſtitute and appoint you to be

Major General

in the Army of the United States, raiſed for the Defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hoſtile Invaſion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to diſcharge the Duty of *Major General*, by doing and performing all manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do ſtrictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as *Major General*. And you are to obſerve and follow ſuch Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you ſhall receive from this or a future Congreſs of the United States, or Committee of Congreſs, for that Purpoſe appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United States, or any other your ſuperior Officers, according to the Rules and Diſcipline of War, in Purſuance of the Truſt repoſed in you. This Commiſſion to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congreſs.

DATED at *Philadelphia May 2d 1777*

By Order of the CONGRESS,

John Hancock PRESIDENT.

ATTEST: *Chas Thomſon Secy*

ARNOLD'S COMMISSION AS MAJOR-GENERAL.[2]

Though his commission of May, 1777, gave him equal rank, it made him still, by its later date, the junior of those who had been his inferiors.[3] The Burgoyne campaign had been fought by him under a consequent vexation of mind, and his spirits chafed, not unreasonably, at the slight. The wound he then received incapacitating him for the field, had induced Washington, as has been shown, to put him in command of Philadelphia after the British evacuated it. It was now observed that he more willingly consorted with the Tory friends of his wife than with the tried adherents of the cause. His arrogance and impetuosity of manner always made him the trial came on. Meanwhile his debts pressed, his scrutinizers were vigilant, and there seems some reason to believe that he sought to get relief by selling himself to the French minister, — a project which, if we may believe the account, was repelled by that ambassador. To add to his irritation, Congress did not find the accounts which he had rendered of his expenditures in the Canada expedition well vouched, and Arnold resented their inquiries as an imputation upon his honesty.[5]

The trial at last resulted in his acquittal on two of the more serious charges; but being judged censurable on two others, he was sen-

[1] He wrote to Gates, "By heavens! I am a villain if I seek not a brave revenge for injured honor!" Bancroft, ix. 335.

[2] Reduced from the fac-simile given in Smith and Watson's *Hist. and Lit. Curios.*, 1st series, plate xlii.

[3] Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 344, 351, 408.

[4] Irving's *Washington*, iv. 96.

[5] Sparks's *Washington*, v. 529; Austin's *Gerry*, i. 356.

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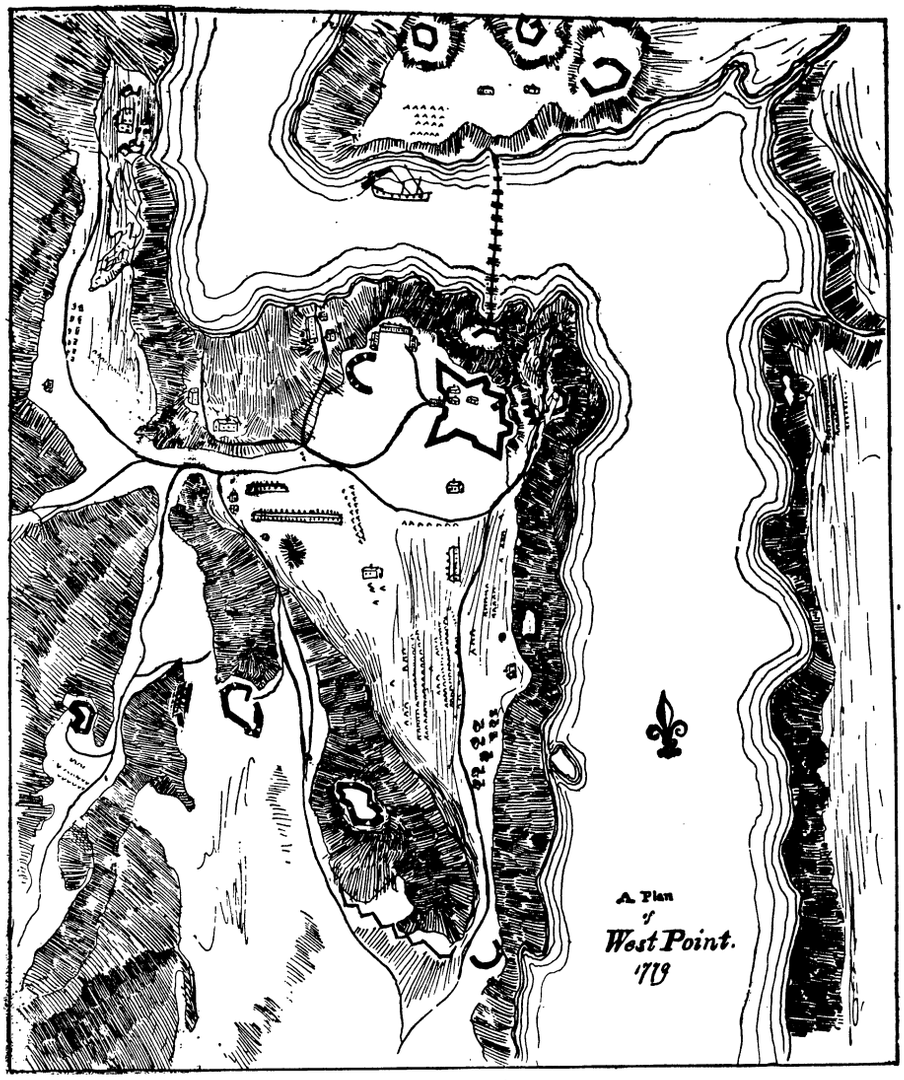

WEST POINT.[1]

tenced to a public reprimand from the commander-in-chief.[2] The burden of a public reproof, no matter how delicately imposed, was not calculated to

1 Sketched from a colored drawing in the *Moses Greenleaf Papers* (Mass. Hist. Soc.).

2 The writing in which Washington conveyed this reprimand is about the most adroit piece of literary composition which we have from his pen, and he contrived, while complying with the sentence of the court, to signify his estimate of the venial character of the offences, and to pronounce what some have considered a practical eulogy on a brilliant soldier. (Isaac N. Arnold's *Arnold*, Irving's *Washington*.) The former book gives a full examination of Arnold's career during his command in Philadelphia (chapters 12–14). For the trial, see Sparks's *Washington*, vi. 231, 248, 261, and App. p. 514. The trial closed Jan. 26, 1780. Congress ordered the report of the trial to be printed: *Proceedings of a general Court-Martial for the trial of Benedict Arnold.* Philadelphia, 1780. It was reprinted in a few copies for presentation, with introduction, notes, and index, by F. S. Hoffman, in New York in 1865. A letter of Arnold, transmitting the report to President Weare of New Hampshire, dated March 20, 1780, is in MS. *Miscell. Papers*, 1777–1824, vol. i. p. 156 (Mass. Hist. Soc. library).

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arrest the defection of a man already too far committed to retreat. If we may believe Marbois, not the best of guides, there was found among Arnold's papers, after his flight, a letter, undated and unsigned, in which he was urged to emulate the example of Gen. Monk, and save

his country by an opportune desertion of what was no longer a prospering cause.[2] It soon became evident to Arnold that of himself, destitute of representative value, he was not a commodity that Clinton was eager to buy. Accordingly the recusant soldier sought to offer a better bargain to the purchaser by the makeweight of something that Clinton particularly longed for, and this was the possession of the Hudson Valley through its chief military posts.[3] To get a hold upon this, the time was opportune, for there was a change to be made in its commander. Arnold, however, did not get the coveted prize without some intrigue, for Washington, when he found that the wounded soldier professed eagerness for hotter work, proposed his taking the command of one of the wings of the main army. Arnold met the compliment by referring to his wounds as precluding work in the saddle, and induced Schuyler and R. R. Livingston to importune Washington to assign him to West Point.[4] The device succeeded, and Arnold reached West Point, as its commander, in the first week of August, and established his headquarters in the confiscated house which had belonged to Beverley Robinson, and which was situated on the east bank of the river, a little below West Point.[5] Clinton could have no longer any doubt of the identity of his correspondent, now that "Gustavus" wrote from the Robinson house.

The conspirators' first effort was to establish communications through Robinson, on business ostensibly having relations to this confiscated property; but Washington, to whom, for appearances, Arnold showed Robinson's application for an interview, told him that the civil, and not the military, powers should meet such proposals. Arnold could find at this time little difficulty in transmitting his clandestine letters, for there was constant occasion for the passage of flags from his own headquarters. To cover his proceedings from the officers of the American outposts, he only had to pretend that the expected messages or messengers were from his own spies in New York.[6] Clinton was appar-

1 A profile cut by himself for Miss Rebecca Redman, in 1778, and given in Smith and Watson's *Hist. and Lit. Curiosities*, 1st series, pl. xxv.

2 It is believed that the writer of this letter was Beverley Robinson, a loyalist in the British service. The letter is only known through the French version in Marbois' *Complot*, and it has not passed without some suspicion of its genuineness. (Cf. Arnold's *Arnold*, p. 275; Sargent's *André*, 446; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1878, p. 756; Reed's *Jos. Reed*, ii. 54, etc.)

3 Several attempts at invasion from Canada are supposed to have been timed in unison with Arnold's plot (Hough's *Northern Invasion*, New York, 1866; Lossing's *Schuyler*, ii. 407).

4 Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 2; Irving's *Washington;* Lossing's *Schuyler*, ii. 52; Arnold's *Arnold*.

5 For views of this house, see Boynton's *West Point;* Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 140; his *Hudson*, 236; his *Two Spies*, p. 95; *Harper's Mag.*, lii. 827. Cf. Sargent's *André*, 263; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (Feb., 1880), iv. 109, by C. A. Campbell.

6 Johnson says (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. 731) that Varick's papers show that Arnold's letter to Anderson of Aug. 30th never reached André, though Sparks and Sargent print it as having been received. This is the letter which Sargent supposes may have been conveyed to André by Heron. This and Arnold's of Sept. 15th are the only ones of "Gustavus" preserved. Fac-similes of a part of one of these letters, with a portion of one of "Anderson's," are given in Sparks's *Arnold;* in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 146; in the *Cyclop. of U. S.*

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John Andre
D. A. D. Gen —

ently not willing to commit himself to any bargain, unless Arnold would give a personal interview as an evidence of his sincerity; while Arnold, in according, on his part insisted that his interviewer should be the convenient Anderson. André, since he had become the adjutant-general of the British army, was now fully understood to represent that fictitious New York merchant. Arnold named Robinson's house for the meeting, and would make arrangements by which any flag should pass the outposts. This was objected to, and the neutral ground near Dobbs Ferry was settled upon. Here Arnold went in his barge; but the officers of the Brit-

Hist., ii. 1410, etc. Cf. *Harper's Monthly*, lii. 825. Fac-similes of Arnold's passes are in Lossing, ii. 155. These passes are printed in Dawson's *Papers*, 60; H. W. Smith's *Andreana*; McCoy's edition of the *Proceedings*, etc., and in other places.

[1] From the *Political Magazine*, March, 1781, ii. 171. There is a modern reproduction of this engraving in the *Minutes of a Court of Inquiry*, etc., Albany, 1865, and in H. W. Smith's *Andreana*, Phila., 1865, who gives a full-length, of the origin of which we are left uninformed.

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ish guard-boats were not in the secret, and the meeting failed by reason of their chasing Arnold's barge up the river. Another attempt was planned, but this failed in the beginning, apparently by André's going up to the "Vulture," sloop-of-war, which was lying in the river, instead of landing lower down, as was expected. André was provided with full instructions, which if obeyed would have saved him the ignominy of a felon's death. He was not to put off his uniform, was not to go within the American lines, and was not to receive any papers. His bargain with Arnold was to have no written ex-

ANDRE.[1]

pression, and it involved on Sir Henry's part the dispatch of an ample force in a flotilla from Sir George Rodney's fleet, then in New York, where the men were already embarked, ostensibly for the Chesapeake, and the attack was to be made on the 25th of September, when it was supposed that Washington would have left the Hudson to go to Connecticut for an interview with Rochambeau. There was further to be made by André a promise that Arnold should have a commission in the British army and a sum of money. The American general, on his part, was so to dispose the forces in the works about West Point that the attack would, beyond doubt, end in a surprise and a mastery that would give color to the necessity of a surrender, which he was promptly to make.

It now became necessary that some device should be practised to let Arnold know that André had reached the "Vulture." There had just happened some firing upon a boat of the "Vulture," in going to meet what the British captain supposed or pretended to suppose a white flag displayed on the shore. This gave the opportunity of dispatching a flag to the commander in the Highlands, to remonstrate against such perfidy. The British captain accordingly sent such a message, and André wrote the letter in a hand which he knew Arnold would recognize, and moreover countersigned it with "John Anderson, Secretary."

Arnold at once bent to the occasion. He engaged one Joshua Hett Smith, who lived in the neighborhood, to go by night to the "Vulture" in a boat, and bring to the adjacent shore a gentleman whom he would find on board, from whom Arnold expected to get information. How far Smith was a dupe or a knave has never been satisfactorily determined. The business would seem to have had a plain significance to a quick-witted man; but a court was not able later to convict Smith of knowing precisely what it all meant. Smith had also with him two oarsmen, and it was not apparently believed that they were in a position to know enough to render their patriotism doubtful. It was then by night, in a boat steered by Smith, that André, dressed in his uniform, but with an overcoat wrapped about him, was rowed ashore. According to Smith, the darkness and the outer garment so concealed André's dress that his steersman never suspected him to be an officer. Arnold was found waiting in the bushes, a little remote from the landing. Here Smith left the two conspirators alone and returned to his boat; but when the signs of dawn began to appear he returned to warn them. Arnold, who had brought along with him an extra horse, mounted André on it, and the two started to go to Smith's house,[2] which was two or three miles away on the hill, and within the American lines. If André is to be believed, he was not told that he was to go

[1] This picture of André, by himself, was originally engraved in 1784 by J. K. Sherwin, and was reëngraved by Hopwood for J. H. Smith's *Authentic Narrative*, London, 1808, and from this second engraving the present cut is taken. It has of late years been engraved by H. B. Hall in Sparks's *Washington*, quarto ed., vol. iv.; H. W. Smith's *Andreana;* Sargent's *André; Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1879, p. 745 (etched by H. B. Hall). What seems to be the same, but extended to include the thighs, is given in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 197; *Two Spies*, 36. A picture by Reynolds (given in Harper's, lii. 822, and *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, i. 46) is said to be preserved at Tunbridge Wells. A pen-and-ink sketch by himself, made during his confinement, is now preserved in the Trumbull gallery at New Haven. Sparks first engraved it, and it has since been reproduced by Lossing, in *Harper's Mag.*, xxi. 4, in Smith's *Andreana*, and elsewhere.

[2] There are views of this house in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 25; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 152; *Harper's Mag.*, lii. 829; his *Two Spies*, 82; his *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, ii. 1411.

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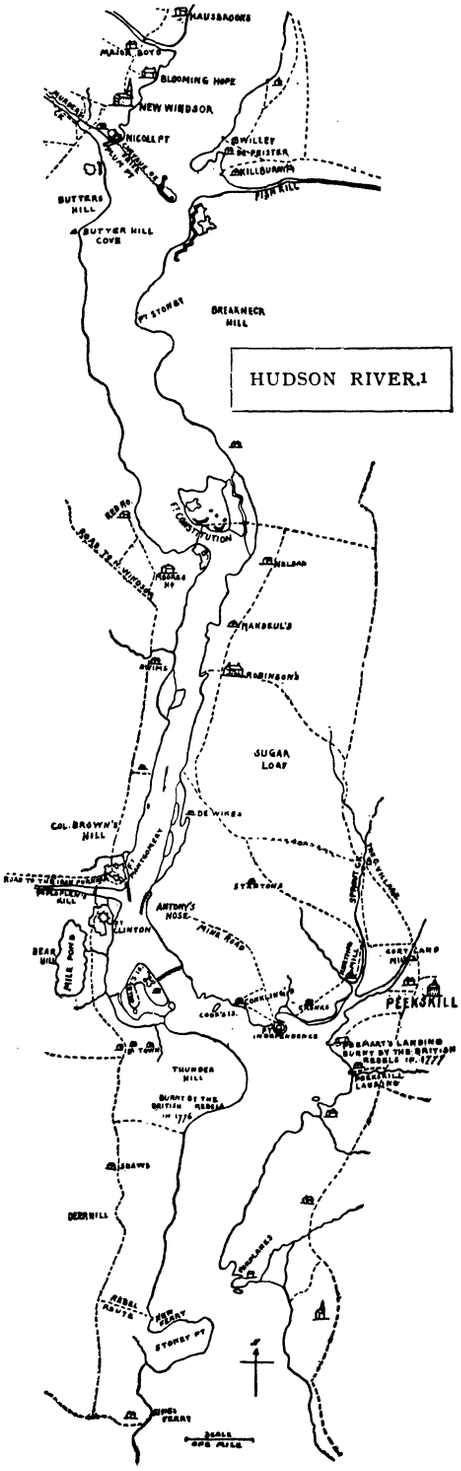
within the American outposts, and indeed there is no conclusive evidence to show why they went to Smith's house at all. Perhaps Smith or the boatmen refused, in the growing light, to take the risk of the return to the vessel. The general opinion has been that the conspirators had not concluded their negotiations, and needed more time. That Arnold had had a predetermined purpose to go to the house, if necessary, seems to be made clear from the fact that he had induced Smith to move his family away from their home temporarily, and on some pretext which Smith did not object to. André says that he first discovered Arnold's plan to get him within the American lines when, as they rode on their way, Arnold gave the countersign at the outposts. This was the first departure from Clinton's instructions. After they had reached the house the day broadened, and, the sound of cannon being heard, André went to a window, whence he could see the "Vulture" in the distance,[2] and saw that the Americans had dragged some cannon to a neighboring point, whence their fire became so annoying that the vessel raised her anchor and fell down the river. André became anxious lest this incident should preclude his return by water. The day had not far advanced when the bargain was completed, and Arnold prepared to leave for West Point to perfect the dispositions expected of him. He left behind sundry papers, mostly in his own handwriting, which André was to take to Clinton. Why another injunction of his superior was evaded by André in accepting the papers is not clear. They conveyed no information about the condition of the post which Clinton did not already possess or André could repeat to him. Possibly it was thought that, being in Arnold's autograph, the documents might serve as a pledge for what André was verbally to report to him.

Arnold seems to have made no certain provision for his fellow-conspirator's return to the "Vulture," but he left passes, which could be used either on the water or land passage, as circumstance might determine. André spent an anxious day after Arnold left. He was finally cheered by observing that the "Vulture," as if mindful of him, had returned to her previous moorings; but his hopes were futile. As night came on Smith showed no signs of arranging for a water passage to the ship, and made excuses.



1 Reduced from a rough pen-and-ink sketch, three feet and eight inches long, preserved among the Sparks MS. maps in Cornell University library, and inscribed "To his Excellency George Clinton, Esq^r, Governor of the State of New York, this map of Hudson's River through the Highlands is humbly dedicated by his Excellency's most humble servant THOMAS MACHIN, iv. January, MDCCLXXVIII."

2 This view is given in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 185.

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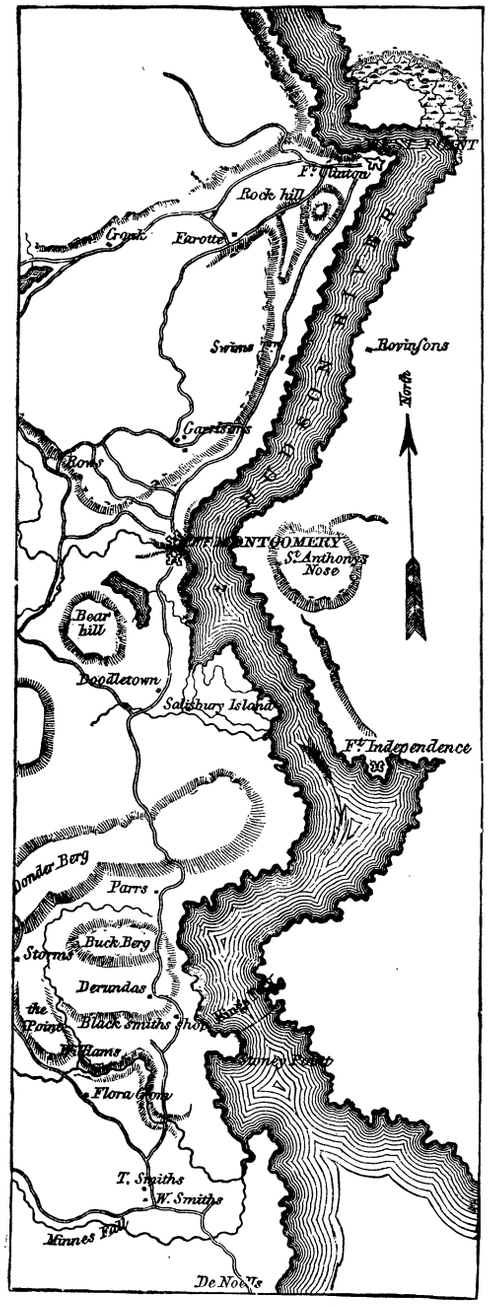

HUDSON RIVER.[1]

The fact probably was, that, after the cannonading of the morning, Smith had no desire to risk himself on the river in a boat. It was accordingly agreed that André should undertake to return to New York by land, and that Smith should accompany him beyond the American outposts, under the protection of Arnold's pass and of his own acquaintance with the officers of the lower posts. It now became necessary for André to disregard another of Clinton's directions, and exchange his uniform for common clothes.[2] This done, he put the papers which Arnold had given him under his soles and within his stockings. Thus arrayed, about dusk the two started, accompanied by Smith's negro servant. They crossed King's Ferry, and proceeding on their way were stopped once, but suffered to advance on showing Arnold's pass. After spending the night at a house, they had gone on some distance the next morning when Smith parted with André, and, going to Robinson's house, reported to Arnold that André had been conducted beyond the lines. André went on in better spirits than before, feeling sure now that he could encounter nothing more serious than some wandering cowboys, as the British marauders who infested the Neutral Ground between the two armies were called, and with whom he could easily parley to their satisfaction. The natural foes of the "Cowboys" were the "Skinners," who harried the unfortunate adherents of the British along the same roads, and wrestled with the Cowboys as opportunity offered.[3] As it happened, a party of the American prowlers were out to intercept some British marauders, and three of the number were ensconced close by a stream not far from Tarrytown, on the upper side. They were by name John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart. Paulding was by force of character the leader, and was dressed in a refugee's suit, which not many days before had been put upon him in exchange for his own better garments,

[1] After the original draft by Major Villefranche (1780) as reproduced in Boynton's *West Point*, p. 45. Sargent, in his *André*, gives a map "engraved from a number of original drawings by Villefranche and other engineers, and preserved by Major Sargent, of the American army, who was stationed at West Point as aide to General [Robert] Howe until that officer was relieved by Arnold."

[2] Percy Greg, in his *History of the United States* (London, 1887), vol. i. p. 304, thinks Joshua Smith was in the pay of Washington, and persuaded André to put on a disguise in order that he might be condemned as a spy if caught! This opinion is of the character of most of the speculations in the book; of course it condemns the execution.

[3] Sargent's *André*, p. 306.

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when he had come out from confinement within the British lines. This suit, as well as Paulding's profession that he was "of the lower party," given to André's inquiry when, as he came along, he was stopped by the men, led to

COLONEL BENJAMIN TALLMADGE.[1]

André's revealing himself as a British officer. When the traveller found he had made a mistake, he showed Arnold's pass, and tried to enforce it by threats of the American commander's displeasure if the captors dared to disregard it. This failing, he tried bribes, and it was André's opinion that if he could have made the payment sure he might have got off, as money seemed to be their object. The men, on the other hand, said that they could have resisted any offer of money when, on searching their prisoner, they found the papers in his boots.[2] Paulding, who alone could read, saw the purport of the documents, and pronounced André a spy.

André was remounted and led under their

[1] After a sketch taken by Colonel Trumbull, at the close of the war, and engraved in the *Memoir of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, prepared by himself at the request of his children*, New York, 1858. A portrait in his later years, painted by E. Ames and engraved by G. Parker, is in the *National Portrait Gallery*, Philadelphia, 1836, vol. iii.

[2] These papers, having been used in André's trial, were passed over to Governor Clinton to be used in the civil trial of Smith, and from Clinton's descendant Sparks procured them when he was writing his *Life and Treason of Arnold*. Lossing also got them from the same source, and collated them with Sparks's copies before he printed them in his *Field-Book*, ii. 153. They were subsequently bought by the State of New York, and are now in the State library at Albany. They have since been printed by McCoy in his edition of the *Proceedings* of André's examination; by Boynton in his *West Point*, ch. 7; by Dawson in his *Papers* ("Gazette series"), 51; in the Appendix of his edition of Smith's trial, and in *Revolutionary Relics or Clinton Correspondence, comprising the celebrated papers found in André's boots, etc., published originally in the N. Y. Herald*, N. Y., 1842 (Menzies, no. 1,687); and in *Cent. Celeb. of the State of N. Y.* (1879).

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combined guidance to the quarters[1] of Colonel Jameson, who commanded some dragoons at Northcastle. That officer recognized Arnold's handwriting in the papers found on the prisoner, but he seems to have been bewildered by the discovery, though it was afterwards urged that he thought the transaction was a plot of "John Anderson," whoever he might be, to implicate Arnold in some mischief. How far the prisoner himself may have prompted Jameson is not known, for it was clear enough to André that Arnold only could now extricate him from the gathering toils. Accordingly, events took a promising turn for him when Jameson dispatched the prisoner, under escort, to Arnold's headquarters, with a letter which informed his superior of what was apparent enough, that some dangerous papers had been found on Anderson, and that he had sent them to Washington. Major Benjamin Tallmadge, one of his officers, who was absent on a scout, returned before André had long been gone, and learning the particulars from Jameson saw at once the blunder, and persuaded Jameson to send a messenger to recall André and his escort. Jameson did so, but insisted that the letter to Arnold should go on, as it did.

The messenger with the papers sought to intercept Washington on the lower road from Hartford, which the commander-in-chief was supposed at that time to be traversing on his return from the interview with Rochambeau.

The next morning André was sent, for better security, in the charge of Tallmadge to Colonel Sheldon's quarters at New Salem. Here, getting permission to walk in the door-yard in the custody of an officer named King, André revealed his name and station, and being allowed pen and paper, he made the same avowal in a letter to Washington, which, when written, he handed to Tallmadge. Its contents confirmed that officer's suspicion that the prisoner was a military man, for he had shown a soldier's habit of turning on his heel as he paced his room.

Washington, returning by the upper road, had missed Jameson's messenger, who, retracing his steps, passed through New Salem, where he was entrusted also with the letter which André had just written, and then went on towards the Robinson house, where Washington was then supposed to be.

It was now the 25th, the very day when Rodney was to come up the river with his flotilla, and Arnold sat at breakfast at this same Robinson house,[2] not knowing what the day would develop. There were with him Mrs. Arnold, who had not long before (Sept. 15) come from Philadelphia, and two of Washington's aides, who had arrived a little in advance of their chief.

It was two days earlier than Washington had been expected back, and this was a serious perplexity in the mind of the conspirator. The suspense was soon ended, for Jameson's messenger to him shortly arrived, and the letter was put in Arnold's hands before the company. He read it, showed, as was remembered afterwards, a little agitation, but only a little, and in a few minutes left the table, saying that it was necessary for him to go to West Point. It seemed natural enough to his guests; but Mrs. Arnold observed his agitation more keenly, and followed him to their chamber, where all was revealed to her. She swooned; he kissed the infant lying there; descended the stairs;[3] stopped an instant to say to the breakfast party that Mrs. Arnold was not feeling well and would not come down again; mounted a horse which he had already ordered; hurried down the steep road to the river; entered his barge and seated himself in its prow; directed his men to row to mid-stream; and then priming his pistols, which he had taken from his holster, he ordered them to hurry down the river, as he had to go with a flag to the "Vulture," and must hasten back to meet Washington, who was shortly to reach his quarters. He tied a white handkerchief to a cane, and waved it as he passed Livingston's batteries at Verplanck's Point, and that officer recognizing the barge allowed it to pass on. In a few minutes more he was under the "Vulture's" guns, and then under her flag. His boatmen resisted his offers of recompense for desertion, and were not allowed to return to shore to spread the intelligence, which they now comprehended.[4]

Not long after Arnold left the Robinson house, Washington arrived, and, learning that Arnold had gone to West Point, he passed over unsuspicious to that post, where he was surprised not

[1] There is a view of his quarters in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 188.

[2] View of the breakfast room in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 158.

[3] Some memoranda of his aide, Colonel Varick (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. 727) show that Arnold's movements were hastened by the arrival of Washington's servant at this moment, announcing the near approach of his master.

[4] They were subsequently released in New York. Dr. William Eustis's account of this flight to the "Vulture," written May 8, 1815, is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet (*Letters and Papers*, 1777–1824, vol. ii. 206), and is printed in their *Collections*, xiv. 52. Its purport is to emphasize the patriotic resistance of the boatmen to Arnold's offers for their desertion. He says some of them were sent ashore in an inferior boat, Arnold keeping the barge. Cf. Heath's *Memoirs*.

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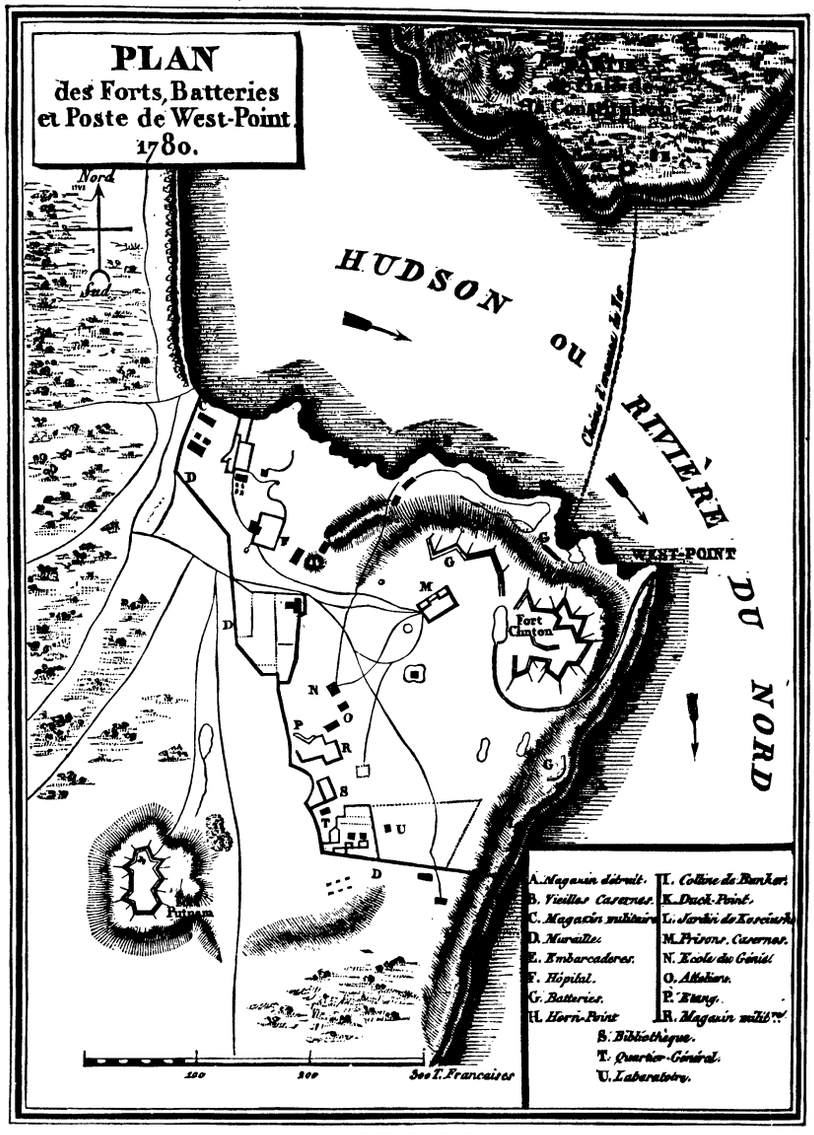

WEST POINT.[1]

to find Arnold.[2] While Washington was gone, Jameson's messenger with the captured papers and André's letter arrived, and Hamilton, left behind by Washington, opened them as his con-

[1] Reproduced from the plan in Marbois' *Complot d'Arnold et de Sir Henry Clinton*, Paris, 1816. A plate in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1879, p. 756, showing the route of André, is a portion of a map among the Simeon de Witt's maps (i. no. 66) in the library of the New York Hist. Society, and was made by Robert Erskine, the topographical engineer of the army, 1778–1780, and was for the whole length of it, from Staten Island to Newburgh, engraved for the first time in Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., ii. 276.

There are other maps of the scene of the conspiracy and its attendant events in Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 216; Guizot's Atlas to his *Washington;* Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., vol. iv.; Carrington's *Battles*, 512; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 148; and Boynton's *West Point*, 104.

[2] The Varick memoranda (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii.) would seem to indicate that Varick, Franks, and Dr.

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fidential aide.[1] As soon as Washington's boat approached on his return from West Point, Hamilton went towards the dock to meet his chief, whispered a word, and both later entered the house and were closeted. The plot was revealed. Hamilton was dispatched to Livingston to head off Arnold in his escape if possible, but on reaching that officer's post it was found that Arnold's boat had already passed. Before Hamilton was ready to set out on his return, a flag from the "Vulture" brought ashore a letter from Arnold, addressed to Washington, framed in lofty expressions of his own rectitude, and avowing the innocence of Smith, of his own wife, and his aides.[2] Before Hamilton's return, Washington had dined with his officers without revealing the secret, but he shortly took Knox and Lafayette into his confidence. There was naturally great uncertainty as respects the extent of the conspiracy, and of what preparations the enemy had made for an immediate onset. The anxiety of the moment was soon evinced by the great activity of aides and orderlies. Word was sent in every direction for arrangements to be made for any emergency.[3]

André was brought to West Point, and Smith was arrested and held for examination. Special precautions were taken to keep them apart and to prevent escape. André was then conveyed down the river, still under Tallmadge's care, to headquarters at Tappan, where he was closely guarded in an old stone house, still standing.[4]

A board of general officers was at once summoned to consider the case and recommend what action should be taken. The papers taken from André were laid before them.[5] André himself was brought into their presence, when he made a written statement, and answered questions. He acknowledged everything, but said nothing to implicate others. He affirmed that he did not consider himself under the protection of a flag when he landed from the "Vulture." The report of the board was that André was a spy, and merited the death of a spy. Washington ordered the execution, and sent a record of the proceedings to Congress and recommended its publication. Congress printed the record.[6]

Clinton was meanwhile informed of what had happened by the return of the "Vulture" to New York, and wrote to Washington that Ar-

Eustis had already begun to be suspicious, and Arnold's barge had been observed by some one to go down stream and not to West Point.

[1] Arnold had, before leaving, cautioned this messenger to keep quiet, and this also becoming known increased the suspicion of his aides (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii.).

[2] These aides were Colonel Richard Varick and Major David S. Franks. Henry P. Johnston, in a paper, "Colonel Varick and Arnold's Treason," printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1882 (viii. p. 717), has thrown some new light, from papers of Colonel Varick, on the life at Robinson's house previous to the flight of Arnold, and on the evidence, both of Varick, Franks, and Dr. Eustis, brought out before a board of inquiry, Nov. 2, which acquitted these officers of any complicity in the plot. On the night when Smith had been dragged from his bed and put in confinement, Arnold's aides had been put under arrest. This paper also shows, from a deposition of General Knox, that Varick had found in one of Arnold's trunks, after his desertion, some plans and profiles of the West Point works.

[3] These orders are in Dawson's *Papers*, p. 63. Colonel Lamb had command of the immediate works at West Point at the time; but being absent, Col. Nathaniel Wade had temporary charge (*Ipswich Antiq. Papers*, ii. no. 19). Lamb's orderly-book, July–Dec., 1780, is owned by the Cayuga County Hist. Society.

St. Clair succeeded Arnold in command of the post, and his instructions from Washington are in the *St. Clair Papers*, i. 528.

[4] There are views of the De Wint house at Tappan, occupied by Washington as headquarters, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (v. 105; cf. p. 21), with a paper by J. A. Stevens. Cf. also Irving's *Washington*, 4° ed., vol. iv.; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 196, etc., his *Hudson*, p. 336, and his *Two Spies*, 100; Ruttenber's *Orange County* (1875), p. 215.

The house in which André was confined, known as the "Seventy-six Stone House," is described, with a plan of its rooms and the village, and a view of the building, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, (Dec., 1879), iii. p. 743, etc. Cf. Lossing's *Two Spies*, 97. The earliest description was written in 1818, and is cited in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, v. 57.

[5] It is only within a few years, and since the publication of Clinton's record of the secret service of headquarters, that it has been known that Gen. S. H. Parsons, of Connecticut, was at this time acting as a spy for the British general. André, who saw him in the court, may have known this.

[6] *Proceedings of a board of General Officers, by order of General Washington, . . . respecting Major John André, . . . Sept. 29, 1780; to which are appended the several letters which passed to and from New York on the occasion. Published by order of Congress* (Philad., 1780). There is a copy in Harvard College library, and others are noted in Menzies (no. 63, $63); Morrell (no. 20, $26); Brinley (ii. no. 3,937); John A. Rice (no. 45, $67.50). There were editions the same year at Hartford (Brinley, ii. 3939) and at Providence (no date; Cooke, iii. 91, now in Harvard College library). Cf. also *N. Y. Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1780, and *Political Mag.*, i. 749. It was reprinted in London, 1799, in conjunction with Dunlap's *Tragedy of André*. Later reprints are: —

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nold's flag and pass should save André from the character of a spy. Beverley Robinson wrote to a similar purport, and so did Arnold; but the latter added a threat of retaliation in case André was executed, which was not calculated to further the purpose of André's friends, and it is rather surprising they allowed the letter to proceed. Washington replied in effect that a flag must be used in good faith to preserve its character, and that the concealment of dress and papers was the action of a spy.

Gen. Robertson was sent by Clinton to make further representations, and Washington put off the execution till Greene could confer with that general at an outpost. A repetition of the arguments on the British side made no change in the aspects of the case; and when Robertson quoted Arnold as saying André was under a flag, Greene told him they believed André rather than Arnold. Robertson wrote again to Washington, who had now definitely fixed mid-day of Oct. 2d for the execution. Washington thought it also best to leave unanswered a note of André requesting to be shot rather than hanged. Further letters, amplifying the British arguments, were prepared,[1] but before they could be sent to Washington word came that the execution had taken place.

During his confinement in Tappan, and after he became aware of his fate, André conducted himself with a cheerful dignity that much endeared him to the gentlemen who came in contact with him. His servant had brought from New York fresh linen and his uniform, which André put on with evident satisfaction. He practised his ready skill in pen-and-ink drawing, and made several sketches, which he gave to his attendants as souvenirs.[2] As his hour approached, he said graciously to his escort, "I am ready," and went to the place appointed, surrounded by guards and through a large concourse of people. Of the general officers of the army at the post only the commander-in-chief and staff were absent; and as the sad procession passed headquarters the blinds were drawn, and no one was seen. When the gibbet came in sight, André shrank a moment, but instantly recovered, for he had nourished hopes that his request as to the manner of his death would not be denied. He bandaged his eyes himself; lifted the cloth a moment to say that he wished all to bear witness to the firmness with which he met his death; and when the cart was withdrawn died instantly.[3] When his uniform was removed and placed in his servant's hands, the coffin which contained the body was buried near the spot.

His remains were disinterred in 1821 and taken to England,[4] where they were deposited in Westminster Abbey, beside the monument

Proceedings, etc., A Reprint with additional matters (Philad., 1865; 50 copies in quarto, 100 in octavo). *Andreana: containing the trial, execution, and various matters connected with the history of Maj. John André* (Philad., 1865), with an introduction by Horace W. Smith (Brinley, ii. 3943; Cooke, iii. 94). *Minutes of a Court of Inquiry upon the case of Maj. John André, with accompanying documents and an Appendix* (Albany, 1865; privately printed, 100 copies, for John F. McCoy; Brinley, ii. 3941; Cooke, iii. 92).

Sargent, in printing it in his *André*, collated the original MS., which is preserved at Washington. It is also to be found in Boynton's *West Point*, 127; in Dawson's *Papers* (Gazette series). The Cooke Catalogue (iii. 92) gives an edition, New York, 1867.

The original edition (1780) contains: Washington's letter, Sept. 26th, to the president of Congress; André's letter to Washington, Sept. 24th; Arnold's letter to Washington, Sept. 25th; B. Robinson's to Washington, Sept. 25th; Clinton to Washington, Sept. 26th; Arnold to Clinton, Sept. 26th; and the award of the court. The appendix has André's letter to Clinton, Sept. 29th; Washington to Clinton, Sept. 30th; Arnold's commission left at West Point; Arnold to Washington, Oct. 1st; André to Washington, Oct. 1st.

André's statement is not given in full, but only in substance, in this volume, but it is included as written by him in Sargent, p. 349; Boynton's *West Point;* Dawson's *Papers.* (Cf. *Amer. Bibliopolist*, 1870, p. 15.)

1 By Clinton and Capt. Sutherland of the "Vulture," dated Oct. 4th and 5th. They are in the *Sparks MSS.*, vol. lviii. Cf. Sargent, p. 385.

2 One of these is preserved in the Trumbull gallery at New Haven. It represents André himself sitting in a chair at a table on which is an inkstand and pen. It has been engraved in fac-simile in Sparks's *Arnold*, 280; in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 203; in George C. Hill's *Arnold*, etc. Another is a sketch of the landing by boat from the "Vulture," showing André rowed ashore. An aquatint engraving from it was published in New York in 1780, of which there is a reproduction in *Harper's Mag.*, lii. p. 835, and Lossing's *Two Spies*. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vol. xiii. (Feb., 1885), p. 173, for a paper by L. Wilson on André's landing-place at Haverstraw.

3 An engraving of the scene is given in Barnard's *History of England* (p. 694), which is reproduced in H. W. Smith's *Andreana.*

4 The account of the removal by James Buchanan, who effected it, is in the *United Service Journal*, Nov., 1833. Cf. for other details W. Sargent's *André;* Stanley's *Westminster Abbey; Penna. Hist. Soc. Mem.*, vi. 373; *N. Y. Evangelist*, Jan. 10 and Feb. 27, 1879; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 319; L. M. Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 58.

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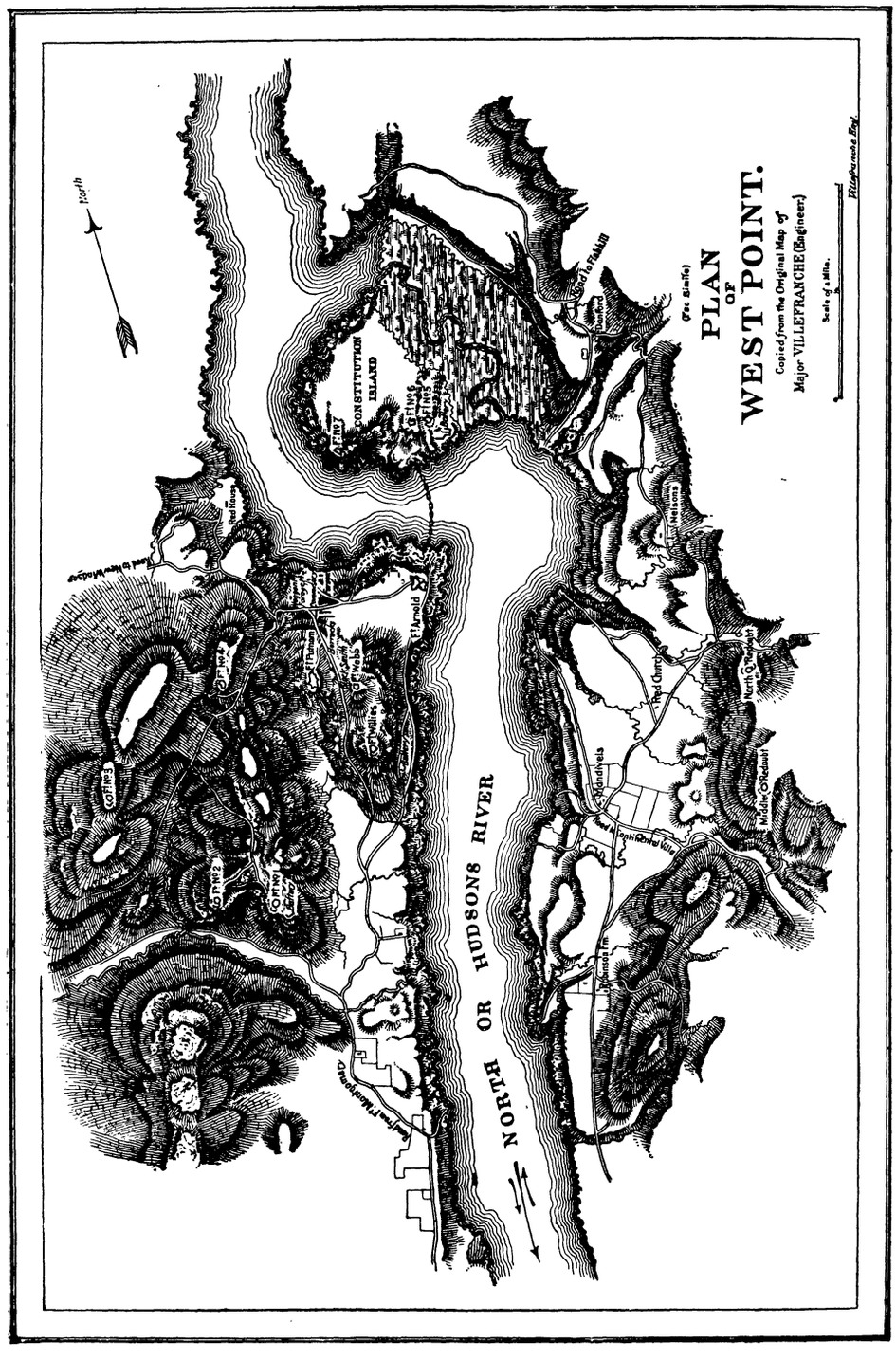
PLAN
OF
WEST POINT.
Copied from the Original Map of
Major VILLEFRANCHE (Engineer.)
NORTH OR HUDSONS RIVER
CONSTITUTION ISLAND
Fort Putnam
Fort Wood
Fort Arnold
Fort Clinton
Fort Webb
Fort Wyllys
Fort Knox
Fort No 3
Fort No 2
Fort No 1
Chain
Thayendanegea
Redoubt
Redoubt
Redoubt

which had been erected there to his memory shortly after his death.[1] Many years after the removal, a rude boulder,[2] on which a simple record was chiselled, was placed on the spot of his burial; but this had disappeared when a few years since a plain monument, with an inscription by Dean Stanley of the Abbey, was made to perpetuate the record of his grave.[3]

Arnold received the price of his desertion,[4] was made a general in the British service, and turned his sword, both in Connecticut and Virginia, against his countrymen. Afterwards he went to England, was treated with an enforced respect in some places, and scorned in others.[5] He lived for a while in New Brunswick, but he never escaped the torments which the presence of honorable men inflicted upon him. His descendants live to-day in England and in Canada, and some of them have attained high rank in the British army; and no one of them, as far as known, has disgraced the good name of the old Rhode Island family, whence Benedict Arnold descended.[6]

The report of the court respecting André, with its appendix (already referred to), and the trial of Smith were the first public sifting of the evidence about the conspiracy. Smith was acquitted by the military tribunal,[7] and was then turned over to the civil authorities for a further trial; but, succeeding in escaping in women's clothes, he reached New York, and England, where several years later he published a narrative, which it is not easy to reconcile with all his evidence in his trial, — the supposition[8] being that he was addressing injured Americans in the one case and disappointed Britons in the other.[9] Marbois, the secretary of the French legation at Philadelphia at the time, wrote a *Complot d'Arnold et Clinton*, which was not published till 1816 at Paris. Sparks says, that what came under Marbois' personal observation is valuable; but otherwise the book, as most students think, should be used with caution.[10]

NOTE. — A reduced sketch is placed opposite from a plan by Villefranche, made in 1780, and given in facsimile in Boynton's *West Point*, p. 86. He also (p. 79) gives Villefranche's plan (1780) of Fort Arnold, built 1778 on the eastern limits of West Point. On Villefranche see *Ibid.*, p. 160. Boynton also gives a long folding panoramic view of West Point in 1780 from the eastern bank of the river, which shows the batteries and camps on both banks. Cf. illustrated paper, by Lossing, in *Scribner's Mag.*, v. 4.

1 This monument has been often represented in engravings (for the first time in *The Universal Mag.*, 1782; cf. Lossing's *Field-Book; Cyclo. U. S. Hist.*, i. 46; *Two Spies;* and guide-books to the Abbey). Germain informed Clinton, Nov. 28, 1780, that a pension had been bestowed on André's mother, and the offer of knighthood made to his brother, "in order to wipe away all stain from the family."

Col. John Trumbull, who had been Washington's aide, was arrested in London with threats of retaliatory treatment; but he was released at the intercession of Benjamin West, the painter. Trumbull tells the story in his *Autobiography*. Cf. Walpole's *Last Journal*, ii. 434, 436.

2 View of it in Lossing's *Two Spies*, 109; his *Field-Book*, ii. 204. It was placed there in 1847.

3 View and account in Lossing's *Two Spies*, 110.

4 The amount received was £6,315 (Sargent's *André*, 450). He issued an address of exculpation to the inhabitants of America, dated New York, Oct. 7, 1780, which is printed by Isaac N. Arnold (p. 330) from the original MS. in a text varying slightly from other printed copies, as in the *Political Mag.*, i. 734. A fortnight later (Oct. 20th) he issued a proclamation to induce defection among the officers and soldiers of the army, the original draft of which is among the Force Papers in the library of Congress. It is printed in I. N. Arnold, p. 332; in *Polit. Mag.*, i. 766, etc.

Sargent thinks that a vindication of Arnold which appeared in *Remarks on the Travels of M. de Chastellux*, London, 1787, was instigated by Arnold himself.

5 Cf. "Arnold at the Court of George III.," by I. N. Arnold, in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1879, and in his *Life of Arnold*. Cf. Sargent's *André*, App. i.; and Walpole's *Last Journal*, ii. 493, 494, 501, 511.

6 *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1883, p. 307; *Amer. Hist. Record*, iii. 495; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxxiv. 196.

7 The original records of this trial are said to have disappeared from the State archives at Albany, but they had been printed in the *New York Herald*. Dawson reprinted this Herald text in the *Historical Mag.*, vol. x., July–Nov., 1866, and issued it separately as *Record of the trial of Joshua Hett Smith, Esq., for alleged complicity in the treason of Benedict Arnold, 1780, Ed. by H. B. Dawson* (Morrisania, 1866). Sparks made use of the record; and the evidence has been examined in P. W. Chandler's *American Criminal Trials*, ii. 155, 183. The *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1780, Supplement, p. 610, gave an account of the trial and printed the chief documents.

8 Sargent's *André*, p. 281.

9 Smith published in London in 1808, and there was reprinted in N. Y. in 1809, *A Narrative of the causes which led to the death of Major André* (Cooke, iii. 101; Brinley, ii. 3,954). Sargent found that it must be used with caution. Sparks says (p. 298) that as "a work of history this volume is not worthy of the least credit, except where the statements are confirmed by other authorities."

10 Sargent, 266; George W. Greene, *Hist. View*. Marbois was translated by Walsh in the *Amer. Register*, vol. ii. Cf. a French view in Léon Chotteau's *Les Français en Amérique*, p. 199.

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The earliest comprehensive treatment of the subject — and it has hardly been surpassed since — was in Sparks's *Life and Treason of Arnold* (Boston), and he gives the principal documentary evidence in his *Washington*, vol. vii. App.[1]

The next special examination of the conspiracy was made in Winthrop Sargent's[2] *Life and Career of Major John André* (Boston, 1861), — an excellent book.[3]

In 1864 the story necessarily made a part of Edward C. Boynton's *History of West Point*, who pointed out the military advantage of the Highlands of the Hudson.[4] Not long after this, Henry B. Dawson, then editing the *Yonkers Gazette*, printed in its columns sixty-eight contemporary documents or narratives, and these, subsequently printed from the same type in book-form, constitute no. 1 of Dawson's *Gazette Series*, under the title of *Papers concerning the capture and detention of Major John André* (1866). It is the most complete gathering of authentic material which has been made.

The volume (x.) of Bancroft which contains his account of the conspiracy appeared in 1875, and was constructed "by following only contemporary documents, which are abundant and of the surest character, and which, taken collectively, solve every question. . . . The reminiscences of men who wrote in later days are so mixed up with errors of memory and fable that they offer no sure foothold."[5]

The *Life of Arnold*, by Isaac N. Arnold, of Chicago, and the *Two Spies* of Benson J. Lossing, are the last considerable examinations of the subject.[6]

[1] There are in the *Sparks MSS.*, xlix., no. 14, various papers used by Sparks in writing his life of Arnold, including the action of Congress on the seizure of Arnold's papers, and copies of the papers; letters written in 1833–1834 to Sparks and others, by David Hosack, Benj. Tallmadge, James Thacher, Nathan Beers, Professor Woolsey, John D. Dickinson, Samuel Eddy, James Lanman, James Stedman, J. Bronson, and William Shimmin, — mainly reminiscences. Cf. for some of these letters, the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1879. Copies of Arnold's letters from Philadelphia in 1779–1780 are in *Ibid.*, lii. vol. ii. no. 3. There is a "Genuine history of Arnold by an old acquaintance" in the *Political Mag.*, i. 690.

[2] Duyckinck's *Cyclo. Am. Lit. Suppl.*, p. 130.

[3] André had been a prisoner at Lancaster, Pa., after his capture at St. John, Nov. 2, 1775, to Dec., 1776, when he was exchanged. He was paroled in Feb., 1776 (*Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i.). Afterwards he served with General Grey, and in 1780 was placed on Clinton's staff. There are contemporary accounts of him by "intimate friends" in *Political Mag.*, i. 688; ii. 171. His lineage is traced by J. L. Chester in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876 (xiv. 217). His will is in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vi. 63, and in Dawson's *Papers*, 241. For bibliography, see Sabin, i. no. 1,449, and *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. pp. 61, 145, 149. A daily record of his life from Sept. 20 to Oct. 2, 1780, is *Ibid.*, iii. 157 (1879). On his career in general, see articles in *No. Amer. Review*, vol. xxxviii., by Bancroft and Bigelow; vol. lxxx., by Sargent; vol. xciii., by C. C. Smith; *Harper's Mag.*, 1879, p. 619; *N. Y. Semi-weekly Evening Post*, March 3, 1882; Earl Stanhope's *Miscellanies; Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1860; L. M. Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead;* Sabin's *Amer. Bibliopolist*, 1869–1870; *N. Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1876; *Poole's Index*, p. 38.

The *Monody on Major André by Miss Seward, to which are added letters addressed to her by Major André in 1769*, was published at Lichfield, Eng., in 1781, and reprinted in New York in 1792; in Boston, 1798 (fourth Amer. ed.); in Smith's *Narrative*, London, 1808; in Lossing's *Two Spies*, N. Y., 1886. Cf. *The Galaxy*, Feb., 1876.

His fate has been the subject of several tragedies: by William Dunlap (1799); by W. W. Lord (1856); by George H. Calvert (1864), etc. W. G. Simms has examined the story as a subject for fiction in his *Views and Reviews.*

[4] It passed to a second edition in 1871. A company orderly-book showing the disposition of troops at West Point on the discovery of the plot is in the Mass Hist. Soc. (*Proc.*, xix. 385).

[5] Orig. ed., x. 395; final revision, v. 438, where, contrary to his custom, he retains a part of his note.

[6] Isaac N. Arnold was of very remote kin to Benedict. He had access to the Shippen Papers, the papers owned by Arnold's descendants in England and in Canada, and used the letters of Arnold, his wife and sister, in the Department of State. His praise of Arnold's "patriotism" in the earlier years of the war, which he thought was evinced by his brilliant acts in the field, induced a paper by J. A. Stevens on "Arnold and his Apologist" (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, March, 1880), who contended that there was "no evidence that the heart of Arnold ever beat with one patriotic thrill." The biographer, while condemning the treason, makes the best show which he can of the provocations which led Arnold to be false. He adds considerable that is new to Arnold's story. Mr. I. N. Arnold died in 1884, and addresses upon him before the Chicago Hist. Society were printed.

Lossing has written much on the subject of Arnold's treason: *Field-Book*, ii. ch. 6, 7, and 8; *Harper's Monthly*, iii., xxiii., and liii.; *Two Spies* (Hale and André), N. Y., 1886. Cf., on these two spies, Hull's *Rev. Services.*

Other American treatments of the subject are in the lives of Washington by Marshall (iv. 274) and Irving (iv. ch. 9–11); Greene's *Greene* (ii. 227); Leake's *Lamb*, ch. 19 and App. D; Reed's *Reed*, ii. 252; Hamil-

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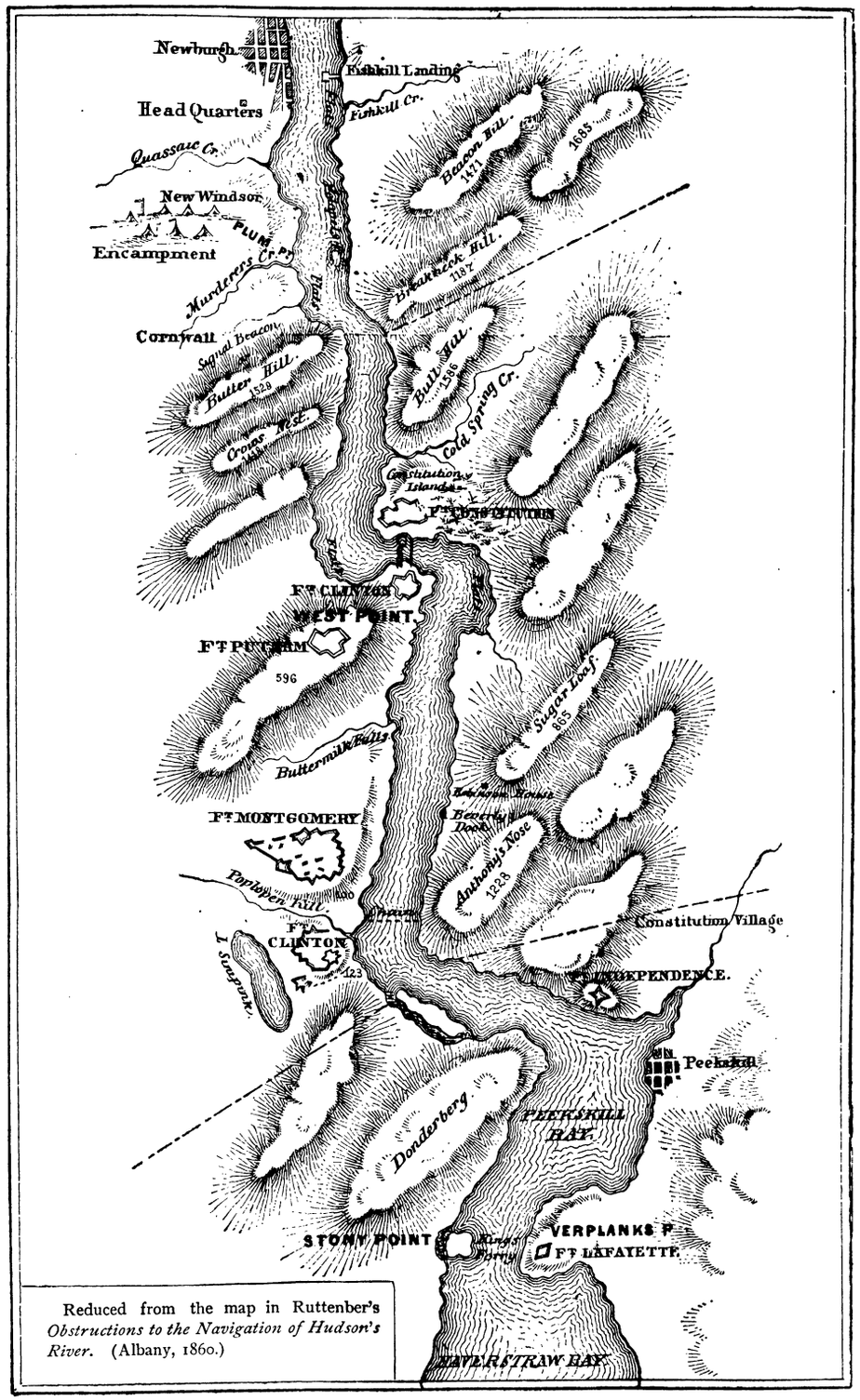

Reduced from the map in Ruttenber's *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River.* (Albany, 1860.)

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The story of the culmination and collapse of the conspiracy is easily told with the abundant testimony of those who were observers and actors, — much of the record being made at the time, though some of it, put upon paper at varying intervals later, may need to be scrutinized closely, particularly as regards André's demeanor from the moment of his arrest to his execution.[1]

ton's *Hamilton*, i. 262; Quincy's *Shaw*, 77; Dunlap's *New York*, ii. ch. 13; E. G. Holland's "Highland Treason," in his *Essays;* Winthrop Atwill's *Treason of Arnold*, Northampton, 1837; *Niles's Register*, xx.

[1] There remained for a long time no doubt as to the unalloyed patriotism of the three men who captured André. Washington praised their resistance to bribes, and Congress gave them a medal (figured in Loubat's *Medallic Hist. U. S.*, and in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 205). Some of those who came in close contact with André after his capture, and heard his account of the arrest, were convinced that André felt that if he could have made any considerable sum certain to them they would have let him go. This belief, on their part, of these keepers of André did not come to public notice till, in 1817, John Paulding, one of the captors, and the leader of them, petitioned Congress for an additional pension. This gave occasion to Benj. Tallmadge, who had been André's chief-keeper, and who was then in Congress, to oppose the bill on the grounds of André's statements. The *Journals* of the House of Representatives show the debate, which is reprinted in Dawson's *Papers*, 127. A letter of Gen. Joshua King, also in André's confidence at the time, confirms Tallmadge's view, and there is also a similar statement by Bowman, one of André's guards (Sparks's *Arnold; Notes and Queries*, ix.; *Niles's Register; Hist. Mag.*, i. 204, 293; iii. 229; Dawson's *Papers*, 45; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 733; *Boston Sunday Herald*, Sept. 14, 1879).

The captors did not want for friends. Judge Egbert Benson published a *Vindication of the Captors of Maj. André*, 1817 (cf. *Analectic Mag.*, x. 307), which was reprinted in N. Y. in 1865, in two editions, with additional matter, one by Sabin, the other by Hoffman. John Paulding, the son of one of the captors, published a paper in their defence (*Hist. Mag.*, i. 331). The three captors were then all living, and each made statements and affidavits respecting the event. These can be found, whole or in part, in Benson; in the *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 177, xviii. 365; in Dawson's *Papers*, 119, 123, 182; in H. J. Raymond's *Address* (N. Y., 1853) at Tarrytown; in *Cent. Celebrations of N. Y.* (1879); in Sabin's *Amer. Bibliopolist*, 1869, p. 335; in Simms's *Schoharie County*, 646. Sargent thinks that Paulding (of whom there is a portrait in H. W. Smith's *Andreana*) was the one of the three that most firmly resisted André's bribes.

A monument was erected at Tarrytown in 1853, when Henry J. Raymond delivered an address; it was remodelled in 1883, and capped with a statue of a captor, when Chauncey M. Depew spoke in defence of the good names of the captors; and a *Centennial Souvenir* was prepared by Nathaniel C. Husted (N. Y., 1881). Monuments have been erected at the graves of the three captors: for Paulding's and Van Wart's, see Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 171, 192; for Williams's, erected at Old Fort Schoharie in 1876, when addresses were given by Daniel Knower and Grenville Tremain, see *Centennial Celebrations of the State of N. Y.* (Albany, 1879). For memorials of Williams, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1887, p. 168.

A letter of Maj. Henry Lee describing the capture is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (1880), iv. 61. Cf. *Amer. Hist. Rec.*, Dec., 1873; *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vii. 167; Bolton's *Westchester*, i. 213.

Respecting André in confinement, Major, later Colonel, Tallmadge has left several statements, — letters, Sept. 23, 1780 (*Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. iii.); to Heath, Oct. 10, 1780 (*Heath MSS.*, printed in Dawson, 194, and in Sargent, 469); his letters to Sparks in 1833–4 (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1879, pp. 748, 752); his *Memoir*, privately printed by his son, F. A. T., and the extracts from it (*Hist. Magazine*, Aug., 1859; and Dawson's *Papers*).

Washington gave his version of the conspiracy at a dinner-table in 1786, which is contained in Richard Rush's *Washington in Domestic Life, being letters addressed to his secretary, Lear, 1790–97* (also in Dawson, 139). There are many references in the letters of 1780 in Sparks's *Washington* (vii. 205, 212–222, 235, 241, 256, 260–65, 281, 296, and in the App. pp. 520–552, most of the documentary proofs), and in his *Letters to Washington* (iii. 101–111), much of which is given in Dawson.

Several letters of Hamilton, contained in his *Correspondence*, are of interest: one to Greene; one to Miss Schuyler, usually dated Oct. 2, but Bancroft says it is without date and must have been written later, and, as usually printed, has omissions and interpolations. Of particular value is a letter of Hamilton's to Henry Laurens, in which he wished André's desire for a soldier's death could have been gratified (Lodge's ed. *Works*, viii.; Dawson; H. W. Smith's *Andreana;* McCoy's ed. *Proceedings*. Cf. *Pennsylvania Packet*, in Moore's Diary, ii. 333).

Lafayette's account is in his *Memoirs*, Eng. trans., N. Y., i. 253–56, 349, as well as letters to Luzerne and others (Dawson, 204, etc.). Sparks held various conferences with Lafayette in later life, and his notes are in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii. J. F. Cooper, in his *Notions of the Americans picked up by a travelling Bachelor*, has an account which he says he derived from Lafayette in later years and from a British officer who had heard Arnold tell his story at a dinner.

In Dawson's *Papers* are included various other contemporary accounts: letters of Alex. Scammell (Oct. 1st, in Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet; *Misc. Papers*, 1777–1824, i. 192; Oct. 3d, in *Hist. Mag.*, xviii. 145; and Farmer and Moore's *Hist. Coll. N. H.*); of Anthony Wayne, Sept. 27 and Oct. 1, 1780 (*Amer. Bibliopolist*, 1870,

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For the English side we must mainly depend on the letters and statements of Clinton, which are elaborate, and may well be supplemented by contemporary and later English historians.[1]

As respects the justice of André's execution, the military authorities were disagreed on the two sides at the time, and for a while the alleged offence of Washington was considered in England a conspicuous blot upon his character; but Lord Mahon has been the only prominent instance of continued belief in this view among English writers, who have generally conceded the right of the Americans to count André a spy, however they might wish that Washington had been more clement. The attractive manners and brilliant mental habit of André have blinded even American writers to the atrocious nature of his mission, and to the sinister purpose which a man of sensibility and elevated character should never have grasped, even amid the license which a state of war gives. The power to face death with a calm and graceful courage may indeed be mated with the moral lightness that belongs to an intellectual popinjay and a debased intriguer.[2]

p. 62); extracts from the *Bland Papers*, ii. 33–38; and Maj. Samuel Shaw to the Rev. Mr. Eliot, in Shaw's *Journals*, 77–82.

Some papers of Timothy Pickering, formerly possessed by the Hon. Arad Joy, of Ovid, N. Y., and now in the War Department, were printed in the *N. Y. Tribune*. Letters of General Greene are in Greene's *Greene*, ii. 227–40, and in the *R. I. Col. Records*, ix. 246, and in the *R. I. Hist Coll.*, vi., and one of R. R. Livingston in the *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. iii. Moore's *Diary* (ii. 323, etc.) gives various contemporary newspaper reports.

The records of observers of André's last hours and execution have been precise: Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal*, 274 (Dawson, 130; McCoy; Smith's *Andreana*, 58), and his additional statements, together with Maj. Benjamin Russell's account in the *N. E. Mag.*, vi. 363 (also in Dawson and *Andreana*); letter of Col. Van Dyk in 1821 (*Hist. Mag.*, Aug., 1863, vol. vii. 250); Todd's *Joel Barlow*, 35; the *Military Journal of Gen. Henry Dearborn*, a MS. (J. W. Thornton's sale, no. 284, bought by Dr. T. A. Emmett); *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1879, p. 574; *Amer. Whig Rev.*, v. 381; *Southern Lit. Messenger*, vii. 856; xi. 193; Sparks's *Arnold* (p. 255); Irving's *Washington* (iv. 149, 157); Sargent's *André*, 395; and others cited by Dawson.

[1] In a letter by Clinton, Oct. 11, 1780, to Germain, he details in an accompanying narrative the rise of the correspondence with Arnold, which began eighteen months before. Sargent notes it as being in the State Paper Office, "America and West Indies, vol. cxxvi.," and says it has not been printed. The *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxii.) has a copy, where is his next letter of the 12th, telling the story of André's execution, which is printed in the *Remembrancer*, vii. part 2, p. 343, and in Dawson, p. 240. Clinton also wrote to Lord Amherst on the 16th; and on the 30th he wrote a secret letter to Germain, in which he says that he has paid £6,315 to Arnold (*Sparks MSS.*, xxxii. and xlviii.). Germain's letters to Clinton and Arnold of Nov. 28th and Dec. 7th are in *Sparks MSS.*, xlviii. On a fly-leaf of Stedman's *History of the Amer. War*, Clinton, having dissented to that writer's narrative (vol. ii. p. 249, — given in Dawson, 196), wrote what he called an extract from his MS. History of the War, no other portion of which is known. This is printed in Mahon, vii. App.; Sargent's *André;* Dawson, p. 177, and Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, vol. i. App. p. 737. Washington in this extract is severely criticised, and this is also the case in a pamphlet, *The Case of Major John André, who was put to death by the Rebels, Oct. 2d, 1780, candidly represented, with remarks on said case* (pp. 28), New York, Rivington, 1780, — a copy in proof-sheets in the Carter-Brown library, being the only one known, and it has been supposed that it was prepared under Clinton's supervision and suppressed (Sargent, 2/4; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1879, iii. 739). The introduction is dated N. Y., Nov. 28, 1780.

Cf. also Simcoe's *Mil. Journal of the Queen's Rangers*, pp. 150, 292 (in Dawson, 149, 151). Simcoe offered to try to rescue André. Mahon's *England*, vii. ch. 62; journal of Gen. Matthews, cited in Balch's *Les Français en Amérique*. A long letter on the conspiracy and events attending it, varying in some ways from the American account, and possibly furnishing Arnold's story, was written by Andrew Elliott to William Eden, Oct. 4 and 5, 1780, and is among the Auckland MSS. in the Cambridge University library (England). Mr. B. F. Stevens has furnished to me a printed copy of it. The account in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.* (i. 370) misses or perverts the story throughout, and gives that writer the occasion to abuse Clinton, which he does not fail to use. Any opinion of Jones is liable to be confused by his cynical and misplaced irony, which singularly accords with the countenance of the man as portrayed in his picture.

[2] The questions at issue were these: Was André protected by a flag? Arnold says Yes, and André himself says No. They were the principal parties who could know the fact. If there was a flag, does such use of a flag come within the purport of the military law which defines flags? Is the question of good faith in flags one only between the giver and the receiver of a flag, and can the giver of a flag act in good faith to the receiver and with perfidy to his own principal, with that perfidy known to the receiver? Can the passport of a general engaged in treasonable correspondence with the enemy protect an officer of that enemy when clothed in a disguise and bearing papers to the enemy, such as might give that enemy an unfair advantage?

These are questions which Washington and the board of inquiry and all American writers have decided in the negative. Clinton, in his notes on Stedman already referred to, Cornwallis (*Corresp.*, i. 78), Simcoe (*Mil.*

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Journal, pp. 152, 294), and other British military writers then, as well as historians like Adolphus (*Hist. England*, iii. ch. 39) and Mahon (both in his *History*, vii., and his *Miscellanies*), have supported the affirmative view. The most conspicuous dissent to the general English opinion at the time was Sir Samuel Romilly, in a letter to Roget, Dec. 12, 1780 (*Memoirs*, i. 140, quoted in P. W. Chandler, *Amer. Crim. Trials*). The more reasonable among the Tories, like Curwen (*Journal*, p. 323), defended the sentence. Later English military writers like Mackinnon (*Coldstream Guards*), and historians like Massey (*England*, iii. ch. 25) and Lecky (*England*, iv. 155), have held that "the justice of the sentence cannot be reasonably impugned;" and this seems to be the drift of the best current English opinion to-day (cf. Dawson's *Papers*, 211, etc.; Sargent, p. 413, who in chapter 22 gives the characters of the members of the board, which English writers have attacked), though there is an occasional exception. The *Saturday Review*, for instance, in 1872 (*Amer. Bibliopolist*, Oct., 1872), contended that a technical construction of the law should not have guided Washington. The last considerable discussion of the case was raised by Mahon, whose views were controverted in Chas. J. Biddle's *Case of Major André* (*Penna. Hist. Soc. Mem.*, vi. 317–416, Philad., 1868; *Hist. Mag.*, i. 193), and in Arnold's *Life of Arnold*. Irving (*Washington*, iv. 101) is the most signal instance among American writers of the power to hold the judgment apart from sympathetic emotion, when he pronounces André's exploits are "beneath the range of a truly chivalrous nature." (Cf. Bancroft, x. 393, and *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1885, p. 620.) There is some evidence to show that André in the spring of 1780 had been a deliberate spy at Charleston.

If there are any aspects of the circumstances attending the discovery of the plot with which one would willingly dissociate the name of Washington, it is the countenance which he gave to the proposition to Clinton to exchange André for Arnold, and his encouragement of the attempt of Sergeant Champe, a little later, to abduct Arnold from New York. Henry Lee (*Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, ii. 159–187; R. E. Lee's ed., p. 394) gives the most detailed account of Champe's connived-at desertion, but he evidently mixes together the later with the earlier incident, and has brought the story in some minds into the category of myths. Lee's story appeared in New York in 1864 in a separate brochure as *Champe's Adventures in attempting to capture Gen. Arnold* (pp. 48). The *House Reports, no. 486, Twenty-seventh Congress, 2d session*, ii. (1842), show a petition of "Sergeant-Major Champe" for reward for services. Cf. Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 546; Niles's *Principles*, etc. (1876), p. 307; Arnold's *Arnold*, 336; Sargent's *André*, 451; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 207.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR IN THE SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT.

BY EDWARD CHANNING,

Instructor in History in Harvard College.

IN the autumn of 1778 the British commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, determined to attempt for the second time the subjugation of the Southern colonies, and Savannah was selected as the first point of attack. On November 27, 1778, Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, with thirty-five hundred men of all arms, sailed from Sandy Hook, and anchored off Tybee Entrance December 23d. Meantime a deserter from an advance transport had given the Americans warning. Their commander was General Robert Howe, a good but unsuccessful officer, who had not been fortunate in securing the confidence of the authorities of Georgia. Ascertaining these facts, Campbell pressed on without awaiting the arrival of Brigadier-General Augustine Prevost with a reinforcement from Florida. On the 28th, late in the afternoon, the British fleet assembled in the Savannah River, off Giradeau's house on Brewton Hill, which is about two miles from Savannah in a straight line, though double that distance by road. A causeway, nearly half a mile in length, ran from the river to the bluff through a rice-field which in ordinary times could have been flooded, but over which the bluff was now accessible from all points.

On the morning of the 29th the Highlanders carried the position with trifling loss, when Campbell, advancing toward Savannah, found the Americans most advantageously posted across the highroad. Through no fault of Howe, his rear was attained, while he awaited an attack in front. The Americans suffered a severe loss, and only a small part of them succeeded in joining Lincoln beyond the Savannah River. Campbell pushed up the Savannah, and in ten days the frontier of Georgia was secured, and this was the condition when Prevost arrived and took command.

Although Lincoln had arrived at Charleston on December 6th, he was not able to reach Purisburgh before the 5th of January, 1779. His army, composed almost entirely of militia, refused under him, as it had under Howe, to be governed by the Continental rules of war.[1]

[1] Lincoln's order-books bear witness to the seriousness of the trouble. Even Moultrie became alarmed, and wrote to C. C. Pinckney that he was afraid lest by straining after too much liberty they might lose all.

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At first it seemed to the enemy that the occupation of Georgia could be easily maintained, but the neighboring militia rallied under Pickens, and drove the British back. The American success, however, was brief, for Colonel Prevost, a brother of the general, turned upon General Ashe, who with a detachment from Lincoln's army was following the British retreat. The Americans were surprised and suffered a defeat, which cost Lincoln one third of his army and restored to Prevost his superiority in Georgia.[1]

The scale again turned. Lincoln, reinforced, once more severed the British communications with the up-country Tories, when Prevost, to disconcert his adversary, at first sought to get between him and Charleston, and then suddenly advanced on the city itself. Here Moultrie, who had been watching the British advance, threw up some defences. Negotiations for a surrender followed, and Governor Rutledge, who was in the town, even proposed a scheme of neutrality for the State during the war, to which Prevost would not listen. The British now intercepted a messenger from Lincoln, and finding that general closing in upon him, Prevost suddenly decamped and marched toward Savannah.

The summer was uneventful; but in the early autumn D'Estaing, who after leaving Newport had been cruising with some success in the West Indies, now turned northerly, and on September 3 (1779) his advance ships arrived off the mouth of the Savannah River. A landing, however, was not effected until the 12th, when the troops landed at Beaulieu, on Ossabaw Sound, fourteen to sixteen miles from Savannah. They did not reach that town until the 16th, so that Prevost had time to call in his scattered detachments, and all but those from Beaufort had arrived when, on the evening of that day, D'Estaing, in the name of the king of France, summoned him to surrender. A correspondence followed, which was prolonged till the defences were strengthened and Maitland got up from Beaufort with eight hundred men, when Prevost refused to surrender.

D'Estaing had been all the more willing to grant the truce as Lincoln, who was looked for from Charleston, had not arrived on the 16th. By the 23d a considerable part of the Americans had joined the French, and siege operations were begun. Guns were brought up from the French ships and trenches pushed to within three hundred yards of the besieged lines. On September 24th a sortie was made by the garrison for the purpose of developing the strength of the besiegers. The sortie was repulsed with ease, but the French, following the assailants back to their lines, were exposed to a murderous fire, and incurred a heavy loss in killed and wounded. The bombardment was then begun with vigor, but with little effect. At last, on October 8th, D'Estaing declared that he could not keep his vessels longer exposed to the Atlantic gales. An assault was determined on. In the night the sergeant-major of one of the Charleston militia regiments deserted to the enemy and gave full information of the intended movement,

[1] A court-martial, presided over by Moultrie, censured Ashe for his lack of the proper precautions, while acquitting him of the charge of cowardice on the field of battle.

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and further declared that the attack on the British left would be only a feint, the real attack being directed against the Spring Hill redoubt, on the right.[1]

The assault took place, and failed as much by a lack of coöperation between the columns as by the treachery. This disaster so dispirited the allies that Lincoln crossed the river on the 19th, and when he was safe on the other side the French withdrew to their ships and sailed away, — their last frigate leaving the river on the 2d of November.

VIEW OF CHARLESTOWN, S. C.[2]

The sailing of the French left the coast again exposed, and Clinton, coming from New York, now prepared to attack Charleston. On the 11th of February, 1780, a landing was made on Simmons' Island, just to the north of the North Edisto River. Thence by John's Island, Stono Ferry, Wappoo Cut and River, the Ashley was reached, and a lodgment was

March 25th 1780

Sir

You are to take Post at Grenvilles Bastion on the Southend of the Bay with a part of your Ships Crew & proper Officers. You will relieve the Guard at Grenvilles Bastion, which duty, is in future to be done by your Men intirely I am yours &c

Will. Moultrie
Brig. Gen

To
Capt Tucker

GENERAL MOULTRIE'S ORDER, MARCH 25, 1780.[3]

[1] Curry, the deserter, was taken at Hobkirk's Hill by his former friends and hanged.

[2] [Sketched from a marginal view on a chart of *The Harbour of Charlestown, from the surveys of Sir Jas. Wallace, Captain in his Majesty's navy and others*, published in London by Des Barres, Nov. 1, 1777, and making part of the *Atlantic Neptune*. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (1883), p. 830. The *Catal. of the king's maps* (Brit. Mus.) shows an engraved view of 1739, and other early views are noted in Vol. V., p. 331. There is a view by Leitch, in 1776. In a paper, "Up the Ashley and Cooper," by C. F. Woolson, in *Harper's Magazine*, lii. p. 1, there is a view of Drayton house, occupied by Cornwallis as headquarters. — ED.]

[3] [From the Commodore Tucker Papers in Harvard College library. — ED.]

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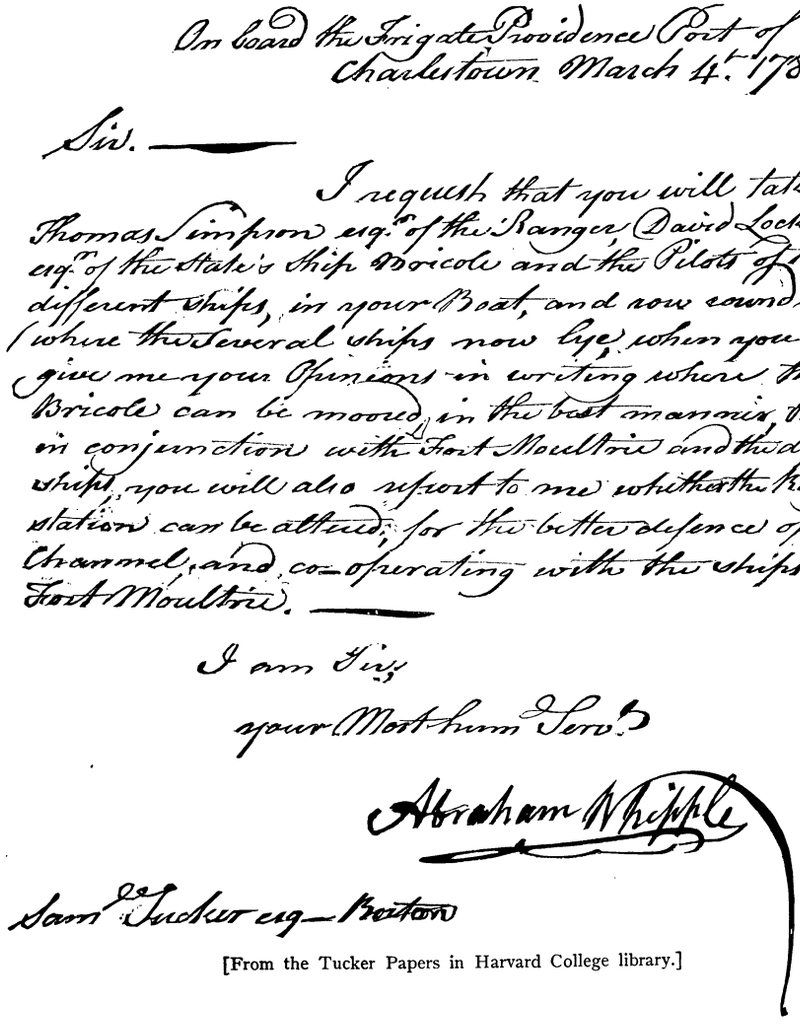
effected on the neck of land at the seaward end of which Charleston stands. Clinton advanced with caution. On the 1st of April the first parallel was opened about eight hundred yards from the American works.

On the 21st of March the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot in person, had crossed the bar unopposed. Some time was spent in taking on board their provisions and guns. Then on the after-



On board the Frigate Providence Port of Charlestown March 4th 1780.

Sir.

I request that you will take Thomas Simpson esq.r of the Ranger David Lockwood esq.r of the State's Ship Bricole and the Pilots of the different ships, in your Boat, and row round near where the several ships now lye, when you will give me your Opinions in writing where the Bricole can be moored in the best manner to act in conjunction with Fort Moultrie and the different ships, you will also report to me whether the Ranger's station can be altered for the better defence of the Channel, and co-operating with the ships and Fort Moultrie.

I am Sir,
your Most humb.e Serv.t
Abraham Whipple

Sam.l Tucker esq.r Boston

[From the Tucker Papers in Harvard College library.]

noon of the 7th, 8th, or 9th of April — for there is a hopeless confusion as to the exact date — in the midst of a furious thunder-shower the fleet ran by Fort Moultrie without material damage, except to the store-ship "Eolus," which was abandoned. The greater portion of the garrison of Moultrie, commanded by Colonel C. C. Pinckney, was then withdrawn, — the feeble remnant surrendering on the 6th of May, with scarcely a show of resistance.

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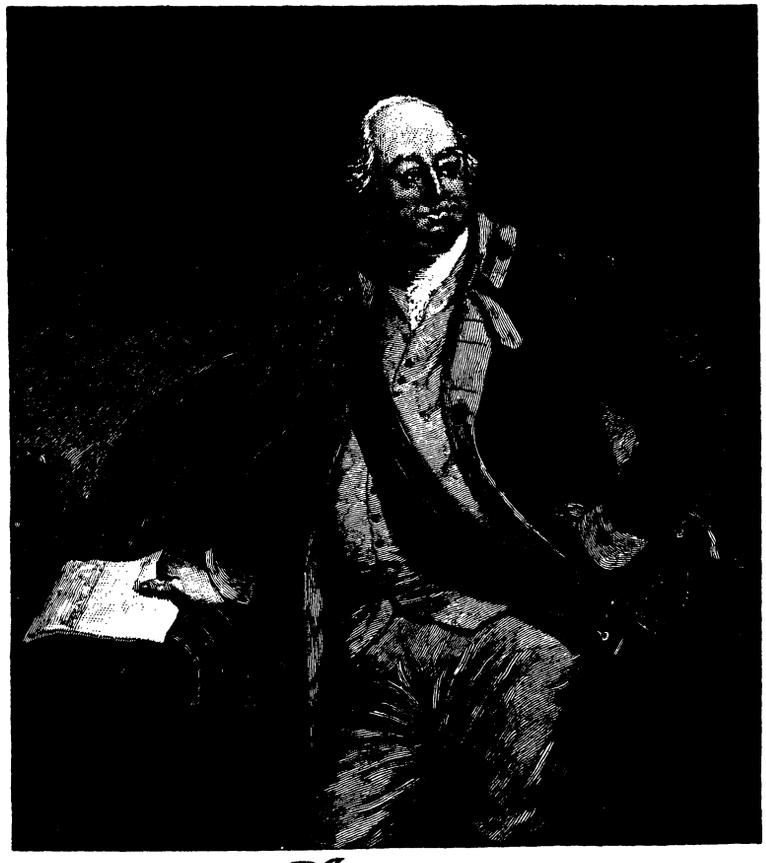
On the 8th of April guns were mounted in battery in the first British parallel. On the 11th, Lincoln having refused to surrender, fire was opened. The second parallel was completed on the 19th, bringing the British to within four hundred and fifty yards of the opposing line.

On the morning of the 13th Tarleton and Ferguson, by a sudden push, dispersed the force at Monk's Corner, which had guarded Lincoln's



supplies. On the 18th a reinforcement of three thousand men arrived from New York, and enabled Clinton to complete the investment of the town, the command on the eastern side of the Cooper being given to Cornwallis. There was during the next few days a sortie, some desultory

[1] [After a picture by Col. Sargent, owned by the Mass. Hist. Society (*Proc.*, Jan., 1807, vol. i. p. 192; *Catal. Cabinet*, no. 13). A copy by Herring was engraved by T. Illman. Cf. Jones's *Georgia*, vol. ii. (bust only); Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., vol. iii.; *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. 341. A rude contemporary copperplate print, by Norman, appeared in the Boston ed. of *An Impartial Hist. of the War* (1784), vol. iii. 64. — ED.]

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fighting, and an unsuccessful correspondence for a surrender. On May 8th the third parallel was completed, bringing the besiegers to within forty yards of the works, while the canal in front of the lines was partly drained and the batteries were ready to open fire. Clinton again summoned the garrison, but again Lincoln declined to surrender, — this time because Clinton refused to regard the citizens as anything but prisoners on parole. On the 11th the British reached the ditch and advanced to within twenty-five yards of the works. Resistance was no longer to be thought of, especially as the citizens themselves now petitioned to have the terms offered by Clinton accepted. The articles were accordingly drawn up and signed on the 12th, and the English took possession.

CORNWALLIS.[1]

On that day the Continentals to the number of perhaps fifteen hundred — there were about five hundred in the hospital at the time — marched out, with colors cased and drums beating the "Turk's March," and laid down their arms. By regarding every adult capable of bearing arms as a militiaman, Clinton reckoned his prisoners at five thousand. Lincoln has been severely censured for this defence, but if the Carolinians had rallied as expected, he might have held out until the heats of the summer and the arrival of De Ternay would have compelled Clinton's retirement.

Clinton now sent out three expeditions to the up-country, the most

[1] [From Andrews' *Hist. of the War*, London, 1785, vol. ii. There is an engraving after an original drawing by T. Prattent in the *European Mag.*, Aug., 1786. There are engravings of him later in life in Lee's *Memoir of the War in the Southern Department* (Philadelphia, 1872), vol. ii., and in the *Cornwallis Correspondence*. Cf. *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. p. 325; Irving's *Washington*, ii. 282; Boyle's *Official Baronage*, i. 459. Reynolds painted him in 1780, having already painted him in 1761. The former picture was engraved by Chas. Knight in 1780. Cf. Hamilton's *Engraved Works of Reynolds*, pp. 19, 169. There is a mezzotint by D. Gardiner. Cf. John C. Smith's *Brit. Mez. Port.*, ii. 745; and in *Ibid.*, iv. 1,444, an engraving by Ward after a picture by Buckley is noted. There is a contemporary account of Cornwallis in the *Polit. Mag.*, ii. 450. — ED.]

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important of which was destined to secure the region north of the Santee and Wateree.[1] Cornwallis, commanding this expedition, detached Tarleton against Buford, who had with him the remnants of the American cavalry and some Continentals from Virginia. Tarleton overtook him at Waxhaw Creek on the 29th of May. Of the five hundred Americans who entered the fight, one hundred and thirteen were killed, while one hundred and fifty were wounded. The slaughter was vindictive, and "Tarleton's Quarters" will never be forgotten in the upper regions of South Carolina.

Clinton and Arbuthnot, judging their conquest of the province permanent, now proclaimed as rebels all who refused the oath of allegiance, and then sailed for New York, leaving Cornwallis in command. The new commander's proclamations, following upon those of Clinton and Arbuthnot, were enough at variance with them to create discontent among those inclined toward the British side. The spirits of the patriots began to revive, especially in the back regions, where Colonels Locke and Williams and Generals Rutherford and Sumter gathered strong bands around their standards. The fights at Ramsour Mills, Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, and Musgrove Mills, which these partisans conducted, were in the main successful, but all were lost to sight in the great disaster which soon overtook the American arms near Camden.

CORNWALLIS.[2]

Early in the spring of 1780, it had been decided to send a reinforcement under De Kalb to Lincoln, at Charleston. With about fourteen hundred men of the Maryland and Delaware lines, that general left Morristown on the 16th of April, 1780, and on the 1st of June, in Petersburg, he learned of the fall of Charleston. He decided to push on with the utmost speed, in the hope that his coming might still save the interior of the State. But delay after delay occurred, and De Kalb did not reach the Deep River

[1] The Santee in its upper course as far as the line separating the two Carolinas is known as the Catawba; thence to its junction with the Congaree it is called the Wateree. The three names should be borne in mind.

[2] [From the *London Mag.*, June, 1781 (p. 251). — ED.]

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before the 6th of July, when he found nothing prepared for his reception; and what was still more inexcusable, the North Carolina militia, under Caswell, were holding aloof. On the 25th a new commander of the Southern armies arrived in Horatio Gates, the popular hero of Saratoga. His appointment had been made by Congress against the wishes of Washington, but in obedience to a general popular consent. De Kalb received Gates with genuine pleasure, and took his place at the head of the regulars, then forming the whole army.

Against the advice of his ablest officer, Otho H. Williams, Gates determined to join the North Carolinians in their camp near Lynch's Creek, since they would not join him, and with them he hoped to seize Camden. Two days after his arrival, on July 27th, the march began, and after the most acute suffering from hunger the regulars joined the militia. So lax was the discipline among Caswell's men, that Williams and a party of officers rode through their lines and camp without being once challenged. Approaching the general's tent, they were informed that it was an unseasonable hour for gentlemen to call. Yet Caswell was within striking distance of a disciplined army, commanded by an enterprising general, Lord Rawdon. Marching a little farther, the British were found in a strong position on the southern bank of Little Lynch's Creek.

By a march up the creek, Gates might have placed his superior force on Rawdon's flank and rear. This was what Rawdon feared, and what De Kalb is said to have advised. Instead he passed two days in idleness, and then, inclining to the right, marched to Clermont or Rugeley's Mill, on the road from Charlotte to Camden, and not more than thirteen miles from the latter. There, seven hundred militia from Virginia joined him. From that place, too, he sent four hundred men, including some regulars, to assist Sumter in a contemplated attack on the enemy's communications. It was now determined to seek a more defensible position on the banks of a creek seven miles nearer Camden. This position could be turned only by marching a considerable distance either up or down the creek. Exactly what Gates had in view by this movement can not now be ascertained.[2]

HORATIO GATES.[1]

[1] [From Du Simitière's *Thirteen Portraits* (London, 1783). — ED.]

[2] It seems, however, tolerably certain that he had greatly overestimated the size of his army,

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Cornwallis arrived at the front on the morning of August 14th, and decided to surprise Gates; but the two armies started on respective marches at precisely the same hour, ten o'clock of the evening of August 15, 1780. Their advanced guards met at about half past two the next morning. Armand, a French adventurer, with his "legion" forming the American van, retired panic-stricken, and the two armies deployed across the road. The position in which the opposing generals now found themselves was singularly favorable to the smaller numbers of the British, as the front was necessarily very short, owing to a marsh which protected while limiting either flank. This advantage Cornwallis was not slow to perceive. A hurried council was held on the American side, and it was decided that there was no alternative but to fight. At dawn the enemy was observed getting into position on the extreme left. Stevens, with the Virginia militia, already in line, was ordered to charge before the enemy's formation was complete. It so happened that Cornwallis, thinking the Virginians were making some change in their dispositions, ordered his right forward. Led by the gallant Webster, the British came on with such a rush that the men of Virginia threw down their loaded guns with bayonets set, broke and dispersed to the rear. Nor did the North Carolinians do better. Seeing the Virginians break, they did not await the onset, but threw away their arms and fled. One regiment indeed, inspired by the example of the regulars, fired several rounds before it broke. Deserted by those whom they had marched so many weary miles to succor, the men of Maryland and Delaware fought till to fight longer was criminal. Then the under-officers, on their own responsibility, brought off all they could, for their commander, De Kalb, overwhelmed by eleven wounds, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, — "a fate," says Williams, "which probably was avoided by other generals only by an opportune retreat." That night Gates found himself at Charlotte, sixty miles from the scene of conflict. Caswell was with him, and they were soon joined by Smallwood and Gist. In fact, excepting the one order issued to the Virginians at the outset, the leaders seem to have left the conduct of the fight to De Kalb and the subordinate officers. From Charlotte Gates retired to Hillsborough, where the legislature was then sitting.

Cornwallis seems to have been satisfied with the havoc wrought on the field of battle, for he pursued without vigor, and soon returned to Camden and gave his attention to Sumter. That enterprising but negligent chieftain had captured the redoubt at the ferry over the Wateree, and had ensnared a convoy destined for Cornwallis. On the night of the 17th, hearing of Gates's overthrow, Sumter left his camp, and moved with such

rating it at seven thousand, while in reality the returns showed an effective force of only "three thousand and fifty-two, rank and file." When Williams explained this to Gates, the latter replied: "Sir, the number of the latter (privates) are much below the estimates formed this morning; but these are enough for our purpose." It seems never to have occurred to Gates that Cornwallis would attempt to bring him to action.

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celerity that a corps which Cornwallis sent against him failed to strike him. Shortly after, Tarleton found him less vigilant, and came upon him so unexpectedly that resistance was hardly attempted, and Sumter escaped with scarcely half his force.

Gates has been severely blamed for this defeat; too severely, it seems to me. The march of the regulars from Buffalo Ford to Lynch's Creek was undoubtedly full of hardship, but it was well planned and executed. Nor do the troops who made it seem to have been demoralized by it. On the contrary, seldom have men fought more gallantly than De Kalb's division fought on the morning of August 16, 1780. The Virginians, whose flight made defeat probable, followed the Continentals in the march across the "desert," and did not suffer nearly as much as the leading division. The North Carolina militia, whose panic turned a probable defeat into a rout, had no part whatever in that painful march. The disaster was due to the over-confidence which Gates felt in his men. Had the militia stood firm, the event of the campaign might have been different. There was no defect in Gates as a strategist or tactician. He had a larger number of men in line than his opponent. His dispositions were as perfect as the time and place permitted. The defeat was "brought on," to use the emphatic words of Stevens, the gallant leader of the Virginians, "by the damned cowardly behavior of the militia."

From Camden Cornwallis advanced to Charlotte, overcoming all obstacles which the militia under Davie interposed. Other militia, meanwhile, under Clarke, advanced on Augusta, but British reinforcements from Ninety-Six, under Cruger, forced Clarke to abandon the attack, and, burdened with the families of some leading Whigs, he retired towards the mountains. Cornwallis, hearing of this, ordered Ferguson, who had been beating up recruits in the upper country, to endeavor to cut Clarke off. Now it happened that at this very time the sturdy frontiersmen, under the leadership of Colonel William Campbell, Colonel Isaac Shelby, Lieutenant-Colonel John Sevier, and Colonel Charles McDowell, had assembled at Watauga, bent on the destruction of Ferguson and his little army.[1] To the number of one thousand and forty they left their place of meeting on September 26th and marched for Gilberton, where Ferguson was supposed to be. On the 30th they were joined by Colonel Cleveland, with three hundred and fifty men from North Carolina. The senior officer was McDowell, but from his slowness he was not deemed the best man to conduct such an arduous enterprise, and while he was sent to Gates to name a leader they chose Campbell for their chief. Pressing on, they reached the Cowpens, where they were joined by Williams and Lacy, with about four hundred men from the Carolinas.

[1] What brought these men together is not certainly known; but a determination to keep the war away from their homes seems to have been the main cause of their action. Probably the threats which Ferguson made, in the vain hope of intimidating them, may have had a good deal to do with it.

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Meantime Ferguson, not ignorant of the approach of this formidable force, which appeared to have sprung from the earth, had begun his retreat towards Charlotte. Anxious to intercept Clarke, he had delayed his march longer than was prudent, and had taken post on the top of a spur of King's Mountain, where he probably hoped to be reinforced before the enemy should come up with him. While at the Cowpens, on October 6th, the Americans received certain information of Ferguson's position. They resolved to select the best mounted of their little army, and, leaving the poorly mounted and the footmen to follow, to go in pursuit of Ferguson and fight him wherever found. In the evening, therefore, they broke up from the Cowpens, and, marching all night, reached, without being discovered, the foot of King's Mountain on the afternoon of the next day. The spot on which the British were found was singularly well suited to the mode of fighting in which the backwoodsmen were adepts. King's Mountain proper is sixteen miles long, and in some places is high and steep. The southern end, however, where Ferguson was encamped, rises only about sixty feet. It was wooded, except on the summit, which partook of the nature of a plateau. The Americans, under their respective leaders, so timed their movements that Ferguson was surrounded almost before he knew it. The band led by Campbell seems to have made the first attack from the south. It was speedily driven back at the point of the bayonet, but re-formed at the foot of the hill and returned to the charge. Meantime Shelby was pressing on from the north. He, too, was driven back, when, re-forming his men, he also returned to the fight. These charges and countercharges were three times repeated. Cleveland, Sevier, and the rest did their work splendidly in their respective positions. The British, inspired by the example of their heroic leader, fought bravely and well; but their position was so perilous that their loss was double that of the assailants. Ferguson, while leading a charge, or perhaps while endeavoring to cut his way out, was killed. De Peyster, the second in command, showed the white flag, as was his duty, resistance being useless, but the firing did not cease for some time, even though the beaten Tories were suing for quarter. At that moment an attack was made from the rear by another band of British, who were probably returning from a foraging expedition. This new and sudden attack led to a renewal of the slaughter of the unresisting foe on the hill.

The neighborhood was bare of provisions, and the next morning the now half famished victors, with their no less hungry prisoners, made a hurried retreat towards the mountains. On the 13th the Americans arrived at a place then called Bickerstaff's Old Fields, about nine miles from the present hamlet of Rutherfordton. There they improvised a court, and sentenced thirty to forty of their prisoners to death. But after nine had been hanged, the remainder were reprieved or pardoned.

Such was the famous battle of King's Mountain in South Carolina. It changed to a great extent the whole course of the war in the Southern de-

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partment, as it deprived Cornwallis of the only corps that he could afford to hazard for a long time out of supporting distance. As for Cornwallis, as soon as he heard of the disaster, instead of sending Tarleton in pursuit, he broke up from Charlotte, and retired as fast as he could to Wynnesborough, in South Carolina, midway between Camden and Ninety-Six, where he would be within supporting distance of either in case they were attacked. He was followed by Gates, who encamped at Charlotte, his light parties advancing even to Rugeley's.

Not long after his arrival at Wynnesborough, Cornwallis detached Tarleton, with a portion of the Legion, to disperse the band with which Marion awed the country between the Santee and Pedee rivers. Tarleton had now to deal with a soldier both bold and discreet. All his artifices were unavailing to entrap Marion, and he was recalled to go in pursuit of Sumter, who had encamped at Fishdam Ford, not far from the British headquarters. Meanwhile, Major Wemyss had attacked Sumter just before daybreak on the morning of November 11th. He approached the camp unchallenged at first, but he soon encountered a picket, which fired five shots before retiring. Two shots disabled Wemyss. His second in command, continuing the attack without a proper knowledge of the ground, was repulsed. Sumter, hearing of the approach of Tarleton, prudently withdrew from such a dangerous neighborhood, and had reached the ford of the Tyger, near Blackstocks, when Tarleton appeared. Unable to cross, he drew up his men on the side of a hill. Tarleton, rashly attacking with his advance, was beaten off with great loss. The British leader withdrew to his main body, and prepared to storm the hill the following morning; but in the night Sumter crossed the river, and once over his men dispersed in every direction. The American loss at these two actions was small, though a wound received at the Blackstocks kept Sumter from the field for several months.

From this time on the war in the Southern department assumed a new and brighter aspect, for on December 2, 1780, less than a month after the affair at the Blackstocks, Nathanael Greene arrived at Charlotte, and took command of the remnants of the gallant Continentals who had fought so splendidly at Camden. He was respectfully received by Gates, who retired to his Virginia farm.[1]

The task that Greene had before him might well have appalled the boldest. Without food, without money or credit, almost without an army, he was expected to face the most enterprising commanders — Cornwallis, Rawdon, and Tarleton — that the British had on this continent, while they were at the head of a large and well-appointed army. But Greene was not the man to be easily disheartened. With the possible exception of Washing-

[1] The court of inquiry into Gates's conduct was never convened; at first, because it was impossible to get it together without injury to the service, since Steuben's presence was necessary. Later, when Greene became cognizant of the whole affair, he became convinced that Gates was the victim of circumstances, and advised against holding the court.

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ton, the best soldier of high rank in the American army, he resembled his chief in being a careful observer of men. His judgment, too, with regard to all matters connected with war was excellent, and has seldom been surpassed. As a strategist he had no equal in the opposing army, while he possessed the rare power of being able to adapt his tactics to the army and to the country, although it has been claimed that credit has been given him for what really was the product of another mind.

Gates handed over to his successor an army which numbered on paper twenty-three hundred and seven men, including nine hundred and forty-nine Continentals. But so many were insufficiently clad and equipped that, to use the new commander's own words, "not more than eight hundred were present and fit for duty." Food was scarce, and the *morale* of the army was low. Greene sought a new camp on the eastern bank of the Pedee, opposite Cheraw Hill, where food was more abundant. There he subjected his men to a discipline to which they had long been strangers, while Morgan, with a strong detachment, threatened Cornwallis's other flank.

Morgan took with him four hundred of the Maryland line, under Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Howard, two companies of Virginia militia, and about one hundred dragoons led by William Washington. To these were afterwards added more than five hundred militia from the Carolinas. Morgan advanced to Grindall's Ford on the Pacolet, near its confluence with Broad River. In this position he seriously menaced Ninety-Six and even Augusta itself. Cornwallis needed to dislodge him before he could advance far in his projected invasion of North Carolina. He therefore detached Tarleton, with his Legion and a strong infantry support, against Morgan, while he himself advanced with the main body along the upper road to North Carolina, thus placing himself on Morgan's line of retreat whenever that commander should be driven back. Learning of these movements, Morgan retired from Grindall's Ford, and moving with commendable speed on the night of January 16, 1781, encamped at the Cowpens. Tarleton was now close upon him, and, marching the greater part of the night, he discovered the Americans drawn up in line of battle on the morning of the 17th. The position which Morgan had chosen was in many respects a weak one. The country was well fitted for the use of cavalry, in which the British excelled, while the Broad River, flowing parallel to his rear, made retreat difficult if not impossible. Nor were the flanks protected in any manner.[1]

[1] Afterwards, when his attention was called to this hazardous position, Morgan declared that had he passed the Broad River his militia would have left him. As to the unprotected condition of his flanks, he asserted that had there been a swamp in the neighborhood the militia would have taken refuge in it. He added that he should have viewed the surrounding of his army with unconcern, as then his men would have been obliged to fight it out. In fact, like his great chief, Morgan had a very poor opinion of the militia. He placed them in the front rank with orders to fire at least two shots, and then to retire behind the regulars, who were posted on a slight eminence in their rear. A skirmish line of militia sharpshooters protected the front, while the cavalry remained in reserve. The best proof of the excellence of these dispositions is to be found in the results of the encounter.

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Hardly waiting for his line to be formed, and with his reserve too far in the rear, Tarleton dashed forward.[1] A militia skirmish line was easily brushed aside, and the main body of militia, after firing a few rounds with terrible precision, also retreated. The Continentals, however, under their gallant leader, stood firm. But Howard's flank soon became enveloped. He ordered his flank company to change its front. Mistaking the order, the company fell back, and the whole line was ordered to retire upon the cavalry. The British, who had been joined by the reserve, thinking that the Americans were retreating, came on like a mob. Seeing this, Howard ordered the 1st Maryland to face about. They obeyed, and poured such an unexpected and murderous fire into the advancing foe that the British line paused, became panic-stricken, turned, and fled. In vain did Tarleton call upon his dragoons for a charge. His order was either not delivered or was misunderstood. Colonel Washington, on the other hand, advanced with a rush, and the day was won. Almost to a man the British infantry was either killed or captured. But they had fought well, and their loss, especially in officers, bears testimony to their splendid conduct on the field.[2]

King's Mountain lost to Cornwallis his best corps of scouts. This disaster deprived him of his light infantry, whose presence during the forced marches now to come would have been of incalculable service. For this reason the affair at the Cowpens, while in reality only a fight between two small bodies of troops, in importance of results deserves to be ranked among the most important conflicts of the war. It was indeed, as has so often been said, "the Bennington of the South."

Cornwallis, when he had detached Tarleton to the defence of Ninety-Six, and later, when he had ordered him to push Morgan to the utmost, had expected to be able to get on Morgan's line of retreat, and thus drive him into the mountains, or at least prevent his rejoining Greene. But with Greene on his flank at the Cheraws, he had been afraid to move far from Camden before Leslie with the reinforcements could get out of Greene's reach. He was, therefore, no further advanced than Turkey Creek, twenty-five miles away, when the news of the disaster at the Cowpens reached him. On the 18th, Leslie, with two battalions of the Guards under O'Hara and the Hessian regiment of Bose, arrived. On the 19th the pursuit was begun, and on the 24th Cornwallis reached the crossing of the Little Catawba at

[1] Tarleton had some "grasshoppers" at the Cowpens, but they did little execution. For grasshoppers, cf. Stone's *Brant*, ii. 106, and *Centennial Celebration of Sullivan's Expedition*, p. 109, note.

[2] In numbers the two commands were about equal, — not far from one thousand on either side, excluding detachments. In discipline and equipment the British were far superior. Their defeat was mainly due to the rash impetuosity of their young commander, to his unwise dispositions, and especially to his unmilitary conduct in leading his men into action before the formation was complete. Above all, however, their defeat was due to the confidence of Morgan's men in their leader, to his admirable tactics, and to the splendid behavior of the Maryland line. The "unaccountable panick," as Tarleton calls it, which seized the British infantry, and the poor use the "Legion" commander made of his horse, contributed in no small degree to the result which was probable whenever Tarleton should meet with a real soldier.

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Ramsour's Mill, only to learn that Morgan had crossed at the same place two days before. In fact, that enterprising leader, instead of being dazzled by the victory at the Cowpens, passed the Broad River on the evening of the day of action, and, pursuing his route toward the mountains, passed Ramsour's Mill on the 21st. With the bulk of his detachment he then sought a junction with the main body under Greene. Turning to the east, he crossed the Catawba at Sherrald's Ford on the 23d, and took post on the eastern bank. At this place he finally rid himself of his prisoners, sending them to Virginia under an escort of militia.

There can be little doubt of the chagrin Cornwallis experienced at the escape of Morgan. It prompted him to destroy what he thought was useless baggage, and to make another attempt to overtake the Americans. This burning of his train occupied two days, and, necessary as it may have seemed, the consequent lack of supplies led to the fearful suffering of his army after Guilford, and made his retreat to Wilmington a necessity. It was his first grave error in his struggle with Greene. On the 27th he put his troops in motion for the Catawba, but before he reached the fords a sudden rise of the river made the crossing an impossibility, and gave Morgan two days' respite. The delay was still more important in giving Greene time to reach the post of danger and take command of the detachment. The news of the victory at Cowpens had not reached the camp at the Cheraws until the 25th. Instantly divining the course that Cornwallis would pursue, Greene sent an express to Lee, who, as soon as he had joined, had been dispatched to coöperate with Marion in an attack on Georgetown, next to Charleston then the most important seaport in South Carolina. The attack failed for some reason that is not quite apparent; but Lee brought off his troops in safety, and rejoined Greene in time to render most important service. On the 29th, the main army, under command of General Huger, left the camp for Salisbury, where Greene hoped to be able to concentrate his entire force. On the 31st the Catawba began to subside. Putting their troops in motion, Greene and Morgan directed their steps toward Salisbury, where they arrived on February 2d. The Yadkin was crossed in safety the next day, though rising rapidly all the time; then sending orders to Huger to join him at Guilford Court-House, and not at Salisbury as formerly ordered, Greene once more breathed freely.

On the afternoon of the 1st, Cornwallis had also put his troops in motion. His design was to make a feint of crossing at Beattie's Ford while with the Guards he should pass the river at the less known Cowan's Ford. By some means, Davidson, who commanded the militia in that region, became cognizant of the design, and stationed himself at Cowan's with about four hundred men, where he expected to hold Cornwallis in check long enough to be of real service to the retiring Americans.

Shortly before daybreak Cornwallis reached the river, and saw the watch-fires on the opposite bank. Without a moment's hesitation the Guards rushed into the rapid stream. When about halfway across they were dis-

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covered, and a fire was opened upon them by the militia. But now occurred one of those accidents that so often in war defeat the best-laid plans. The ford, turning in mid-stream at an angle with the direct line, ran under a bank where the militia were waiting for the British; but when they arrived at the turning-point, instead of inclining to the right, the Guards — their guide having deserted through fear — kept straight on, and gained the bank with a loss of only sixty in killed, wounded, and missing. The militia retired, and although Tarleton was sent after them, they made good their retreat with a loss which would have been trifling but for a mortal wound under which the gallant Davidson fell. There were many hair-breadth escapes during this splendid charge. Cornwallis's horse was shot under him, but reached the bank before he fell. Leslie was carried down stream, and O'Hara's horse rolled over with his rider while in the water.

Pushing on with all speed possible in the wretched condition of the roads, Cornwallis's van, under O'Hara, reached the Yadkin at the Trading Ford a few hours after the Americans had crossed; but O'Hara, though he missed the soldiers, captured a train of wagons belonging to the country people who were flying with the army. Here again the forces of nature came to the assistance of the Americans, for the Yadkin rose so rapidly that it could not be forded, and Greene had carefully secured all the boats on the eastern bank.

Cornwallis now gave up all idea of preventing the union of the two wings of the opposing army, which, indeed, was effected soon after at Martinsville, near Guilford. The British commander decided to place himself between his opponents and the fords of the Dan, hoping thereby to prevent the Americans taking refuge in Virginia. Accordingly, on the 7th he crossed the Yadkin at the Shallow Ford. It was now a serious question with Greene to escape the new danger. The militia failing to come to his aid, he was obliged to protect his Continentals by a flight into Virginia. He determined to cross the Dan at Irwin's Ferry, and sent orders to have boats ready at that point. On the 10th the march was renewed. The light troops, united in one division, were placed under the command of O. H. Williams, with orders to delay the enemy as much as possible. By rapid marching the main army reached Irwin's Ferry and crossed on the 13th and 14th, before Williams and the rear-guard came in sight. The experience of this light division has been well told by Lee, whose Legion first measured sabres with Tarleton's men on the 12th. From that time the rear of the Americans and the advance of O'Hara were almost constantly in sight of each other. At every crossing or other suitable place Williams would draw his men out and thus compel the British to deploy; then, his object being accomplished, and the British delayed for a few minutes, the march would be resumed, and the two armies would soon be marching as one again. Cornwallis, conscious finally that his prey had escaped, turned back to Hillsborough, and, erecting the Royal Standard, called upon all loyal North Carolinians to rally to the aid of their royal master.

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On the 18th, only four days after his escape, recruits had come in so rapidly that Greene detached Lee across the Dan to seek information, and to show the Tories that the Americans were by no means beaten. Lee had, in addition to his legion, two companies of the Maryland line. He was joined on the southern side of the river by Pickens with a considerable body of Carolina militia.

On the 23d Greene himself crossed the Dan with the main army, and sought the difficult country on the head-waters of the Haw, as the Cape Fear River is called in its upper course. Here again, as during the retreat, the light troops were put into the hands of Williams. The two divisions manœuvred with such precision that Cornwallis was held at arm's length, while militia and Continentals came into the American camp from all directions. The American commander saw that the time had now come to give way no more. He stationed himself on a hillside near Guilford, and awaited the approach of the British. The position which had attracted his attention during the retreat possessed a combination of rising ground, cleared spaces, and woods which could hardly be surpassed for the irregular formation that Greene, following the example set by Morgan at the Cowpens, deemed best suited to his troops.

To Cornwallis, the presence of Greene had been most disastrous. Strategy had failed to annihilate his opponent, and the offered battle, even on ground of the American general's own selection, was welcome to the British commander; and on the morning of the 15th of March, 1781, the trial came.

In his front line Greene put the North Carolina militia, their flanks resting in the woods, the centre being protected in some measure by a rail fence. Three hundred yards behind were posted the Virginia militia under Stevens and Lawson. Though militia in name, some of those under Stevens were veterans in reality. But, taught by his bitter experience at Camden, Stevens posted riflemen behind his line, with orders to shoot any who should run. The Virginians were entirely in the woods. Three to four hundred yards behind them, on the brow of a declivity, with open fields in their front, were the regulars. On the right was the Virginia brigade under Huger. Then, after an interval for the artillery under Singleton, came the Maryland brigade, commanded by Williams. The first regiment was led by Gunby, with Howard as lieutenant-colonel. This was the regiment which had aroused universal admiration by its splendid conduct at Camden and its wonderful subordination at the Cowpens, when a gallant charge converted a bloody check into a crushing disaster. The second Maryland regiment, commanded by Ford, was new to the service. It held the extreme left of the line. The regulars presented a convex front. Lee with the "Legion" and Campbell's riflemen from the backwoods acted as a corps of observation on the left, while Washington, with the regular cavalry and the remnant of the Delaware regiment under the heroic Kirkwood and Lynch's riflemen, protected the right flank.

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As soon as Cornwallis found himself in the presence of his enemy, he deployed without reserves, except the British dragoons under Tarleton. The "Hessian" regiment of Bose and the 71st under Leslie, with the 1st battalion of the Guards in support, held the right; next came the 23d and 33d regiments under Webster, with the Grenadiers and the 2d battalion of the Guards under O'Hara in support; while the extreme left was occupied by the light infantry of the Guards and the Jägers. The artillery was on the road with Tarleton. As the line moved forward it first encountered the North Carolinians, who fired a volley, and perhaps more, before they broke. On the extreme right, however, Lee with his light troops held the regiment of Bose and the 1st battalion of the Guards in check. But the defection of the North Carolinians separated him from the rest of the army. The first line being broken, Webster rushed upon the Virginians. But the woods were so thick, and the defence of the Virginians so stout, that his loss at this point was very considerable. At length, Stevens having been wounded in the thigh, the Virginians retired and Webster advanced upon the Continentals. On his right was Leslie with the 71st. When the advancing line reached the front of the 1st Maryland, it was received with such a murderous fire that it stopped. The Marylanders then advanced with the bayonet, and the British gave way and retreated. It has been said by writers on both sides, that had Greene thrown forward another regiment at this moment the day would have been won. But this is by no means certain, as the events of the next few minutes were to show. For Leslie with the 71st and O'Hara with the Guards now came up and assailed the 2d Maryland with such fierceness that it broke and fled. But the 1st Maryland was not far off. Wheeling into line, it opposed the Guards until Washington charged and broke the British line. J. E. Howard — now in command, Gunby having been dismounted — then followed with the bayonet, and pressed the enemy so hard that re-formation was for the moment impossible. Cornwallis, seeing that the flight must be stopped at all hazards, ordered his artillery — posted on an eminence in the centre of the field — to open on the Marylanders through the ranks of his own men. In this way the pursuit was checked, though at terrible loss to the British.

Greene's hopes were soon dashed. The shattered lines of the enemy re-formed and returned to the conflict. Pressing heavily on the Virginia regulars, and reinforced by the 1st battalion of the Guards, which had disengaged itself from Lee, the whole American line was endangered. Greene, who wished to run no chances, and who probably did not know that Lee had once more connected himself with the main line, ordered a retreat. The artillery, the horses having been killed, was left on the ground, but otherwise the withdrawal was easily and skilfully effected.

Such was the battle of Guilford. Numerically, Greene was superior; but of good troops he had only a handful. When the two leaders summed up their losses, it became evident that a decisive blow had been struck at

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Cornwallis. The Americans lost seventy-nine killed and one hundred and eighty-four wounded, together with one thousand and forty-six missing. Of these last some may have been wounded, but by far the greater part were militiamen, who had returned to their homes. Cornwallis reported his own loss at ninety-three killed, and four hundred and thirteen wounded, and twenty-six missing — a most serious diminution of his force.

Cornwallis in his proclamation and letters maintained, however, that he had achieved a great triumph. It was his despatch to Germain which occasioned the well-known assertion of Charles James Fox that "another such victory would destroy the British army." Even before the fight it had been almost a necessity to open communications with the sea, as the army was suffering for want of the stores that had been destroyed at Ramsour's Mill. Believing the Cape Fear River navigable as far as Cross Creek, Cornwallis had sent Major Craig to seize Wilmington and to open navigation as far as possible, which he succeeded in doing to a point at a short distance above Wilmington. Leaving his wounded at the New Garden Quaker Meeting-house, near the battlefield, Cornwallis set out on the morning of the 18th for Wilmington, arriving there on April 7, 1781. Greene had pursued as soon as possible. But his ammunition, never very abundant, was now almost exhausted. Besides, food was very scarce in the district to be traversed, and Greene arrived at Ramsey's Mill only to find that Cornwallis had built a bridge over Deep River at that point and escaped, although Lee had pressed so hard on his rear that the bridge could not be destroyed. Here the pursuit ended; for the Virginia militia, now that their time was up, refused to serve longer. Though Cornwallis escaped, and though Greene had lost one of the best contested battles of the war, he had won the campaign. He was free once more to turn his attention toward relieving South Carolina of her military rulers. On April 6th, one day before Cornwallis arrived at Wilmington, the southward march began, Lee being detached to operate on the line of Rawdon's communications with Charleston.

Lee soon joined Marion, who was skulking in swamps between the Pedee and Santee, and, uniting forces, the two captured a fortified depot of Watson, the British officer scouring this region, and then endeavored to prevent his rejoining Rawdon.

On the 7th of April Greene had broken up from Ramsey's, and, taking the direct road, had encamped on Hobkirk's Hill, to the north of Camden, and about a mile and a half from the British works at that place. As Rawdon did not come out from his intrenchments, Greene on the 23d moved nearer. Anxious for Marion and Lee, and desirous of supporting some artillery which he detached to them, Greene moved to a position south of Camden. It appears, however, that on the 23d or 24th he decided to fall back. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 24th he reëncamped on Hobkirk's Hill. During that night a renegade drummer-boy informed Rawdon of the position and number of the American force. He also said that

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Greene had neither artillery nor trains near at hand, although both were on the march to join him. It was a most propitious time to strike, and Rawdon determined to attempt a surprise the next morning.

Making a considerable detour to the right, he struck the American left almost unperceived. Greene had thrown out a strong picket in that direction, but the superiority of the British was so great that they drove in the guards and were upon the Americans before the formation was complete. That the attack was not a disaster was due to the prudence of Greene, who had encamped in order of battle. Perceiving that Rawdon's line was very short, Greene ordered Ford with the 2d Maryland to flank it on the right, and Campbell was told to do the same on the left. Gunby with the 1st Maryland, and Hawes with the Virginia regulars, were ordered to attack with the bayonet in front, while Washington with the cavalry was to get into the rear and take advantage of any opening that might offer. Unfortunately, neither Ford nor Campbell were able to put in their men before Rawdon, seeing his danger, brought up his reserves and extended his flank. This was owing partly to Ford being struck down in the beginning of the movement.

The defeat of Greene, however, was due to one of those accidents against which no foresight can provide. It seems that as the 1st Maryland was getting into position to charge, or perhaps as it was moving forward, Beattie, the captain of one of the leading companies, was shot. His men began firing, and fell into confusion. Then Gunby, instead of pushing his rear companies forward, as Greene always declared he should have done, ordered the regiment to form on the rear companies. The men retiring were seized with a panic, and the heroes of three battles broke. They were rallied soon after, but it was then too late. The whole line was compromised, and Greene ordered a retreat.

Though Greene was not surprised, the attack was most unexpected. This was owing in a great measure to the woods in his front, which permitted Rawdon to reach the picket line without discovery. Even then Greene fully expected victory, and had his men done their duty, as he had a perfect right to expect, this adventurous attempt of the young British commander would have resulted in his complete overthrow. Such was Greene's opinion, and such is the opinion of most American writers.[1] Retiring first to Sanders Creek or Gum Swamp, the very spot Gates was trying to reach when he met Cornwallis, and later to Rugeley's Mill, Greene brought up his provisions and recruited the strength of his men. Though not beaten at Hobkirk's Hill, Greene was greatly discouraged. Especially distressing was the non-arrival of expected reinforcements. The terms of

[1] A court of inquiry, summoned at Gunby's request, found that his order "was extremely improper and unmilitary, and, in all probability, was the only cause why we did not obtain a complete victory." At the same time the court declared that Gunby's spirit and activity were unexceptionable. This court was presided over by Huger, or Hugee, as his name is not infrequently spelled in the old books.

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service of his best men were expiring, and he could see no source from which to draw recruits. His losses in the recent engagement had not been so great as those of his opponent; but Marion and Lee had been unable to prevent Watson from rejoining his chief. Still Greene did not lose heart. As soon as his men had recovered from fatigue he crossed the Wateree and posted himself at Twenty-five-Mile Creek, on the road from Camden to Fishing Creek and the Catawba settlements.

Watson reached Camden on May 7th. On the evening of the same day Rawdon moved out from his fortifications, and, crossing the Wateree, turned on Greene, intending to pass his flank and attack him from the rear. But Greene was too vigilant, for, learning of Rawdon's departure from Camden, he retired still higher up the river, first to Sandy's Creek and later to Colonel's Creek, the latter being nine miles from his former position. The position on the further bank of Colonel's Creek was very favorable to the party attacked. The light troops had been left in the front, as at Hobkirk's Hill. Coming upon them at Sandy's Creek, Rawdon mistook them for the main body, and their position seemed so strong that he did not feel willing to risk an attack. It was impossible for him to remain longer in Camden with Greene in such threatening attitude, especially as his line of communication with Charleston was in the hands of Lee and Marion. On the 10th, leaving his wounded who were unable to be moved at Camden, Rawdon evacuated that place, and marching to the east of the Santee, he crossed at Nelson's Ferry and took post at Monk's Corner, not more than thirty miles from Charleston.

RAWDON.[1]

One of the motives which had induced Rawdon to make this precipitate retreat was the hope of saving the garrison of Fort Motte, an important post on the Congaree, near its confluence with the Wateree. Lee and Marion had appeared before the place on the 8th. They had pushed the siege with vigor, but were so destitute of artillery and siege tools that it seemed the siege might be prolonged until the coming of Rawdon should enforce its abandonment. Happily it occurred to some one that the roof of Mrs. Motte's house, which stood in the middle of the inclosure, could be set on fire. It is related that Mrs. Motte herself furnished the bow and arrows with which this was accomplished. At any

[1] [From Doyle's *Official Baronage*, ii. 151. The likeness by Reynolds was painted in 1789, and is at Windsor Castle, and is engraved in the *European Mag.*, June, 1791; it was also engraved in mezzotint by John Jones. Cf. Hamilton's *Engraved Works of Reynolds*, pp. 56, 183, and J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, ii. 767. Cf. Irving's *Washington*, 4° ed., iv. 331. — ED.] There is an account of Rawdon's career to date in *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 339, and Lossing has given a sketch of his life in *Harper's Monthly*, xlvii. 15. He is better known by his later title of Marquis of Hastings, which he bore as governor-general of India. Cf. note to p. 49 of *Cornwallis Corresp.* It is to be noted that both he and his chief, Cornwallis, showed a humanity in after life which did not grace their careers in America.

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rate, soon after Rawdon's watch-fires were seen in the distance the house was on fire, the stockade untenable, and the garrison prisoners of war. Marion then separated from Lee, and, turning toward Charleston, compelled the enemy to look well to his communications.

When Rawdon evacuated Camden he sent orders to the commander at Fort Granby to retire to Charleston, and directed Cruger, at Ninety-Six, to join Brown at Augusta. Neither of these orders reached its destination. As soon as the post at Motte's had surrendered, Lee was ordered to Fort Granby. Proceeding with his usual celerity, he arrived before the place in the night of the 14th. His single piece of artillery opened on the fort as soon as the morning fog had dispersed. The garrison was completely taken by surprise. Time being of the utmost importance to Lee, the besieged were promised their baggage — in reality the property of plundered patriots — if they would immediately surrender. The terms were accepted, and Lee joined Pickens at Augusta.[1]

Lee reached this place on the evening of the 21st of May. On his way he had captured a small stockade, containing, under a strong guard, valuable stores for the Indians. Augusta is, or rather was, situated on the southern bank of the Savannah River. Its defences consisted of a strong work, Fort Cornwallis, in the centre of the town. It was garrisoned by a force of regulars under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, who had already once successfully defended the place. Not far from Fort Cornwallis was a smaller work, named after its defender Fort Grierson. While Lee watched the garrison of the larger fort, Pickens and Clarke advanced to the attack of Fort Grierson. Its defenders soon were compelled to leave their stronghold for the main fort. Their attempt to reach it was a vain one, as most of the garrison were captured or killed.[2]

[1] This seizure of Fort Granby greatly displeased Sumter, who had marked it for himself. He tendered his commission to Greene, who returned it with such an effusion of compliments that Sumter could not refuse to keep it. But his conduct at a time when it was especially important for the patriots to act in concert was a good illustration of the way in which he systematically thwarted Greene. Before the Cowpens he had ordered his subordinate to obey no orders coming from Morgan. And now, instead of coming to the aid of Greene, when hard pressed, he contented himself with desultory operations of no utility in the campaign. They secured to himself, however, a separate command.

Even Marion, that most steadfast and gallant leader of Southern militia, was impatient at the way in which he was treated by the commander-in-chief. It seems that Greene thought Marion might easily spare a few horses in order that Washington's men could be mounted. It will be remembered that Greene had before this taken occasion to declaim against the practice of the Southern irregulars in always wishing to serve mounted, as it added greatly to the expense. Marion took the implied censure to himself, and wrote that as soon as the siege of Motte's was over he wished to give up his present command and go to Philadelphia. Greene induced him to give over his contemplated retirement, and Marion's reply to Greene's urgent letter furnishes the real reason for his wish to attain to some other command than that of "Marion's men," for whom he appears to have had any but the kindest feelings. Indeed, the popular idea of "Marion's men" seems to be far from correct, for his band was composed largely of renegades, drawn together by the hope of booty. They deserted their leader when anything serious was to be attempted, and this "infamous behavior," as Marion rightly terms it, was very distressing to him. However, for a time the storm blew over, and for the future Lee was regarded as under Greene's own immediate orders.

[2] It was at this time that Grierson himself was shot by one of the militia after he had surrendered. Lee asserts that the murderer could

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The attack on Fort Cornwallis was now pressed with vigor. As at Fort Watson, use was here made of an expedient, already tried in the campaign, of advancing a log pen or Mahem tower, on the top of which was mounted the besiegers' only piece of artillery, whence it was used with great effect. The defence was most gallant, the garrison often sallying, and even attempting to blow up a house in which a covering party of riflemen were to have been placed; but the explosion was premature. Everything being ready for an assault, the garrison capitulated after one of the most splendid defences of the war. Lee then went to the assistance of Greene, who was now conducting the siege of Ninety-Six.

The village of Ninety-Six was then situated near the Saluda River, about twenty-five miles from Augusta. For many years a post had been established there as a protection against the Indians. When the British overran the State, it was selected as a proper position for one of the exterior line of posts of which Camden was the most important, though the possession of Augusta gave to the British the command of upper Georgia. When Camden was evacuated, Ninety-Six became useless and should have been abandoned; but the messengers bearing Rawdon's orders to that effect were stopped by the Americans. When, therefore, Greene arrived before the place, on the 22d of May, he found it defended by Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, with about 500 men, mainly New York loyalists. A stockade protected the rivulet which supplied the garrison with water, and their main fort, the "Star," had sixteen salient and reëntering angles. Greene was not strong enough completely to invest this fort, and he contented himself with an attempt to carry it by regular approaches.

This was Greene's first siege, and, unfortunately, he had no engineer of the requisite ability. Acting on the advice of Kosciusko, ground was broken at a distance of seventy paces from the "Star." The besieged soon sallied, destroyed the uncompleted works, and retired with trifling loss, taking with them the intrenching tools. The British were surprised at the temerity of the Americans in opening their trenches so near. The sally taught Greene a lesson, for he next opened a trench at a distance of four hundred paces, under the protection of a ravine. The work was now pushed with vigor, and, notwithstanding numerous sallies on the part of the garrison, by the morning of June 18th the third parallel was completed. The assailants were now within six feet of the ditch, while riflemen in a Mahem tower kept the besieged from their guns during the day.

Lee with the "Legion" had arrived from Augusta on the 3d, and had conducted operations against the stockade covering the watering-place with such vigor that it had been evacuated on the 17th. Four days more would have placed the garrison in the power of the besiegers. But it was not so to be. Rawdon, in Charleston, had received considerable reinforcements direct

not be discovered, though a large reward was offered for his apprehension; but Brown has declared that his name was well known, and that he was purposely shielded by the American commanders.

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from Ireland, and early in June he pushed forward through the heat, and eluded Sumter.[1] With Rawdon within a day's march, Greene must either take the fort by storm or abandon the siege. He decided on an assault, — probably more to satisfy the desires of his men than because he thought it

was the best thing to be done. On the 18th, at noon, the attack was made in two columns, Greene not being willing to hazard his whole force in a general storm. On the extreme right, Lee, with "Legion" infantry and

[1] That chieftain showed at this time a disregard for the orders and wishes of Greene which counterbalanced whatever good his former vigorous though unfortunate conduct may have produced. Instead of acting in harmony with Marion, and delaying Rawdon by every means within his reach, Sumter by contradictory letters neutralized Marion's force, and rendered his own quite harmless by shutting himself up in Fort Granby and allowing the British to march by unopposed. Greene seems never to have forgiven Sumter for his behavior at this time; and, indeed, it cannot be too warmly censured.

[NOTE ON PORTRAIT OF KOSCIUSZKO. — After an engraving by Anton Oleszeynski. Cf. Dr. Theodor Flathe's *Geschichte der neuesten Zeit* (Berlin, 1887), i. p. 205. Cf. A. W. W. Evans's *Memoir of Kosciusko*, privately printed for the Cincinnati Society, 1883. There was a model made in wax from life by C. Andras, from which an engraving was made by W. Sharp (W. S. Baker's *William Sharp, Engraver*, Philad., 1875, p. 66).

There are some notes on Kosciusko by Gen. Armstrong in the *Sparks MSS.* Cf. Greene's *Hist. View*, 297, and B. P. Poore's *Index*, for his claims on the United States (p. 131). — ED.]

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the remains of the gallant Delaware regiment, directed his efforts against the stockaded fort, which had already been abandoned, according to the British account of the siege. At all events, Lee had no trouble in carrying out his part of the work. But on the other flank the assault was not so successful. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with his Virginia regiment and with the 1st Maryland, formed the storming column. They advanced with great gallantry, but, though they gained the ditch, they could not effect a lodgment on the parapet. They were driven back with considerable loss by two parties of the besieged, which attacked them in the ditch on both flanks in such a way that the artillery and riflemen in the tower could not fire without injuring friend and foe alike. Greene called off his men, and Rawdon being within a few miles, he retired on the next morning to a safe place of retreat. In the end he retreated as far as Timm's Ordinary, between the Broad and Catawba rivers. Rawdon, his men worn down with their long march, could not overtake him, and finally halting on the banks of the Enroree, he turned back to Ninety-Six. That place being untenable with the means at his disposal, he divided his men into two parties. With one he regained the low country, resigning the command to Stuart on account of ill-health.[1] Gathering the Tories of the neighborhood, Cruger escorted them to Charleston, while Greene led his army to the High Hills of the Santee, where he passed the heats of the summer.

At length, toward the end of August, Greene learned that Stuart was proposing to establish a fortified post at a strong and healthful position called Eutaw Springs. Greene determined to prevent this, and descending from his camp he made a wide detour to get across the river which separated the two armies; for although he was distant from Stuart only sixteen miles as a bird flies, the most practicable route was nearly seventy miles long. He crossed the Wateree at Camden, and, marching parallel to the river, crossed its affluent, the Congaree, at Howell's Ferry on the 28th and 29th. Proceeding by slow and easy marches, he reached Burdell's plantation on the 7th of September. At that place Marion joined him, and preparations were made for an advance on the enemy the next day. Stuart at Eutaw seems to have been singularly negligent. He sent out but one patrol, which was captured by Lee. He would have been surprised had not two men deserted from the North Carolina regiment and given him warning. As it was, he had barely time to call in his foraging parties before Greene was upon him.

Stuart had with him about 2,300 men of all arms, Greene rather less. The British commander ranged his men in one line, the right being protected by Eutaw Creek, while the left was in the air, as the military term is. Greene advanced in two lines, the militia, under Marion, Pickens, and Malmady, being in the front. The right of the second line was held by Sumner with the North Carolina regulars. In the centre were the Virginia Continentals under Campbell, while on the left J. E. Howard and Hardman

[1] He then went to Charleston, and soon after the hanging of Hayne sailed for home.

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led the two Maryland regiments. To Lee, who had the advance during the march, was assigned the protection of the right flank, Henderson with a South Carolina brigade covering the left. The cavalry under Washington and the brave remnant of the Delaware regiment brought up the rear, and acted as a reserve.

Here at last there was no wavering among the militia, excepting those from North Carolina, who nevertheless fired several rounds before breaking. Under Marion and Pickens the rest fought splendidly. It is said that some of them fired no less than seventeen rounds before giving way; then Sumner advanced with the North Carolina regulars. At length they, too, were forced back; but the British following them with too great impetuosity, their own line became deranged. This was the opportunity for the men of Maryland and Virginia to retrieve the reputation lost at Guilford and Hobkirk's Hill, and splendidly they responded to the call. Rushing forward, — the Virginians alone disobeying orders so far as to fire, — the whole burst upon the enemy in front and swept him from the field. Unfortunately, their course led through the British camp, and they dispersed to plunder the abandoned tents. Now it happened that when the British fell back a party threw themselves into a strong brick house and an adjoining picketed garden; thence they delivered a withering fire upon the victors of a moment before. And more unfortunate still, when the "Legion" was ordered to charge the retiring foe, Lee could not be found, and the charge, being made without vigor, was a failure. On the right, too, the British had not retreated: they still occupied a flanking position, from which they could not be dislodged, even though Washington and all but two of his officers were killed or wounded in the attempt. All these things, coupled with the heat, compelled Greene to sound the retreat. Leaving such of the wounded as were within range of the brick house on the field, he retired to his camp at Burdell's, seven miles distant, that being the nearest point where a supply of good water could be obtained. Both commanders claimed the victory. It would be not unfair, perhaps, to call it a drawn battle. Neither party can be said to have retained possession of the field, as Stuart retreated with great precipitation from the vicinity on the night of the next day. Greene acknowledged a loss in Continentals alone of 408 in killed and wounded. The loss in militia has never been stated. It must have been considerable, as a portion of the militia fought with great obstinacy. According to the American accounts, the enemy lost in prisoners 500 men, including 70 wounded. But Stuart reported only 257 missing; his killed and wounded he gives at 433.

As soon as Greene ascertained the retreat of the enemy he followed with all speed; but Marion and Lee were too weak to prevent Stuart's receiving a reinforcement. Stuart finally halted at Monk's Corner, while Greene passed the Santee at Nelson's Ferry and retired to the High Hills.

Cornwallis at Wilmington had a difficult problem to solve. Should he

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go south to the relief of Rawdon, or north to the conquest of Virginia? Another campaign in North Carolina was plainly out of the question. The distances were so great and the country was so sparsely settled that it was a matter of great difficulty to move any considerable force there, even when unopposed. The recent campaign had fully demonstrated that a bold and enterprising leader with a handful of trained troops could seriously impair the usefulness of a royal army, even though he could not destroy it. The best base of operations for another campaign in South Carolina was Charleston, and the best way to get there was by water; but any such movement looked too much like a retreat to be seriously considered. Besides, Cornwallis did not believe that he could get to Camden in time to relieve Rawdon, as the place was not provisioned for a siege. On the other hand, a movement into Virginia offered many advantages. There the army would always be within easy march of the sea, and reinforcements could be brought from New York or sent thither with great ease. Then, too, it seemed to Cornwallis — and his supposition was probably correct — that with Virginia, the great storehouse of the Southern armies, once in his hands, the complete conquest of the Carolinas would be easy and certain. So impressed was he with this idea that he endeavored to induce Clinton to shift the headquarters of the army from the Hudson to the Chesapeake; but Clinton had other views, and New York remained the base of operations. Clinton even went further, and avowed his dislike of the whole plan of operations; but Cornwallis had the approval of Germain, and the northern movement was undertaken.

Clinton, however, had always looked with favor on desultory expeditions to Virginia, as they drew the attention of that State to her own defence, and therefore away from the defence of the Carolinas. As early as the spring of 1779, he had sent Matthews and Collier to the Chesapeake, with instructions to do as much damage to the Americans as possible; but beyond plundering Portsmouth and burning Suffolk they accomplished little, and returned to New York. The next year Leslie was detached in the same direction to effect a diversion in favor of Cornwallis's invasion of North Carolina. King's Mountain not only put an end to that invasion, but compelled Cornwallis to call Leslie to his aid. Leaving Portsmouth, which he had fortified, Leslie sailed for Charleston, and reached the front in season to take part in the campaign against Greene. On Leslie's withdrawal Clinton sent another expedition to Virginia to destroy military stores which had been collected for the supply of Greene. The command this time was given to Arnold, though, to guard against a new treason, dormant commissions were given to his chief officers, Lieutenant-Colonels Dundas and Simcoe. Arnold penetrated to Richmond without encountering much opposition. He destroyed nearly everything of value at that place, and then endeavored to seize some arms which had at one time been deposited at Westham. Failing in this, he descended the river to Portsmouth. The militia had now collected in considerable numbers. For this

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or for some other reason, Arnold kept within the fortifications of that place.

About this time Rochambeau had sent a few vessels to annoy the British in the Chesapeake; but, besides capturing the "Romulus,"—a 44-gun ship, — they did little, and returned to Newport. Washington now proposed that the two armies should unite in an attempt to capture the traitor. To this end he detached Lafayette with the light infantry, — a picked corps of about twelve hundred men from the New England and New Jersey lines, — to act in unison with a force of the same size which Rochambeau detached from his army. Lafayette, for a time concealing his destination by a feigned attack on Staten Island, reached Annapolis in safety. Leaving his troops there, to be brought the rest of the way by the French fleet when it should arrive, Lafayette proceeded to Suffolk. He found Muhlenberg, with the militia, at that place, guarding the approaches to Portsmouth. But the French were not fortunate, since their departure from Newport was so long delayed that the fleet arrived off the Capes of the Chesapeake only to find Arbuthnot guarding the entrance. In the fight which followed, both sides claimed the victory. But all the advantages of victory were on the side of the British, as Destouches' ships were so badly cut up that he was obliged to return to Newport. Success now being improbable, Lafayette returned to his troops, and the march to the North was begun. At the Head of Elk new orders were found, directing him to return to the South and place himself under the orders of Greene. The cause of this radical change in plan was the reinforcement of two thousand men under Phillips which Clinton had sent to Virginia.

Phillips arrived on March 25, and took command. Towards the end of April, the British to the number of twenty-five hundred landed at City Point on the James River. Steuben, who was then at Petersburg, took up a strong position at Blandford, where the enemy found him on the morning of April 25. He was soon obliged to retreat. The enemy then marched to Petersburg, and destroyed a large amount of tobacco and other valuable property. The 27th saw them at Osborn's, where they captured, after some show of resistance, a fleet of merchant vessels.

When Phillips and Arnold arrived at Richmond they found that Lafayette was before them. The young Frenchman had reached Baltimore on the 17th of April. Purchasing on his own credit shoes and clothes suited to a Virginia summer, he made a forced march, and threw himself into Richmond twenty-four hours in advance of the British. Not wishing to attack him in such a strong position, Phillips retired down the river, followed by the Americans. On the 7th of the next month (May, 1781), the British commander received word from Cornwallis that he would join him at Petersburg. Suddenly ascending the river, he re-occupied that town on the night of the 9th. On the 13th Phillips died, and a week later Cornwallis arrived and assumed command, Arnold returning to New York.

Then followed a series of marches, the design of the British commander

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being to cut Lafayette off from Wayne, who was marching to his support. But Lafayette moved with too great celerity. Early in June the desired junction of the Americans was made near Raccoon Ford, on the Rapidan. Meantime, while Lafayette was out of reach, Cornwallis sent out two expeditions. The first, under Simcoe, operated against Steuben, at that time guarding the stores at the Point of Fork. The Prussian veteran, mistaking Simcoe's detachment for the main army, abandoned the stores and retired with great precipitation. The second expedition, led by Tarleton, was designed for the capture of the civil rulers of Virginia, but a Virginia Paul Revere warned them of their danger in time, and they made good their escape, — though it is said that Jefferson, then resting from the fatigues of the session at Monticello, had but five minutes to spare. But the raid, successful or not, had no importance, although popular writers are wont to dwell upon it.

STEUBEN.[1]

With Wayne and his Pennsylvanians, in addition to his own Light Infantry, Lafayette felt strong enough again to oppose the enemy in the field. By a well-executed movement through an unknown and long-disused road, the young marquis placed himself between Cornwallis and Albemarle Old Court House, whither the stores had been removed from Richmond. Cornwallis, instead of attacking him, retired down the James, Lafayette following at a distance of about twenty miles. On the 25th of June the British were at Williamsburg, the Americans being not far off, at Bottom's Bridge. While at Williamsburg, Cornwallis sent Simcoe to destroy some boats and stores which had been collected on the Chickahominy. Lafayette, on his part, detached Butler of the Pennsylvania line, with orders to attack Simcoe on his return. A partial engagement ensued at Spencer's Ordinary, which ended in Simcoe's being able to continue his retreat.

It can hardly be said that this retrograde movement on the part of the British was due to the presence of Lafayette, although his presence undoubtedly contributed toward making Cornwallis desirous of getting into communication with Clinton. It is probable, too, that Cornwallis hoped to be so strongly reinforced that the conquest of the State during the coming autumn would be assured. But Clinton, believing, from intercepted de-

[1] [From Du Simitière's *Thirteen Portraits*, London, 1783. Cf. *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. p. 336, and the lives of Steuben. — ED.]

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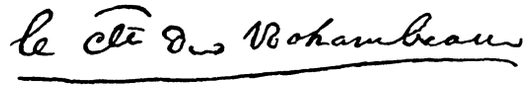
spatches, and from the movements of the Americans, that Washington was meditating an attack on New York, instead of complying with Cornwallis's desires, ordered him to send a portion of his own troops to New York. The latter, therefore, retired to Portsmouth, where the embarkation could be easily effected. To Lafayette, the crossing of the James seemed to offer the chance of at least picking off a rear guard; but Cornwallis was attacked too soon, owing in part to the impetuosity of Wayne, and the onset came near being a disaster. In the end, however, Wayne succeeded in bringing off his men, though he lost two pieces of artillery. Cornwallis, fearing an ambuscade, did not push the pursuit. He then made his way to Portsmouth unmolested, while the Americans sought a healthy summer camp on Malvern Hill. Just at this moment, owing to the arrival of reinforcements in New York, Clinton decided to leave Cornwallis's force intact. Furthermore, he determined to establish a permanent base in the Chesapeake, and ordered Cornwallis to fortify a place, mentioning Old Point Comfort, where the navy could be sheltered. He also authorized him to take possession of some other post, as Yorktown, if he thought it necessary.[1] Now Cornwallis seems to have regarded the fortifying of Yorktown as the only alternative, and the engineers and naval officers declaring Old Point Comfort unsuitable for a naval station, he seized York and Gloucester, and began the erection of the proper works. Clinton always asserted that he had no intention of ordering anything of the kind. But the weight of evidence seems to be in favor of Cornwallis. At all events, he took possession of Yorktown. As soon as his movements were discovered, Lafayette left his summer camp, and, taking a strong position in the fork of the Pamunkey and Mattapony rivers, sent out parties to watch the further movements of the enemy, Wayne being ordered toward the south, as if to the assistance of Greene. Such was the situation in Virginia when the French came to the aid of the Americans, and began the operations leading to the siege of Yorktown.



On the 1st and 2d of May, 1780, the Marquis of Rochambeau, with about five thousand men, left the roadstead of Brest. The transports were

[1] [After a sketch supposed to be by Fersen, aide of Rochambeau, and following a reproduction given in Balch's *Les Français en Amérique*, p. 174. Cf. Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., and E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 281; *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. 329. — ED.]

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convoyed by a small fleet of seven ships of the line, under the command of the Chevalier de Ternay. Their progress was slow, and it was not until July 12th that the fleet anchored in Newport harbor.[1] Batteries were immediately erected on shore to protect the shipping from the English fleet, which was under Arbuthnot. This admiral, hastening from Charleston, in company with Clinton, now bent his whole energy toward the destruction of the French fleet. But the British commanders, always on bad terms, quarrelled, and Washington threatening New York, while the New England militia rallied to the defence of their newly arrived allies, the attempt on Newport was abandoned. A naval blockade was kept up, however, and the French army was neutralized by a few ships of war. Thus they passed the remainder of 1780 and the first part of 1781.

On the 8th of May (1781) M. de Barras, successor to De Ternay, who had died in the preceding year,[2] arrived at Boston. He brought news of the departure from Brest of a powerful fleet commanded by M. de Grasse. This French admiral had with him a small convoy with six hundred recruits for Rochambeau; but the bulk of his fleet was destined primarily for the West Indies. De Grasse had been directed, however, to come on the American coast in July or August, relieve the fleet at Newport, and for a limited period act in conjunction with the American and French armies. On May 21st a conference between Washington and the French commanders was held at Weathersfield, in Connecticut. It was there determined to make a united attack upon New York, provided De Grasse could coöperate. This was Washington's plan, though an expedition against the British in Virginia seems even then to have been proposed. Later a note from De Grasse arrived, asking where he should strike the American coast. Rochambeau replied that it would be best for him to look into the Chesapeake, and then, should no employment be found there, to proceed to New York. Rochambeau also inclosed the articles of the Weathersfield conference, hinting at the same time that De Grasse must be his own judge as to the practicability of crossing the New York bar with his ships. Finally he asked him to borrow for three months the brigade under St. Simon, which was destined to act in conjunction with the Spaniards.

On the 18th the advance of the French left Providence for the Hudson. Washington at this time was encamped at Peekskill. Ten days later, on June 28th, he determined to seize by surprise, if possible, the forts on the northern end of New York Island. The night of July 2d was selected for the enterprise, and the command of the advance was given to Lincoln; Lauzun, with the French Legion, making a forced march to his aid. But the scheme failed. The enemy attacked Lincoln, and Lauzun reached the

[1] [Four cruisers had been sent out by the Americans to give them warning of the English fleet then in the neighborhood. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii. 229. Cf. letters of Gerry in *Letters of Washington to Langdon* (1880), p. 111. — ED.]

[2] [Ternay was buried in Newport. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1873, p. 409, and *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 105; and Anthony's speech on a bill to repair the tomb (H. B. Anthony's *Memorial Addresses*, Providence, 1875). — ED.]

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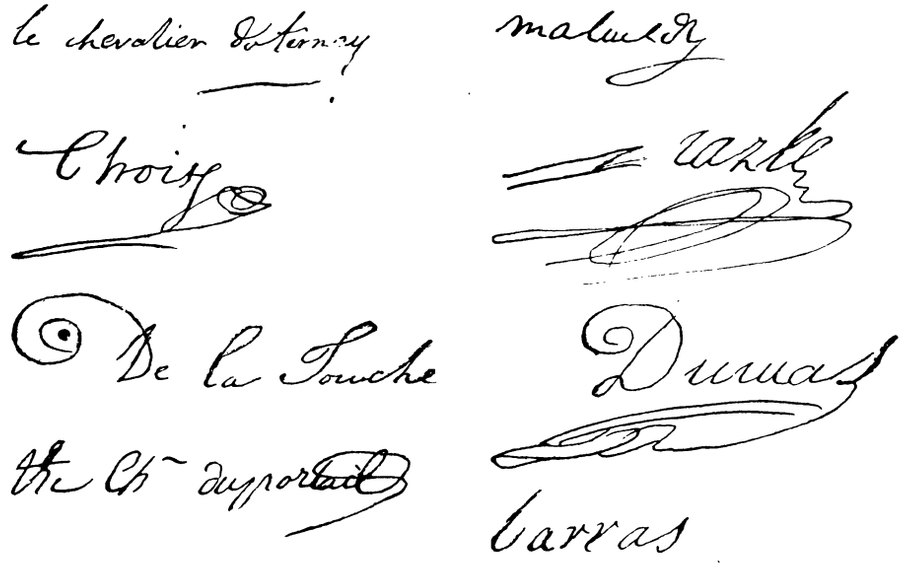
scene of conflict too late to be of assistance. The troops were drawn off in safety, however, and retired to Dobbs Ferry, where they were joined by the French infantry on July 6th. While awaiting the arrival of the fleet, nothing was attempted beyond a reconnoissance in force of the northern defences of the island. It was this movement which induced Clinton to send for the Virginia troops.

On August 14th a letter from De Grasse arrived which put a new face on the whole war; for the French admiral announced that he should sail for the Chesapeake, with a view to carry out the scheme of Rochambeau for a united movement against Cornwallis. He added that his stay on the



FRENCH OFFICERS.

American coast would be short, and that he hoped the land forces would be ready to act with him.

There was now nothing to be done but to abandon the cherished project against New York, and to move all of the allied armies that could be spared from the vicinity of New York to the Chesapeake. Leaving Heath with four thousand men to garrison the forts on the Hudson, and suitable parties to guard against an irruption from Canada, Washington set out with the rest of the land forces for Williamsburg, by the way of Philadelphia, Head of Elk, and the Chesapeake. On the 19th the army crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry, and moved as though to attack Staten Island. This feint was so well managed that Clinton was completely deceived. On September 2d the Americans marched through Philadelphia, the French following on the 3d, 4th, and 5th. By the 8th the allied army was again

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united at the Head of Elk. The news of the arrival of De Grasse at the Capes of the Chesapeake had reached Washington on the 5th, and had been communicated to the troops on the following morning.[1]

De Grasse, on his arrival at Lynnhaven Bay, just inside Cape Henry, had found an aide of Lafayette's, and soon the marquis arrived in person. As soon as possible the troops under St. Simon were landed at Jamestown Island, and Wayne was recalled from his southward march. These corps, with the light infantry and the Virginia militia, took up a strong position at Williamsburg, not more than twelve miles from Yorktown. Cornwallis reconnoitred the lines; but they were too strong to be attacked except at great risk. Confident in being relieved by Clinton and Graves, he retired to his fortifications.

Had Rodney done his full duty he would have followed De Grasse in his northward cruise. But pleading illness, he sent fourteen ships of the line, under Hood, to the assistance of Graves, and sailed himself for Europe.[2] The event was most fortunate for the American cause, as the control of the sea for a brief period passed away from the British. It should be said that Rodney had written to Graves, warning him of his danger; but through a fortunate accident the letter never reached Graves, and the first he heard of the coming of De Grasse was on the arrival of Hood. That admiral on August 25th had looked into the Chesapeake on his way north; but the French had not yet arrived. Graves had already discovered that Barras had sailed from Newport with a siege train and tools, and the two admirals, conjecturing, therefore, that the destination of Barras was the Chesapeake, determined to seek him there and destroy him before the arrival of the main fleet. They reached Cape Henry on the 5th of September, and there they found, not Barras, as he had purposely taken a long, roundabout route to avoid them, but De Grasse. The English fleet numbered nineteen sail of the line, the French twenty-four, but fifteen hundred men were absent, engaged in landing the troops of St. Simon. Nevertheless, De Grasse slipped his cables and stood out to sea. The ensuing action was indecisive, but De Grasse accomplished his purpose, as the British were obliged to seek New York to refit. On his arrival back at Lynnhaven Bay he found Barras. There was now abundant transportation, and by the 26th of September the allied troops — Washington's, Rochambeau's, Lafayette's, and St. Simon's — were concentrated at Williamsburg.

Two days later, on the 28th, the allied army marched to Yorktown, and

[1] The Marquis of Rochambeau, in his *Memoirs*, took to himself the credit of appointing the Chesapeake as a rendezvous for the fleet. He also claims to have intimated to De Grasse that perhaps it would be best to attack the English in Virginia. At all events, the French admiral sent word that he should go into the Chesapeake, and he hoped, as his stay on the coast would be short, that the land forces would be ready to coöperate with him. This decided the matter. There is in print (dated Mount Vernon, July 13, 1788; Carey's *Museum;* also in Niles, *Principles and Acts*, 1st ed., p. 273) a letter from Washington to the effect that, although the point of attack was not decided on at the outset, the movement against New York was a feint.

[2] The documents recently printed by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts convey the impression that Rodney preferred not to act in conjunction with Sir Henry Clinton.

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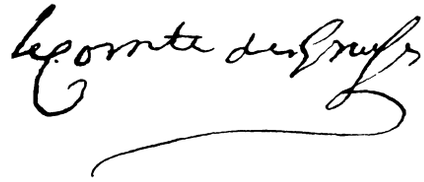
found Cornwallis occupying an intrenched camp outside the immediate defences of the town. On the 29th the lines were extended so as to envelop the place, the Americans taking the right, with their right flank resting on Wormley Creek. Cornwallis, seeing that he would be outflanked, withdrew

COUNT DE GRASSE.[1]

to the inner defences, and on the morning of the 30th the besiegers took possession of the abandoned works.[2]

On the night of the 5th and 6th of October the first parallel was opened, at a distance of between five and six hundred yards from the enemy's works. It extended from the river bank below the town to a deep ravine nearly

[1] [From Andrews's *Hist. of the War*, Lond., 1785, vol. ii. Cf. *European Mag.*, ii. 83; Hennequin's *Biographie maritime*, iii. 297; E. M. Stone's *French Allies*, 396, 398; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vi. p. 1; *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. 330.



The Operations of the French fleet under the Count de Grasse in 1781–82, as described in two Contemporary Journals (New York, 1864, for the Bradford Club, 150 copies), edited by John G. Shea, gives two narratives, of which one purports to have been written by a certain Chevalier de Goussencourt, who is hostile and cannot be identified, while the other is anonymous and friendly. This last had been printed at Amsterdam in 1782, and it is suspected was written by De Grasse himself. A sketch of De Grasse's life, for which his family gave material, is prefixed. It also contains (p. 192) the account, abridged from the *Gazette de France*, Nov. 20th, in the *Remembrancer*, xiii. 46. A *Notice Biographique* of De Grasse, by his son, was published in Paris in 1840. — ED.]

[2] It was while reconnoitring on the morning of this day that Col. Alexander Scammel, of the New Hampshire line, was captured by a party of Legion dragoons, and mortally, though accidentally, wounded after he had surrendered.

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COMTE DE GRASSE.[1]

[1] [From the *London Mag.*, Aug., 1782, p. 355. There is a profile head in *The Operations of the French fleet under the Count De Grasse* (N. Y. 1864). — ED.]

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opposite the centre of the besieged lines. A battery on the bank above the town opposed a battery of the enemy in that quarter, and also prevented the British fleet from enfilading the works. Guns were mounted and fire opened from this parallel on the afternoon of the 9th. The ground was singularly favorable to the construction of the approaches, and by the night of the 11th and 12th the works were in such a state of forwardness that the second parallel was begun, not more than three hundred yards from the British lines. On the extreme right, however, there were two redoubts, commanding this parallel, which on the night of the 14th and 15th were carried by storm, — the smaller one, on the right, by Lafayette's division, the advance being commanded by Alexander Hamilton; while the one further away from the river was stormed by a party of French infantry commanded by Colonel G. de Deux-Ponts, the Baron de Viomenil having command of the division. The loss on the American side was inconsiderable, but that of the French was severe, the redoubt carried by them being larger and much more strongly garrisoned. Before morning the two redoubts were included in the second parallel. Cornwallis, hoping for relief, determined to prolong the defence as long as possible. To this end, on the morning of the 16th, Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie led a determined but useless assault on two batteries at the French end of the trenches. Cornwallis next tried, on the night of the same day, to cut his way out by passing his men over to Gloucester Point; but a storm arose in the midst of the ferrying, and the enterprise, hazardous at best, was abandoned.

An assault becoming practicable, at ten o'clock of the morning of the 17th, four years since Burgoyne's surrender, a drummer-boy appeared on the parapet and beat a parley. Negotiations were begun, but, though pushed with the greatest energy by Washington, the final articles were not signed in the trenches until two days later, on the 19th. On that day, at noon, two redoubts were taken possession of by detachments from the French and American forces. At two in the afternoon the British army, with colors cased and drums beating "The World turned upside down," marched out and laid down their arms; O'Hara, in the absence of Cornwallis, making the formal surrender to Lincoln, Washington's representative.

At the beginning of the siege the British numbered not far from seven thousand men of all arms, — perhaps a few more. On the day of the capitulation, according to Cornwallis, little more than thirty-eight hundred were fit for duty, including the garrison at Gloucester Point. The allied army is usually given at sixteen thousand men, — nine thousand Americans, including thirty-five hundred militia. The French numbered probably more than seven thousand. The total British loss during the siege was five hundred and forty-one, including the missing. The allied loss, excluding the missing, was seventy-six Americans and one hundred and eighty French. It has been stated that, at the time of the surrender, there were about fourteen hundred unfit for duty in the allied camp. This great victory, due even more than most victories to chance, virtually ended the war. It remains only to describe the closing scenes in the South.

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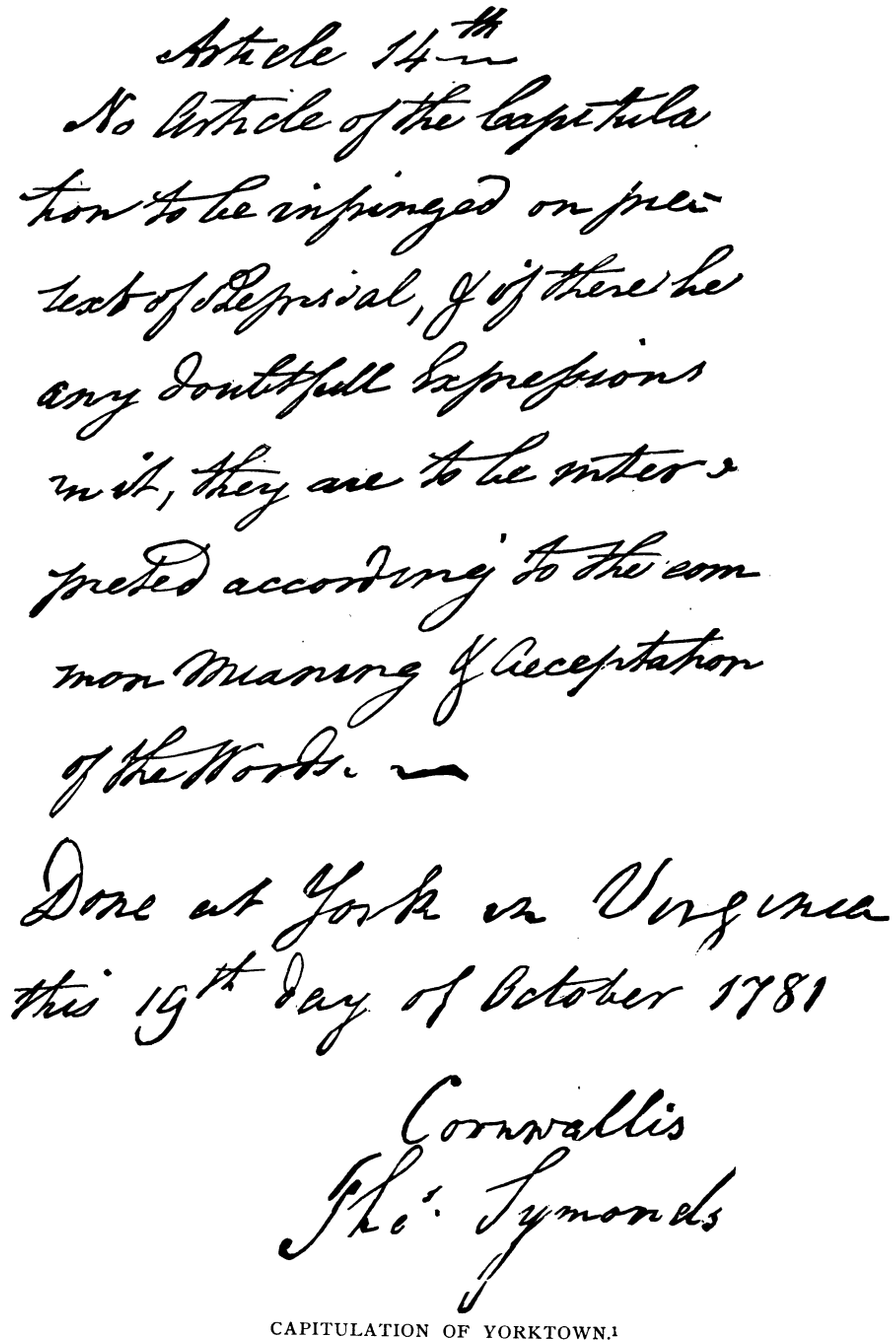

Article 14th
No Article of the Capitula
tion to be infringed on pre-
text of Reprisal, & if there be
any doubtfull Expressions
in it, they are to be inter-
preted according to the com-
mon Meaning & Acceptation
of the Words. —

Done at York in Virginia
this 19th day of October 1781

Cornwallis
Thos. Symonds

CAPITULATION OF YORKTOWN.[1]

[1] [From a fac-simile of the articles in Smith and Watson's *Hist. and Lit. Curios.*, 1st ser., 6th ed., pl. xxxiv. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 523. The articles are given in Shea's *Operations of the French fleet*, p. 78; R. E. Lee's ed. of Lee's *Memoirs*, 509; Tarleton, 438; *Polit. Mag.*, ii. 67; Sparks's *Washington*, viii. App. 8; *Cornwallis Corresp.*, App. — ED.]

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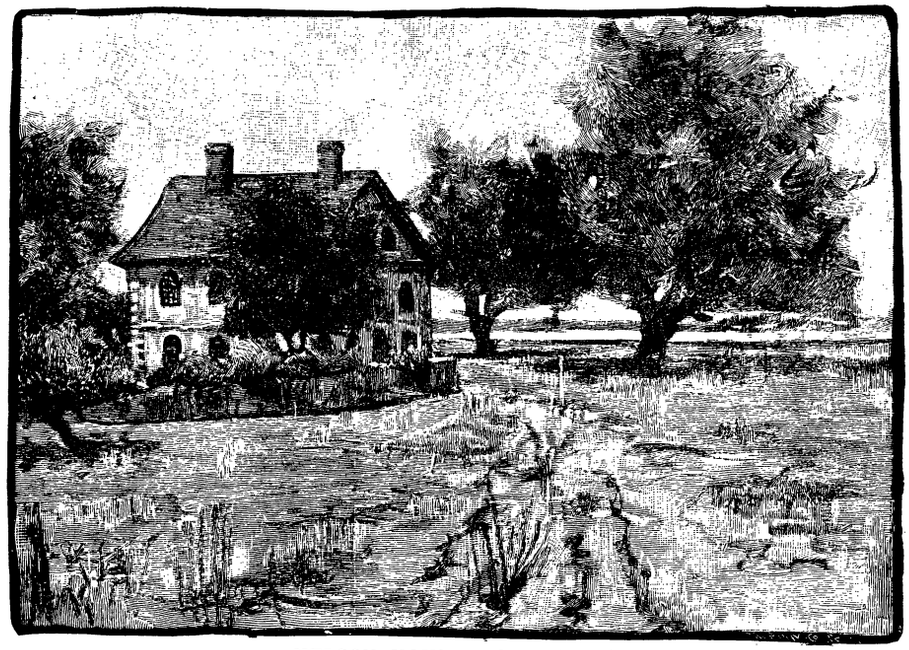
Greene's army had been so roughly handled at the Eutaws that it was the first of November before he felt strong enough again to take the field. He advanced first to Dorchester and the Round O. Then, reinforcements arriving from the troops set free by the surrender at Yorktown, he assumed a more vigorous offensive. He advanced to the eastern bank of the Edisto, between Jacksonborough, where the legislature was then assembling, and Charleston, still in the hands of the British. But if the Pennsylvanians



NELSON HOUSE, YORKTOWN.[1]

[1] [After a drawing given in Meade's *Churches and Families of Virginia*, i. 204. It was here that Cornwallis had his headquarters.

See other views and accounts in Balch's *Les Français en Amérique*, 1; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (1881), vii. 47 (by R. A. Brock); x. 458, July, 1881; Brotherhead's *Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (1861), p. 61; E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 428; G. W. P. Custis's *Recoll. of Washington*, p. 337. A journal of Mr. Samuel Vaughan in 1787, owned by Dr. Charles Deane, describes the havoc made in this house by the bombardment.

The Moore house, at which the terms of surrender were arranged, is depicted in *Appleton's Journal*, xii. 705; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vi. 16 (etching); E. M. Stone's *French Allies*, 466; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 530. Washington's headquarters at Williamsburg is shown in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 270. A view of the field where the arms were laid down is in Paulding's *Washington*, vol. ii. The so-called Cornwallis Cave is drawn in *Scribner's Mag.*, v. 141. For other landmarks, see Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 509; *Cycl. U. S. Hist.*, 155–157; Porte Crayon's "Shrines of Old Virginia" in *Lippincott's Mag.*, April, 1879. In the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (1881), pp. 270, 275, are views of Washington's headquarters at Williamsburg; and of those, earlier occupied by Cornwallis, the president's house of William and Mary College.

For the Yorktown and Saratoga medal, see Loubat's *Medallic Hist. U. S.; Amer. Jl. of Numismatics*, xv. 76; *Coin Collectors' Journal*, vi. 173; Sparks's *Franklin*, ix. 173.

The best known picture of the surrender is Trumbull's painting, which is engraved in *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. 344, and elsewhere. Cf. early engravings of the scene in Barnard's *Hist. of England;* in Godefroy's *Recueil d'Estamps* (Paris, 1784). — ED.]

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were a welcome addition on account of their strength, they brought also a spirit of discontent. A plot was discovered to betray the army into the power of the enemy. A few examples were made and the attempted treason stamped out.

Greene now detached Wayne, with about five hundred men, to do what he could toward the recovery of the Georgia seaboard. On his approach the British retired to Savannah, burning everything that could not be removed. Wayne was too weak to attempt more than the blockade of the town. But on the 21st of May Lieutenant-Colonel Brown left the fortifications as if to attack the Americans. Placing himself between this party and the garrison, Wayne surprised Brown by a night attack, killing or dispersing the whole party. About a month later he was himself surprised by a large body of Creek Indians led by a British officer. Successful at first, the savages were finally beaten off, with the loss of their chief Escomaligo and a dozen braves. On the 11th of the next month, July, 1782, Savannah was evacuated, and the whole State once more came into the hands of the Americans.

The British government had decided upon the abandonment of all posts in America with the exception of New York. On August 7th, Leslie, then commanding in the South, announced in "after orders" that the evacuation of Charleston had been determined on. He also wrote to Greene, proposing a cessation of hostilities. The proposal was declined, Greene having no instructions on the point. Later Leslie again wrote, offering to pay for all rice and other provisions that might be brought into Charleston; but Greene, fearing that the rice was intended for use during a campaign against the French in the West Indies, again refused. Leslie then endeavored to seize the coveted articles by force. One of his foraging parties, commanded by Lieutenant Benjamin Thompson, — better known by his later title of Count Rumford, — surprised and dispersed Marion's brigade while its commander was absent attending a meeting of the legislature. The most serious loss through these desultory expeditions was in the death of the younger Laurens, who was killed during a useless skirmish at Combahee Ferry. This was the last action of the war in the South. On the 14th of December the British left Charleston, and three days later their last ship passed the bar and went to sea. The South was free.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE most complete contemporary account of the Southern campaign is David Ramsay's *Revolution of South Carolina*.[1] This author, by birth a Pennsylvanian, removed to Charleston in 1773, and at once took a leading part in the management of the

[1] *History of the Revolution of South Carolina from a British Province to an Independent State*, Trenton, 1785, — cited in this chapter as *Rev. in S. C.*

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affairs of that town. During the stormy years of 1779–1780 he was a member of the governor's council, but went with the Charleston artillery company to the siege of Savannah. When Rutledge, with a portion of his council, left Charleston during the siege, Ramsay remained behind with Gadsden. He was, therefore, a prisoner during the greater portion of Gates's and Greene's campaigns. Ramsay was thus a prominent actor in many of the scenes described in his volumes, while his facilities for obtaining accurate information as to the rest were so excellent that his book may be regarded as an authority of the first importance. He retold the story in a condensed form in several other publications.

Moultrie [1] was a prominent actor in the defence of his native State before the capitulation of Charleston. After that he resided with the other officers at Haddrell's Point

NATHANAEL GREENE. (*Norman's print.*)

until his exchange in 1781. At a later day he was present at the entry of the victorious army into Charleston. Whenever he speaks from his own observation, Moultrie may be trusted.[2] But he seems to have been too ready to listen to exaggerated stories, and though we must believe that there was a foundation for his account of the sufferings of

[1] There is no formal biography of Moultrie. Brief sketches of his career may be found in Hartley's *Heroes of the South*, 231–268, and in *A New Biographical Dictionary or Remembrancer of Departed Heroes, compiled by T. J. Rogers*, Philadelphia, 1829, pp. 317–322. Cf. also *ante*, p. 171, 229.

[2] *Memoirs of the American Revolution, so far as it related to the States of North and South Carolina, and Georgia. By William Moultrie.* New York, 1802. This work, though written long after the event, consists so largely of letters and other original material that it may be regarded almost as a contemporary work.

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the Charleston prisoners, it should always be remembered that the charges were indignantly denied by the British officers in charge.

Henry Lee, of Virginia, — "Light-Horse" or "Legion Harry," as he was often called, — though not in the South prior to the days of the Cowpens, was so intimate with all the actors in the operations after the fall of Charleston, and enjoyed such advantages for acquiring information of earlier events, that as a source of information his book [1] is of considerable value. As the work of an outspoken and generally impartial military critic of these campaigns, it has no equal. It should be borne in mind, however, that as to dates and minor details it needs the confirmation of contemporary documents.[2] Like so many

GENERAL GREENE. (From Andrews' *History of the War.*)

[1] *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department, by Henry Lee, lieutenant-colonel commandant of the Partisan Legion during the American War*, Philadelphia, 1812; reprinted in 1819. In 1827 appeared *A New Edition, with corrections left by the author, and with Notes and Additions by H. Lee, the author of the Campaign of '81.* Many years later, in 1869, *A New Edition, with Revisions, and a Biography of the Author, by Robert E. Lee*, was published in New York. This is the best memoir of "Legion Harry" that has yet appeared. Cf. also G. W. P. Custis's *Recollections*, p. 354, and Rogers, *Biog. Dict.*, p. 271. [There are portraits of Henry Lee as a young man in Continental uniform in the Penna. Hist. Society. Cf. Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., iii. 197; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 591; R. E. Lee's ed. of the *Memoirs*. Cf. C. C. Jones, *Last days, death, and burial of General Lee* (Albany, 1870). — ED.]

[2] And the same criticism applies with still greater force to the writers who have based their narratives on this work.

[PORTRAITS OF GENERAL GREENE. — One of the earliest of the contemporary prints is the rude copperplate, made by the Boston engraver Norman, which appeared in the Boston edition (1781, vol. ii. p. 229) of *An Impartial History of the War in America.* A fac-simile is annexed. In 1785, Andrews' *History of the War*, published in London (vol. i.), had a youthful picture, a reproduction of which is also given herewith. The

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of the Revolutionary heroes, Lee in his later years became involved in unfortunate speculations, and a painful disease increased the distress of his last days.[1] As an orator he fashioned phrases which have not yet lost their hold on the popular mind. As a writer he avoided the stilted sentences of his contemporaries, and his book may still be read with pleasure. Probably no one enjoyed the confidence of Greene to such an extent as Henry Lee.[2]

Nathanael Greene came of good Rhode Island stock,[3] and, like other prominent Rhode Islanders of his day, was a self-educated man. Fortunately for posterity, though not always for himself, Greene was a copious and candid letter-writer. His letters and fragments of letters, so far as they have been printed, are his best biography.[4] He has not lacked biographers, however. First, in point of time, was Charles Caldwell, who put forth a worthless volume as early as 1819.[5] William Gilmore Simms, the Carolina novelist, also

next year the *Columbian Magazine* (Sept., 1786), published in Philadelphia, gave an engraving after R. Peale's likeness of Greene, of which a better engraving by Robert Whitechurch can be found in Irving's *Washington* (ii. p. 8) and in E. M. Stone's *French Allies* (p. 496). In 1794 the *New York Magazine* (May) gave as from an original painting a copperplate engraving, of which a fac-simile is given on another page. It is evidently a rendering of the canvas of which, after a photograph given in George W. Greene's *Life of Greene*, the woodcut on the page opposite to the other is a more adequate representation. There is also a print in the *Monthly Military Repository*, N. Y., 1796–1797. A portrait by C. W. Peale was engraved, while in the Philadelphia Museum, by Edwin, and appeared in Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department* (vol. i., Philadelphia, 1812). It was again engraved by James Neagle in 1819 for Charles Caldwell's *Memoirs of the life and character of the Honorable Nathanael Greene* (Philadelphia, 1819); and in 1822 it furnished the head and shoulders, turned in the opposite direction, for the full-length figure, engraved by J. B. Longacre, after a drawing by H. Bounetheau, which is in the first volume of William Johnson's *Sketches of the life and correspondence of Nathaniel Greene* (Charleston, 1822). One of the pleasantest of the likenesses of Greene is that painted by Col. John Trumbull, which was engraved by J. B. Forrest for the *National Portrait Gallery* (New York, 1834). The same picture is selected by W. G. Simms for his *Life of Greene*, and it is given in R. E. Lee's ed. of Henry Lee's *Memoirs of the War* (N. Y., 1869), and H. B. Anthony's *Memorial Address* (Providence, 1875) on presenting the statue of Greene to Congress. This statue, modelled by Henry K. Brown, was offered in 1870, and a cut of it is given in the *Presentation of the Statue of Major-General Greene in the Senate*, June 20, 1870 (Washington, 1870), an account of which, under the title of *Proceedings in Congress attending the reception of the statue of Maj.-Gen. Greene*, was reprinted (twenty copies) in Providence the same year. For congressional documents pertaining, see B. P. Poore's *Descriptive Catal. of U. S. Gov't publications*, pp. 896, 901, 1221. Congress voted a medal to Greene after the battle of Eutaw, and on one side it bears a profile likeness of Greene. It is engraved in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 704; and in *Ibid.* p. 720, is a view of the monument erected to the memories of Greene and Pulaski. The Polish hero has since, however, been commemorated in a separate monument, so that the shaft first erected is now called a memorial of Greene alone. Greene died in 1786 of a sunstroke, at a plantation near Savannah, which had been given to him by the State of Georgia, — it being the confiscated estate of the late royal lieutenant-governor, — and he was buried in Savannah; but when the monument was built, the search to discover his remains was unsuccessful. Cf. *The Sepulture of Greene and Pulaski, by C. C. Jones, Jr.* (Augusta, 1885). — ED.]

[1] Cf. Charles C. Jones, *Reminiscences of the Last Days, Death, and Burial of General Henry Lee*, Albany, 1870.

[2] For Washington's opinion of Lee, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 81.

[3] H. E. Turner's *Greenes of Warwick* (Newport, 1877).

[4] See especially Greene's *Greene* (all references in this chapter are to the three-volume edition, unless otherwise stated), iii., Appendix, pp. 541–547; Johnson's *Greene*, i. 218–221 and 326; Sparks, *Correspondence of the Revolution*, iii. 118–189; Reed's *Reed*, ii., *passim* and App.; *Maryland Papers; Charleston News and Courier for May 10th, 1881; Rhode Island Colonial Records*, vol. ix., and *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi. Many of these letters will be referred to in the notes. In two letters from Knox to Greene (Drake's *Knox*, 67 and 68) the lighter side of Greene's character appears.

[5] [Caldwell sought interviews with Greene's relatives, and says that his sources were "as ample and authentic as any now existing;" and he represents that his account of the fight at Ramsour's Mill is the only event of moment in which he differs materially from other writers. — ED.]

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tried his hand at the alluring theme, and his book, while possessing no claim to originality, has at least the merit of being interesting. The most formidable of these early biographies was the work of Judge Johnson, of Charleston. He enjoyed the best facilities, as the Greenes placed the family papers at his disposal. Many of these documents he printed at length, and as a repository his work has a value.[1] In other respects it is worth very little. This is due mainly to the fact that in order to glorify his hero he belittled every other prominent character — with the exception of Marion.[2] A formidable antagonist of Johnson was soon found in the person of Henry Lee, the son of Light-Horse Harry. He resented the slurs of Johnson, and even wrote a book[3] to show the small reliance to be placed on the learned judge's military criticisms. As a review, the work of the younger Lee is interesting, but it is so one-sided as to be of little importance.

It is, however, to the labors of a descendant that the great leader owes much of the honor in which he is held. In various publications, from the little seven-page sketch in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* (vol. ii. p. 84) to the large three-volume biography,[4] the grandson sought to spread the fame of the grandsire. Unfortunately, through these family works of love there runs the same spirit of adulation that so disfigured Johnson. A still greater drawback to the value of the largest work is the hesitation of the author in printing letters and documents not elsewhere in print.

In this respect the biographer of Greene's able lieutenant, Daniel Morgan, set a good example. In fact, Graham's *Morgan*[5] is an excellent and generally trustworthy book.

[1] *Sketches of the Life and Services of Nathanael Greene, Major - General of the Armies of the United States, in the War of the American Revolution. Compiled chiefly from original materials. By William Johnson of Charleston, South Carolina, 1822.* Two volumes, folio. A good review of this work is in the *United States Magazine and Literary Repository* for January, 1823, pp. 3–23.

[2] This of course provoked the reviewers, and especially Jared Sparks, — then editor of the *North American Review*, — though his criticisms are for the most part directed against portions of the work that do not concern us here.

[3] *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas, with remarks, historical and critical, on Johnson's Life of Greene, to which is added an Appendix of original documents, by H. Lee,* Philadelphia, 1824.

[4] *The Life of Nathanael Greene, . . . by George Washington Greene,* N. Y., 1871. The life intermediate between these two was written in Rome, far away from the proper materials. It therefore is of little value compared with the larger work. It forms volume xx. of Sparks's *American Biography*. In 1877 appeared *A Biographical Discourse delivered at the unveiling of the statue . . . to the memory of Major-general Nathanael Greene, by his Grandson, G. W. Greene.* But the address, owing to the ill-health of the author, was not delivered. It contains a good short summary of the Southern campaign. Cf. an *Eulogium on Major-general Greene, delivered before the Society of the Cincinnati by Alexander Hamilton, July 4, 1789,* in Hamilton's *Works*, ii. 481; and Lodge's ed., vol. vii.; see also Headley's *Washington and his Generals*, ii. 7–77; *Lives of the Heroes*, 27–75; Wilson, *Biography*, 278–286; Rogers, *Biog. Dict.*, 170–185; *American Biography* (1825), pp. 158–182, etc., etc.

[On the grant to Greene for his services, see the paper on the sea-islands, in *Harper's Mag.*, Nov., 1878. Cf. B. P. Poore, *Desc. Catal. of gov't publ.*, p. 1293. Recently published personal detail is in *Providence Plantations* (Providence, 1886), p. 62; John Bernard's *Retrospections*, p. 103. — ED.]

The place of Greene's burial has aroused some controversy. Cf. C. C. Jones, *Sepulture of Greene and Pulaski* (1885). A description of the monument to his memory at Savannah is in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, xvi. 297. Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 369.

[5] *The Life of General Daniel Morgan, with portions of his correspondence, compiled by James Graham,* N. Y., 1856. Besides this there is a sketch of Morgan's career in Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 386. Cf. also *Lives of the Heroes*, 76–89; Wilson, *Biography*, etc., 31–38; Rogers, *Biog. Dict.*, 309–316; Headley, ii. 366–372. *The Hero of Cowpens, A Centennial Sketch by Mrs. McConkey,* N. Y., 1881, is of no value. *Am. Hist. Record*, i. 111, contains an account of *The Grave of Daniel Morgan*, with illustrations.

[Portraits of Daniel Morgan were painted by C. W. Peale (engraved by David Edwin) and John Trumbull (engraved by J. F. E. Prud'homme). Cf. Dennie's *Portfolio*, viii.; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 637 (also, *Cyclo. U. S. Hist.*, p. 920, etc.). The picture (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, April, 1884), representing him sitting on a chest, and dressed in a hunting-shirt, is no further a likeness than his features are preserved. There is a statue of him by Ward. Morgan lived after the war in the Shenandoah Valley, and a view

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It is to be noted that Graham has cleared Morgan from the charge that he retired from the army after the Cowpens, through a treasonable fear that the Revolution would not be successful. Nor does the assertion that Morgan was chagrined at the treatment accorded him by Greene appear to be well founded.

But of all the Southern leaders, Marion was most fortunate in his biographers.[1] It is true that Horry's work was largely written by Mason L. Weems, notorious for his so-called *Life of Washington*. Both Horry and James had a foundation for their narratives. The confidence reposed by Greene in his ablest leader of irregular troops is best seen in their letters printed by Gibbes in his *Documentary History*,[2] which is com-

GENERAL GREENE. (*New York Magazine, 1794.*)

of his house, "Saratoga," is given in *Appleton's Journal*, 1873, July 16, p. 67; Mrs. Lamb's *Homes of America; Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, x. 455. — ED.]

[1] *The Life of General Francis Marion, by Brig.-gen. P. Horry, of Marion's Brigade, and Mason L. Weems*, Baltimore, 1815. This volume went through many editions. (Cf. Sabin.) The *Sketch of the Life of Brig.-gen. Francis Marion, and a History of his Brigade, by William Dobein James* (Charleston, 1821), is now very rare. John James based on it a *Life of Marion* (N. Y., 1856). For an appreciative sketch of the noted partisan, see Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 394. Cf. also *The Life of Francis Marion*, by W. G. Simms, N. Y. (1846 and 1860); Headley, ii. 225; Lossing, in *Harper's Monthly*, xvii. 145; P. D. Hay, *The Swamp Fox*, in *Ibid.*, lxvii. 545, — especially valuable as containing some original entries from the general's order-book; Hartley, *Heroes*, 1–212; Wilson, *Biography*, 82; Rogers, *Biograph. Dict.* 284; *Charleston Year Book* (1885, p. 338), where Marion's epitaph is given, etc. [For portraits of Marion, see Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., iv. 196; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 684. — ED.]

[2] *Documentary History of the American Revolution, consisting of letters and papers relating to the contest for liberty, chiefly in South Carolina, by William Robert Gibbes.* There are three volumes with titles not unlike the above. The first relates to events not touched on in this chapter, the second (N. Y., 1855–57) covers the period 1776–1782, while the third volume (Columbia, 1853) relates more especially to the years 1781–1782. Many of the documents are of interest to local readers only, and as a whole the volumes are of less value than their titles would indicate.

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posed mainly of the "Horry Papers," already used in Horry's memoir. Another partisan worthy of mention was Pickens. But of him only slight and unworthy sketches have been printed.[1]

The only extended notice of Benjamin Lincoln is the biography by Francis Bowen in Sparks's collection.[2] This book was not written in the calm judicial spirit that should characterize an historical work. Many of Lincoln's order-books have been preserved, and have been of material service in preparing the foregoing narrative. Though Lincoln's career was marked by no brilliant successes, his work was always well done, and demands a fuller recognition.[3]

Little original material concerning the operations in Georgia has come to light. It is

GENERAL GREENE. (*After a Photograph of a Painting.*)

fortunate, therefore, that Hugh McCall overcame his physical infirmities to such an extent as to enable him to finish the second volume of his *History of Georgia*. This writer was an active cavalry leader in the defence of his native State. He also fought well on other fields. It should be said, however, that what he wrote of actions in which he

[1] Hartley, *Heroes*, 269–290; Dawson, *Battles*, i. 487; and Lee, *Memoirs* (2d ed.), App. p. 442. Some autographic letters of Pickens are in the *Sparks MSS.*, lix. 24.

[2] In Sparks, *American Biography*, xxiii. pp. 205–434. Cf. also *Notices of the Life of Major-General Benjamin Lincoln*, by "P. C." in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d series, iii. 233–255, — pp. 238–244 deal with his Southern campaigns; Thacher, *Military Journal*, 504–517; J. T. Kirkland, *Notices of the Life of Benjamin Lincoln;* Headley, *Washington and his Generals* (N. Y., 1847), ii. 104; Rogers, *Biog. Dict.*, 276, etc., etc.

[3] [There are among the Lincoln Papers (copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, xii.) a considerable mass of documents relating to Lincoln's service in Carolina in 1779–1780; his correspondence with Marion, Pinckney, Rutledge, Pulaski, Moultrie, Horry, John Laurens, Commodore Whipple, etc., and the public authorities of Congress and the Assembly of Georgia. His Journal, Sept. 3 – Oct. 19, 1779, covers his plans of co-operation with D'Estaing. There are records of the councils of war in Charleston, April 20, 21, 26, May 11, — the latter advising him to capitulate. Letters of Adj.-Gen. Ternant recount the strength and losses of the garrison during the siege. Various letters between Clinton and Lincoln concern the provisions and interpretation of the terms of surrender. A proclamation of Clinton and Arbuthnot to the South Carolinians is dated June 1, 1780. — ED.]

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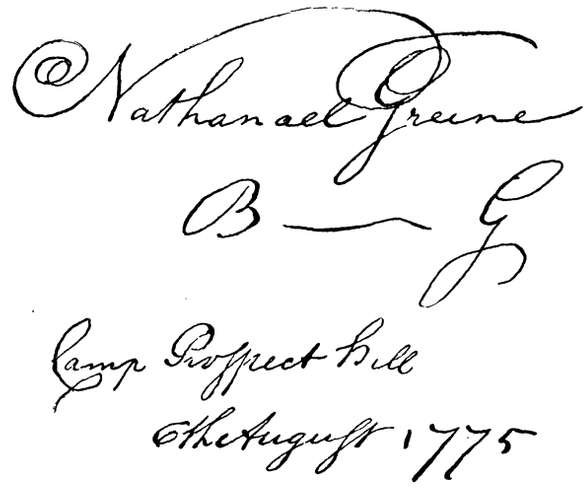
did not take part should be received with caution. His work is the basis of all subsequent accounts of the war in Georgia.

Anthony Wayne and his Pennsylvanians did good service in Virginia, and later in Georgia. But the life of Wayne remains to be written.[1] His letters and reports are scattered here and there through the books. The best account of his career is the one printed by his son in the *Casket*, a magazine not to be found in every library.

The second volume of Wheeler's *Sketches of North Carolina* contains many articles by actors in the struggle. But they were mostly written long after the event, as, too, were those in the *North Carolina University Magazine*. They should not be relied upon unless confirmed.[2] This is the more regrettable as there is very little original material in print relating to these North Carolina campaigns from a North Carolina point of view. The most labored defence of the "Old North State" is Caruthers' *Incidents*.[3] Much of this work seems to be based on good material; but one should be especially careful to



separate such portions from those founded on tradition, which must have misled Caruthers in several instances. Of the same general character are Johnson's *Traditions;*[4] Logan's *Upper Country of South Carolina;* Foote's *Sketches of Western North Carolina;* and C. L. Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1877). Such are the

[1] There is a *Life of Anthony Wayne by John Armstrong* in Sparks, *Amer. Biog.*, iv. pp. 1–84. See especially pp. 56–71 for his Southern campaigns.

[2] General Joseph Graham contributed many of these articles in vols. i., iii., iv., and v. He took part in many of the operations. Cf. *N. C. Univ. Mag.*, iii. 433; Wheeler's *North Carolina*, ii. 233, and Foote's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, 251. There are sketches of Caswell's life in the above-mentioned magazine, vols. vii. pp. 1–22, and iv. 68. For a loyalist's view of the war in general, see Col. Robert Gray in *Ibid.*, viii. 145. Hugh Williamson collected material for N. C. revolutionary history. Cf. *Pennsylvania Magazine of Hist.*, vii. 493. Cf. *Harper's Mag.*, xv. 159.

[3] *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents and Sketches of Character, chiefly in the "Old North State," by the Rev. E. W. Caruthers, D. D.*, second series, Philadelphia, 1856. The title of the first series, which relates to the Camden campaign, wants the word "*Interesting.*" Cf. the same author's *Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell, . . . with Account of the Revolutionary Transactions and Incidents in which he was concerned*, etc. (Greensborough, N. C., 1842), and W. A. Graham's *British Invasion of N. C.*, in W. D. Cooke's *Rev. Hist. of N. C.* (1853).

[4] *Traditions and Reminiscences chiefly of the American Revolution in the South, by Joseph Johnson, M. D., of Charleston, S. C.*, Charleston, 1851.

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main sources of information from the American side so far as the campaigns in the Carolinas and Georgia are concerned. Let us now turn to Virginia.

On his way South, Greene left Steuben[1] in Virginia to organize and push forward recruits as fast as possible. The gallant Prussian seems to have been ill-suited to the command of raw republican militia; but the American leaders in the State, Muhlenberg, Lawson, and Stevens, aided him as well as they could. It was not until the arrival of Lafayette with his Continentals from the Eastern States that much was done to oppose the enemy. The governor of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, showed a lamentable lack of energy during Arnold's and Cornwallis's invasions, though the word "imbecility," applied to his conduct by Howison, would seem to be undeserved.[2] Of course, Jefferson's biographers have defended their hero from these charges,[3] but Giradin's *Continuation of Burk's Virginia*,[4] written in the neighborhood of Monticello, and apparently under Jeffersonian auspices, is the most extensive account of Jefferson's administration from his side.

It was not, however, until the publication of the *Virginia State Papers*[5] that the truth concerning the campaigns preliminary to Yorktown could be ascertained. But these two volumes taken in connection with the *Nelson Papers* have thrown a new light on all these transactions.[6]

Washington's *Writings* and Sparks's *Correspondence of the Revolution* contain much relating to all these operations, though Washington's *Journal* and his order-books are even more valuable for the Yorktown campaign. Of the commander of the auxiliary troops, the Marquis of Rochambeau, I have found little outside of his well-known

[1] The best biography of Steuben is the life by Friedrich Kapp, 2d ed., N. Y., 1859. But Kapp is often ridiculously partial to his hero. In the *Magazine of American History*, viii. pp. 187–199, is a valuable and graphic account of Steuben, written in 1814 by his former aide, William North. See also Thacher, *Military Journal*, 517–531; Professor Ebeling in *Amerikanisches Magazin*, 1797, iii. 148; G. W. Greene, *German Element in the War of American Independence*, N. Y., 1876, pp. 11–87; Francis Bowen, *Life of Baron Steuben*, in Sparks, *Am. Biog.*, ix. pp. 1–88; Headley, *Generals*, i. 293; Rogers, *Biog. Dict.*, 370; and his character, by Richard Peters in *Mag. of Western Hist.*, 1886, p. 680.

[2] Light-Horse Harry Lee in his *Memoirs* was especially severe on Jefferson's actions at this time, and later during Cornwallis's campaign. To this Jefferson replied in a letter to the younger Henry Lee, dated May 15, 1826, in Lee's *Memoirs* (2d edition), p. 204. In his *Notes on Virginia*, Jefferson attempted a defence of his conduct, and in his *Writings* (ix. 212 and 220) there appeared an attack on the elder Lee. This brought forth a pamphlet entitled *Observations on the Writings of Thomas Jefferson, with particular reference to the attack they contain on the memory of the late Gen. Henry Lee*, by Henry Lee, New York, 1832. This was suppressed (cf. Sabin, x. 172), but in 1839 a second edition, "with an introduction and notes by Charles C. Lee," was published. See especially pp. 119 to 141 of the 1st ed., and pp. 129 to 147 of the 2d. See also Randall's *Jefferson*, i. 291–343; Giradin, *Continuation of Burk*, iv. 452–470; and, on the other side, Howison, ii. 251–265.

[3] Parton in his interesting life of the Virginia statesman, pp. 224–256, gives a lifelike picture of Jefferson's share in the war. He dwells on the more picturesque incidents, like Tarleton's raid, which, though giving a pleasant color to the story, had little influence on the course of events.

[4] *The History of Virginia, commenced by John Burk, and continued by Skelton Jones and Louis Hue Giradin*, Petersburg, 1816. What part Jones took in the work is not clear. Volume iv. relates to the Revolution. The editors of *Jefferson's Works* (i. 41) say of Giradin: "Mr. Jefferson supplied him with a large amount of manuscript matter which greatly enriched his volume. His admiration for Mr. Jefferson sometimes approaches the ludicrous." Cf. also Howison, ii. 278. The volume closes abruptly after the capitulation of Yorktown. Further publication seems to have been suspended on account of what M. Giradin terms in his preface "typographical difficulties."

[5] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts preserved in the Capitol at Richmond*, 1652–1781. Volume i., arranged and edited by Wm. P. Palmer. Volume ii. prepared for publication by Sherwin McRae (Richmond, 1875 and 1881). Volume ii. deals almost entirely with the period covered by this chapter.

[6] *Letters of Thomas Nelson, Jr., Governor of Virginia*, Richmond 1874; (No. I. of the New Series of the *Publications of the Va. Hist. Soc.*)

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Mémoires.[1] For much of what we know concerning the movements of the French we are indebted to John Austin Stevens, a former editor of the *Magazine of American History*. His articles, as well as those by other hands, will be mentioned in the Notes.

The papers of the British commanders have been much better preserved. All official documents of popular interest and conducing to the glory of the nation were published, sometimes in full, sometimes in extract, in the governmental organ known as *The London Gazette*. Thence they were copied, in whole or in part, into the *Remembrancer*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Scot's Magazine*, *Political Magazine*, and often into that portion of the *Annual Register* known as "Principal Occurrences." Many of them, and many other papers of the greatest importance, were printed in the *Parliamentary Register*, or Debrett's *Debates*, as it is often called.

The Sackville Papers, forming the third appendix to the *Ninth Report* of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts,[2] contain much of very great value; but many of the most important papers therein printed have been accessible in other forms. Soon after the surrender at Yorktown, the House of Lords appointed a committee to inquire into the conduct of the Yorktown campaign. Later, upon their order, many of the letters and papers bearing on this event were printed. They may be found in the *Parliamentary Register*,[3] while many were translated into French, and published in a small volume under the title of *Correspondance du Lord G. Germain avec les Généraux Clinton, Cornwallis*, etc. (Berne, 1782). Most of these documents, however, had been already printed in other places. The surrender induced Cornwallis[4] and Clinton to lay upon the shoulders of each other the responsibility.[5] The truth seems to be that neither was responsible, since the disaster was due, above all, to the arrival of De Grasse and the consequent transference of the control of the sea from the British to the Allies. For this neither Clinton nor Corn-

[1] *Mémoires Militaires, Historiques, et Politiques de Rochambeau*, Paris, 1809, vol. i. pp. 237–330, relating to his share in this war. This portion was translated by M. W. E. Wright, Esq., and printed as *Memoirs of the Marshall Count de Rochambeau relative to the War of Independence of the United States*, Paris, 1838. It is generally thought that the portion of Soulés' *Troublés* dealing with Yorktown was the work of Rochambeau, or written by his inspiration.

[2] See also appendices to the *Third* and *Fifth Reports* for other papers of interest in the present examination. Some notes in the Westmoreland Papers (*Tenth Report*, App., iv. 29) supplement the Sackville Papers.

[3] Volume xxv. pp. 88 *et seq.*, *Hansard*, xxii. 985 *et seq.*, contains the debates in the "Lords," but no documents. Abstracts of the important papers are in the *Political Magazine*.

[4] For some account of the career of Cornwallis, see *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis. Edited with Notes by Charles Ross, Esq.*, London, 1859 (ably reviewed by C. C. Smith in *North American Review*, lxxxix. 114). Most unfortunately, many of the letters are printed in extract without any indication being made of the fact. Several of the most important documents in the book are printed in the appendix. Cf. also *Lives of the Most Eminent British Commanders, by the Rev. G. R. Gleig*, iii. 115, being vol. xxxvi. of Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*; G. W. Kaye's *Lives of Indian Officers*, i. 1; the contemporary *Political Magazine*, ii. 450; Jesse's *Etonians*; E. E. Hale in *Christian Examiner*, lxvii. p. 31; and Poole's *Index*, p. 303.

[5] Cf. Cornwallis to Clinton, dated New York, Dec. 2, 1781, in *Parliamentary Register*, xxv. 202; *Political Magazine*, iii. 350; *Germain Correspondance*, 269; and Cornwallis's *Answer*, App., p. 228. This was followed by *The Narrative of Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., relative to his conduct . . . particularly to that which respects the unfortunate issue of the campaign in 1781, with an appendix containing copies and extracts of his correspondence with L^d G. Germain, Earl Cornwallis*, etc. (London, 1783, several editions. Reprinted in Philadelphia (1865) as *Narrative of the Campaign of 1781 in America* (250 copies).) Next came *A Reply to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative . . . by Themistocles* (Cornwallis?) (London, 1783, two editions), and *An Answer to that part of the Narrative of Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., which relates to the conduct of Lieutenant-general Cornwallis during the campaign in North America in the year 1781, By Earl Cornwallis* (London, 1783, and Philad., 1866). In reply to this appeared *Observations on some parts of the answer of Earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative by Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton, K. B.* (London, 1783). [In *Notes and Queries*, Oct. 28, 1882, mention is made of a copy of the *Correspondence between Clinton and Cornwallis*, July–Dec., 1781, with marginal MS. notes by Clinton. Cf. on this controversy Jones's *New York during the Rev.*, ii. 464, 466. — ED.]

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wallis was to blame. The quarrel led to the publication, however, of so many papers of the greatest importance that the historical student can hardly regret its occurrence.

Nor was Clinton on good terms with Mariot Arbuthnot, who had accused Clinton of permitting thievery to go on under his very eyes.[1] Naturally this want of cordiality made coöperation very difficult. After Clinton's departure Cornwallis was the commander-in-chief in the South ; but Colonel Nesbit Balfour, who commanded in the city of Charleston, made separate reports to Germain. He does not seem to have been possessed with a very sanguine disposition, and his reports therefore present a more accurate picture of affairs than do the despatches of Cornwallis himself.

Several of the British officers wrote formal accounts of their doings, the most notable of which is Tarleton's *Campaigns*.[2] Portions of it are trustworthy, but in general the author placed his own services in such a favorable light that the true course of history is almost unrecognizable. Nevertheless, the book contains so many documents not elsewhere to be obtained, except at great labor, that it has a value. Tarleton's unjust discriminations and criticisms brought forth a most caustic review from the pen of Mackenzie,[3]

[1] Cf. *Ninth Report* of the Royal Commissioners, as above, App., iii. p. 100. Soon after his arrival at New York, Clinton demanded that either the admiral or himself should be relieved (see Eden to Germain, enclosing letters from Clinton, in *Ibid.*, p. 106). Arbuthnot asking to be relieved on account of his advanced age, the command of the fleet was given to Graves. Soon, however, Clinton found himself involved in a similar dispute with a more influential man. *The Seventh Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the Public Accounts of the Kingdom* appeared in 1782 (also printed in *Parliamentary Register*, xxiv. pp. 517–622). In his evidence before this board (cf. above, p. 537) Cornwallis repeated Arbuthnot's charge, and plainly implied that the final cessation of the plundering was due to his own efforts. To this Clinton replied in a *Letter from Lieut.-gen. Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., to the Commissioners on Public Accounts, relative to some observations in their Seventh Report* (London, 1784). The order of Cornwallis, on which so much emphasis was laid, is in *Parliamentary Register*, xxiv. 617. Stedman, as commissary under Cornwallis, had excellent facilities for observation. He repeated the old accusations in a note to his *History*. Clinton deemed the attack worth noticing. Cf. his *Observations on Mr. Stedman's History of the American War* (London, 1794; reprinted, New York, 1864). It is but fair to say that Cornwallis seems to have done everything in his power to prevent plundering during his march through North Carolina. Cf. his "Order-Book" in Caruthers' *Incidents*, 2d series, App. [Cf. further, Clinton's *Memorandum respecting the Unprecedented Treatment which the Army have met with respecting Plunder taken after a Siege and of which Plunder the Navy had more than ample share* (privately printed, 1794). — Ed.]

[2] *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Provinces of North America, by Lieutenant-colonel Sir Banastre Tarleton, Commandant of the late British Legion* (London, 1787). [There is in the Boston Public Library a copy of this book which has bound with it a MS. diary of Lieutenant Eld, of the Coldstream Guards, from his arrival at New York, in the summer of 1779, to March, 1780, at the South (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xviii. 70). There is a statement of Tarleton's losses in the *Sparks MSS.*, lvi. — Ed.]

Tarleton rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. He was a member of the House of Commons, 1790–1806, and again 1807–1812. Ross, the editor of Cornwallis's *Correspondence*, says (note to p. 44) that "in the House of Commons he [Tarleton] was notorious for his criticisms on military affairs, the value of which may be estimated from the fact that he almost uniformly condemned the Duke of Wellington." Cf. also a sketch of his career in *Political Magazine*, ii. 61.

[There is a well-known portrait of Tarleton by Reynolds (1782), representing him in uniform, with hat, and his foot on a cannon. It was engraved in mezzotint by J. R. Smith. Cf. E. Hamilton's *Catal. raisonné of the engraved works of Reynolds* (London, 1884), p. 67, and John C. Smith's *Brit. Mez. Portraits*, iii. 1305. It is engraved on wood in *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. 331. Cf. also *London Mag.*, 1782; Johnston's *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 41 ; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 607. — Ed.]

[3] *Strictures on Lt.-Col. Tarleton's History, &c., by Roderick Mackenzie, late Colonel of the 7th Regiment* (London, 1787). This in turn called forth *An Address to the Army; in reply to the Strictures . . . by Roderick M'Kenzie*, by George Hanger, Tarleton's second in command. Hanger, afterwards Lord Colerain, also wrote or inspired a work entitled *The Life, Adventures, and Opinions of Col. G. Hanger, Written by himself* (London, 1801). As to the authorship of this, see *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxvii.

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a Scotch officer, who served in a regiment which often accompanied the "Legion." Cornwallis, who had also been attacked by Tarleton, never replied to his criticisms in print; but he wrote to a "friend" (cf. letter dated Calcutta, Dec. 12, 1787, in the *Cornwallis Corres.*, i. 59, note) that "Tarleton's is a most malicious and false attack; he knew and approved the reasons for several of the measures which he now blames. My not sending relief to Colonel Ferguson, although he was positively ordered to retire, was entirely owing to Tarleton himself: he pleaded weakness from the remains of a fever, and refused to make the attempt, although I used the most earnest entreaties." It should be noted, however, that this alleged refusal on Tarleton's part created no coolness at the time. Simcoe's narrative [1] is even more egotistical than Tarleton's. But his details may be relied upon if one constantly remembers that events are related without any regard to their real importance. Captain, afterwards General, Graham served with Cornwallis in the 76th Highlanders through the most important portions of his North Carolina and Virginia campaigns. His *Memoirs*,[2] therefore, though execrably edited so far as the American portion is concerned, should be consulted. Another book which partakes of the nature of an original source is the so-called *Journal*[3] of R. Lamb, who served through the war, and his statements have a value. The only regimental history of much interest is Hamilton's *Grenadier Guards*,[4] a corps which after Cowpens rendered good service, and this account of their achievements bears all the marks of originality. There are but few manuscripts of importance, written by British officers, accessible on this side of the ocean.[5]

The most valuable history of the Revolution from a British pen is Gordon's well-known work. This author was assisted by Gates and Greene so far as the Southern campaigns were concerned. The volumes contain, moreover, many fragments of letters that have never seen the light in their entirety. Taken altogether, this work ranks with Ramsay as an authority of the very first importance. The only other important *History of the American War* from the English side is the work which bears the name of Charles Stedman on the title-page. Whoever the author of the text may have been, the writer of many of the notes in the part devoted to the war in the South was undoubtedly an on-looker. Still another work worthy of mention in this place, though mainly as the repository of documents, is Beatson's *Memoirs*. In addition there are numerous diaries, journals, etc. They relate mainly to but one battle or campaign, and will be mentioned in the following "Notes."

[1] *A Journal of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers, From the end of the year 1777 to the conclusion of the late American War, by Lieut.-colonel Simcoe, commander of that corps* (Exeter, "printed for the author," 1787). Reprinted, with some slight alterations and additions, as *A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps called The Queen's Rangers, commanded by Lieut.-col. J. G. Simcoe, during the War of the Revolution. Now first published. With a memoir of the author and other additions* (New York, 1844). The memoir is by an unknown hand.

[2] *Memoir of General* [Samuel] *Graham, edited by his son Colonel J. J. Graham*, "privately printed" (Edinburgh, 1862). The portions of this book dealing with America were reprinted in a condensed form in *The Historical Magazine* for August and November, 1865.

[3] *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences during the late American War, By R. Lamb — late Serjeant in the Royal Welsh Fuzileers* (Dublin, 1809).

[4] *The Origin and History of the First or Grenadier Guards, By Lieut.-Gen. Sir F. W. Hamilton* (London, 1874).

[5] Major Weemys, who commanded in the night assault on Sumter at Fishdam Ford, was unfortunate in his later career, and died in poverty in the city of New York. His manuscripts came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Among them is one entitled *Sketches of Characters of the General Staff Officers . . . in the British Army*. It is the work of a disappointed man, but probably reflects the opinions of many officers in the British army.

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NOTES.

SAVANNAH, 1778.[1] — Campbell's formal report to Germain was first printed in *The London Gazette* for Feb. 20–23, 1779, — reprinted in *Remembrancer*, vii. 235; Hough's *Siege of Savannah*, Introduction, p. 7; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1779, p. 177; and Dawson's *Battles*, i. 477. Major-General Augustine Prevost's report is in the *Gazette* for Feb. 23, 1779, and *Remembrancer*, vii. 243. It deals especially with his march from St. Augustine and capture of Sunbury.[2] An American account of this latter event is in McCall's *Georgia*, ii. 176. Captain Hyde Parker[3] reported to the Admiralty through the customary channel, and his report usually follows that of Prevost, as above. Howe seems to have presented no formal report, but Lincoln wrote to Washington (*Corresp. Rev.*, ii. 244) early in the next year, describing the disaster. Howe's own side of the case, however, is fully set forth in the *Proceedings of a General Court-Martial held at Philadelphia in the State of Penna. by order of his Excellency General Washington*, Phila., 1782; reprinted in the *New York Historical Society's Collections* (1879, pp. 213–311), where will be found Howe's orders (Dec. 29th,[4] p. 282) and statement (pp. 285–310). The court, presided over by Steuben, acquitted Howe on all the charges "with the highest honor." Nevertheless, the majority of writers have been unfavorable to Howe. See especially Moultrie's *Memoirs*, i. 244; Lee's *Memoirs* (2d edition), p. 40; Ramsay's *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 4. This last is a fairer view, and is followed by Gordon (*American Revolution*, iii. 212). See also Stedman, *American War*, ii. 66; McCall's *Georgia*, ii. 164, and C. C. Jones's *Georgia*, ii. 314. In this, the most recent history of Georgia, all the old statements are repeated.[5]

An American description from a different point of view is the *Account of the Capture of Mordecai Sheftall, Deputy Commissary of Issues to the Continental Troops for the State of Georgia*, in White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, p. 340. Sheftall also testified at the court-martial.[6]

MINOR ACTIONS, 1779. — There is not much to be found as to Lincoln's doings before the siege of Savannah except his manuscript "order-books." Moultrie made an elaborate report of his encounter near Beaufort.[7]

[1] The number of men nominally under Howe's orders cannot be stated. He probably had not over 700 in action. Cf. Huger in Moultrie's *Memoirs*, i. 251. Campbell had with him 3,500 men. Of these 2,500 were in the fight. The total American loss in this preliminary campaign was not far from 900 killed, wounded, and missing; while the British do not seem to have lost more than 40 men. Probably many of the Americans missing sought safety on their plantations. See further returns annexed to the official reports as above; Gordon, iii. 218; and *Proceedings* of the Robert Howe Court-Martial, *passim*.

[2] C. C. Jones has a description of Sunbury in his *Dead Towns of Georgia* (*Ga. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iv.).

[3] [Portrait in *London Mag.*, 1781. — ED.]

[4] Cf. also Moultrie, *Memoirs*, i. 252.

[5] For some account of Howe, see *Charleston Year-Book* for 1882, p. 359, and Dawson's *Battles*, i. 479. There is a "Sketch of Gen. Robert Howe," by Archibald M. Hooper, in *North Carolina University Magazine*, ii. 209–221, 305–318, 358–363, and iii. 97–109, and 145–160. The first number of this magazine was printed in March, 1844, and it was continued to 1860. L. C. Draper writes to me that of vol. vi. he has "only one number, issued in March, 1857." He adds: "I have been told that none others appeared of that volume." This statement is confirmed by K. P. Battle, the present head of the university. Mr. Draper tells me also that "there are some valuable Revolutionary papers in the *Magnolia*, a magazine published in Georgia, and then in Charleston in ante-war times; some in the *Orion*, a Georgia magazine; some, I think, in *Russell's Magazine*, published at Charleston."

[6] For other accounts, see Dawson, *Battles*, i. 472; Marshall, *Washington*, iv. 62; F. D. Lee and J. L. Agnew, *Historical Record of the City of Savannah*, Savannah, 1869, p. 45; T. S. Arthur and W. H. Carpenter, *Georgia*, Phila., 1853, p. 134; Stevens, *Georgia*, ii. 160; Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen*, ii. 23; Lowell, *Hessians*, 239; Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 524; Beatson, *Military Memoirs*, iv. 371; James Grant, *British Battles on Sea and Land*, ii. 156–160; Allen, *American Revolution*, ii. 214; *An Impartial History* (Bost. ed.,) ii. 361; Botta (Otis's trans.), iii. 15; and Andrews' *History*, iii. 63.

[This attack on Savannah is illustrated in the Faden map (1780) called *Sketch of the Northern Frontiers of Georgia, from the mouth of the River Savannah to the Town of Augusta, by Lieut.-Col. Archd. Campbell.* — ED.]

[7] Cf. Moultrie's *Memoirs*, i. 241, and *Remembrancer*, viii. 177. An abridgment is in Dawson, *Battles*, i. 482. There is an interesting account of the affair in Johnson's *Traditions*, p. 211. See also Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 12, and Gordon, iii. 230. The numbers given in the text are derived from Moultrie's "Orders" of February 7th (*Memoirs*, i. 296), and from a letter written by General Bull to Moultrie (*Memoirs*, i. 312). Des Barres published a large map of this region under the title of *Port Royal in South Carolina, taken from surveys*

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McCall was present at Kettle Creek, and his account[1] of Boyd's overthrow has been generally followed by later writers. No official report of the affair has been found. The disaster at Brier Creek was much better chronicled. First comes Ashe's report to Lincoln (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, i. 323, and abridged in Dawson, *Battles*, i. 492). Lincoln wrote a good account of the affair (an extract of his letter in Dawson, as above), and the evidence given at the court-martial[2] which tried Ashe is as full as can be desired.[3] The British accounts do not differ essentially from these.[4]

There is no lack of original material as to Prevost's unsuccessful attempt on Charleston,[5] and Lincoln's attack on Stono. Moultrie made no formal report, but the documents and bits of journals scattered through his *Memoirs* (i. 412–506) may well take its place. Prevost's report of his attempt was dated June 12, 1779 (*London Gazette*, Sept. 21–25, 1779, reprinted in *Remembrancer*, viii. 302). His report as to Stono is in the *Gazette*, as above, and also in *Remembrancer*, viii. 300. Lincoln's version of the latter affair is contained in a letter to Moultrie (*Memoirs*, i. 490, and Dawson, i. 501). Moultrie also printed other letters (cf. especially one from Colonel Grimkie in *Memoirs*, i. 495), and an interesting journal by an unknown hand is in *Remembrancer* (viii. 349). Capt. John Henry, who succeeded Parker, in his reports corroborated Prevost as to the offer of neutrality on the part of some one in Charleston (*London Gazette*, July 10–13, 1779, and *Remembrancer*, viii. 183). Clinton also has something to say on the campaign in general in a report to Germain (*Remembrancer*, viii. 297).[6]

Lincoln has been criticised for his march into Georgia, but the movement had the unanimous support of his generals. Cf. report of the council of war in Moultrie, i. 374. He supposed rightly, as we now know (cf. Prevost's report in *Remembrancer*, viii. 302), that the British commander's only object was to compel his return to South Carolina. Moultrie could have offered sufficient resistance if one half of his men had not deserted. Nevertheless, Lincoln was assailed in the Charleston papers, and complained bitterly of their unfairness. Cf. letter to Moultrie in *Memoirs*, i. 477. With regard to Rutledge's offer of neutrality, Professor Bowen has undoubtedly gone too far in describing it as "little short of treason."[7] Still, if, as Rutledge's friends claim, the proposition was made merely to gain time, it was not made in good faith, and was therefore highly discreditable to the governor. But there is no evidence that the proposition was made in any such spirit, except the statement in Ramsay, which was copied by

deposited at the Plantation Office, 1777. Cf. *Neptune Americo-Septentrional* (1778), no. 23, and *N. Amer. Pilot* (1776), nos. 30, 31.

[1] *Georgia*, ii. 192. See also Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 14; Gordon, ii. 230; Stedman, ii. 106; White, *Hist. Coll.*, p. 683; and Stevens, *Georgia*, ii. 188. In the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1st ser., vol. ii. pp. 41–240, there is a valuable "Historical Journal of the American War." Pp. 178–234 relate to the events described in this chapter.

[2] This is given entire by Moultrie, who presided over the court (*Memoirs*, i. 337–354. The finding of the court is on p. 353). The assertion of Lossing that Ashe was acquitted "of every charge of cowardice and deficiency of military skill" is not correct, as the court expressly stated that it was of the opinion that "Ashe did not take all necessary precautions." There is a "Sketch" of Ashe's career in *North Carolina University Magazine*, iii. pp. 201–208 and 366–376.

[3] Accounts of varying degrees of excellence are in McCall, *Georgia*, ii. 206; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, i. 310–330; Gordon, iii. 232; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 16; Stedman, ii. 107. See also Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 507; Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 23; C. C. Jones, *Georgia*, ii. 346, etc.; Stevens, *Georgia*, ii. 180; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 138; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, 1880, p. 249.

[4] Cf. Prevost to Lord G. Germain in *The London Gazette*, April 17–20, 1779; reprinted in *Remembrancer*, viii. 168; and in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1779), p. 213.

[5] Prevost had about three thousand men, but of these only two thirds were fit for duty when he retired from Charleston. Moultrie (*Memoirs*, i. 430) gives his own force at three thousand one hundred and eighty, including eight hundred Continentals. According to Prevost, Maitland had at Stono not far from eight hundred men, though Lowell (*Hessians*, 241) gives him only five hundred. The attacking party numbered twelve hundred. The American loss was one hundred and sixty-two; that of the British one hundred and thirty-one.

[6] See also Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 23; Gordon, iii. 254; Stedman, ii. 109, 120 (115–120 deal with Stono); Johnson's *Greene*, i. 271; Johnson's *Traditions*, 217; Flanders's *Rutledge*, in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*. ii. 358–365. Something has also been gleaned from Eelking, ii. 24; Lowell, *Hessians*, 240 (giving June 19 instead of 20 as the date of the attack on Stono); Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 28; and P. J. S. Dufey, *Résumé de l'histoire des Revolutions de l'Amérique Septentrionale, depuis les premières découvertes jusqu'au voyage du Général Lafayette*, Paris, 1826, i. 293–312. The British are supposed to have carried away a large amount of plate and more than a thousand slaves. The terror they inspired in the souls of the fair Carolinians is well set forth in the *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson during the Invasion and Possession of Charleston, S. C., by the British in the Revolutionary War. Arranged by Caroline Gilman*, N. Y., 1839.

[7] *Life of Lincoln* in Sparks's *Am. Biog.*, xxiii. 285.

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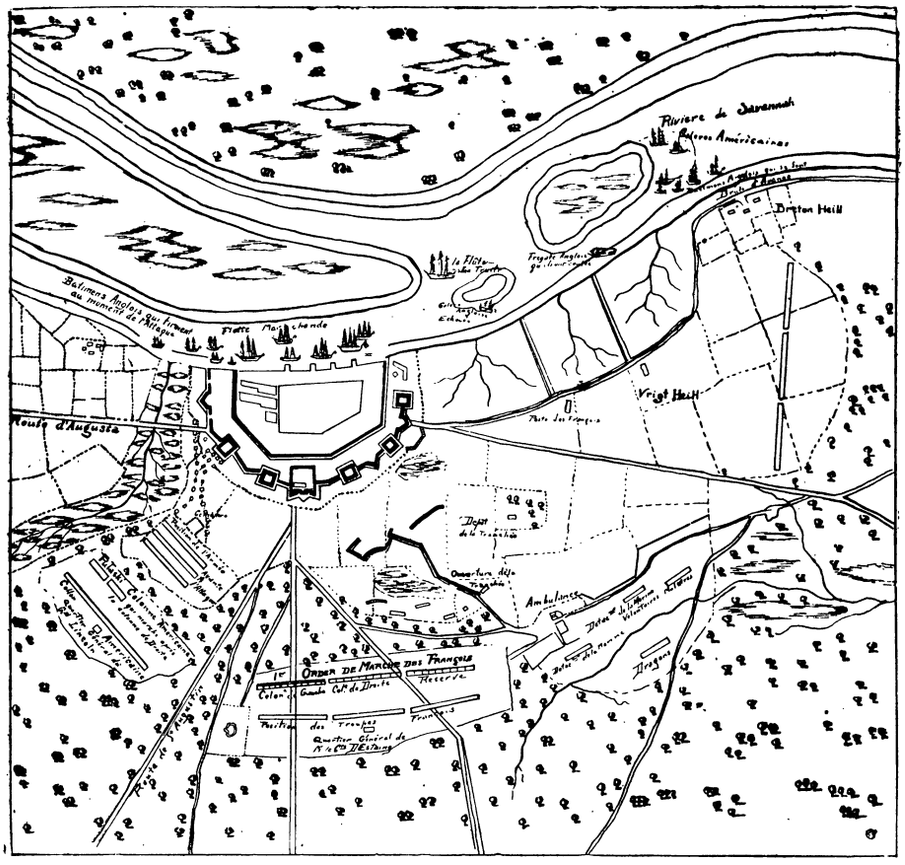

SIEGE OF SAVANNAH, SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER, 1779.[1]

Gordon. The truth seems to be that Rutledge, greatly overestimating the numbers of the enemy, sought to save his native State from pillage. He yielded too easily to his fears. Moultrie takes no pains to conceal his disgust at the offer. The younger Laurens refused to have anything to do with the matter, while Gadsden and Ferguson, two members of the Council, voted against the proposal, and Edwards, another member, wept at the thought. Unfortunately, the minutes of the Council have been lost. Cf. Johnson, *Reply to Bentalou and Sparks*.[2]

[1] [Sketched from a MS. map belonging to Dr. Samuel A. Green, of Boston, found in Paris, and giving the French view.

The plans of the siege are mainly English ones. That made by Colonel Moncrieff and published by Faden is used in Stedman's *American War*, ii. 79, and is reduced in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 736. Cf. also C. C. Jones's *Two Journals* for a fac-simile (reduced in *Hist. of Georgia*, vol. ii.) of a *Plan of the French and American Siege of Savannah in Georgia in South America* [sic] *under Command of the French general Count d'Estaing. The British commander in the town was General August Prevost, 1779*. It is from Hessian sources, and resembles Faden's. Also see Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Rev.*, 1st ed., ii. 221. Carrington (p. 483) gives an eclectic map. Two contemporary MS. French maps (one measuring 28×16 and the other 22×22 inches) are in the Boston Public Library (Dufossé, *Americana*, no. 5,495). There are various MS. plans of Savannah and the siege among the Peter Force maps, and one in the Faden collection in the library of Congress. A good map of this region is *The Coasts, Rivers, and Inlets of the Province of Georgia; surveyed by Joseph Avery and others, and published by command of Gov't by J. F. W. Des Barres, 1st Feb., 1780*. Parker did not find his charts correct. *Remembrancer*, vii. 246. — ED.]

[2] Judge Johnson, in his *Greene*, went out of his way to assert that Pulaski slept at his post just before the battle at Germantown. In a defence of his former commander, Paul Bentalou put forth the claim that the

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It is to be noted that, although there is no record of the actual presence of Indians at this siege, their absence was not due to any remissness on the part of Rutledge, who made every effort to persuade a band of "eighty Catawbas" to act with Moultrie. (Cf. the latter's *Memoirs*, i. pp. 397, 419, and 453.)

SIEGE OF SAVANNAH, 1779. — The best account of this disastrous siege is the *Journal*, by an unknown hand, which Col. C. C. Jones has translated, with copious notes, in his *Siege of Savannah in 1779 as described in two contemporaneous journals of French officers in the fleet of Count D'Estaing*, Albany, 1874, pp. 9–52. The other journal, of which he there gives a partial translation, is the well-known *Extrait du Journal d'un Officier de la Marine de l'escadre de M. le Comte D'Estaing, 1782*.[1] Still another French account is in the form of an official report,[2] and may have been the report of the commander himself. This is by no means certain, though Soulés (*Troublés*, iii. 217), in speaking of the numbers given in this report, says: "Le Comte d'Estaing dit dans sa relation," etc. This was first printed in the *Paris Gazette*, and was reprinted in the English and American papers of the time.

Prevost made an elaborate report to Germain, under date of Savannah, Nov. 1, 1779. It was accompanied by translations of the correspondence between the commanders, and was first printed in *The London Gazette*, Dec. 21–25, 1779.[3] Captain John Henry also reported through the usual channel. He viewed the siege from a point different from Prevost's, and his report is therefore of interest.[4] Hough has also reprinted in his *Savannah* two "journals" from English sources.[5] Mention must also be made of a valuable *Memorandum of a very critical period in the Province of South Carolina*, inclosed in a letter from J. H. Cruger to H. Cruger, etc., dated Savannah, Nov. 8, 1779, in *Magazine of American History*, 1878, p. 489.[6]

Lincoln's report is very meagre (Hough, *Savannah*, 149). It should be supplemented by *An Account of the Siege of Savannah furnished by an Officer engaged in the attack, Major Thomas Pinckney*.[7] Stevens, the Georgia historian, had access to Prevost's order-book, and he has printed in his *Georgia* (ii. 200, etc.) a few documents not otherwise accessible. Lincoln's order-book is still in existence, and his papers were used by Lee in his valuable account of the affair

retreat of Prevost was due to Pulaski. Unless the documents (cited above) are untrustworthy this claim cannot be maintained. On the contrary, a gallant charge that the brave Pole made had no other effect than to dispirit the garrison. Cf. *Pulaski Vindicated by Paul Bentalou, a captain in his "legion,"* Baltimore, 1824, p. 27; Jared Sparks in the *North American Review*, xx. 385; *Remarks*, etc., on the above article, by Judge Johnson, Charleston, 1825; Bentalou's *Reply to Judge Johnson's Remarks;* and another article by Sparks in the *North American Review*, xxiii. 414.

[1] There are two editions of this book in the Harvard College library bearing the same date. One contains 158 pages, the other 126, but in other respects they seem to be the same. The portion dealing with Savannah, which Mr. Jones has translated (*Siege*, pp. 57–76), runs from page 128 to 158 in one edition, and from page 101 to 126 in the other. In Sabin this journal is attributed to D'Estaing. (Cf. Sabin, under Estaing.) There seems to be no authority for this, and it would certainly be astonishing for an officer to speak of his own conduct as the writer of this journal constantly speaks of D'Estaing's motives and actions.

[2] In F. B. Hough's *Siege of Savannah by the combined American and French forces, in the Autumn of 1779*, Albany, 1866, p. 171, it is reprinted from the *New Jersey Journal*, June 21, 1780, as a *Summary of the Operations of the King's squadron commanded by the Count D'Estaing, Vice Admiral of France, after the taking of Grenada, and the Naval Engagement off that Island with Byron's Squadron.*

[3] Reprinted in *Remembrancer*, ix. 71; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1779, p. 633; and, in an abridged form, in *Political Magazine*, i. 50, also 106; and *Historical Magazine*, viii. 290.

[4] It usually precedes Prevost's report, and may also be found in Hough, *Savannah*, 134, and in White, *Hist. Coll.*, 343. T. W. Moore, one of Prevost's aides, wrote a long letter to his wife, which was printed in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1779; reprinted by Hough in his *Savannah*, p. 82. Governor Tonyn, of Florida, inclosed some interesting letters to Clinton bearing on the siege (*Remembrancer*, ix. 63, and elsewhere).

[5] The first (pp. 25–52, with some "additions" running from p. 52 to p. 56) is by an unknown hand. It was copied from Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, Dec., 1779. The second journal, which he for convenience calls "Another Journal" (cf. his *Savannah*, pp. 57–79), was also copied from Rivington. It appears, however, to be identical with the "Journal" (Sept. 3d–Oct. 20th) which E. L. Hayward sent to John Laurens in December, 1779, — reprinted in Moore's *Materials for History*, N. Y., 1861, pp. 161–173, and in *Historical Magazine*, viii. 12–16. It is interesting, but hardly worth so many repetitions.

[6] To this should be added an extract from a letter of Anthony Stokes, the colonial chief justice of Georgia to his wife, which Moore found in Orcutt's *Collection of Newspaper Scraps* in the library of the N. Y. Hist. Soc., and printed in his *Diary*, ii. 223.

[7] Cf. Garden, *Anecdotes of the American Revolution* (Brooklyn ed.), iii. 19, and Hough, *Savannah*, 157. It was not written till long after the event, and has no value for fixing dates, as Pinckney confesses to having relied on Moultrie for the dates he gives.

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(*Memoirs*, i. 99). The orders for the assault have been printed.[1]

Moultrie was not present during the siege, but he gives a graphic account of the assault (*Memoirs*, 33–43). It is curious to note his attempt to defend the militia from the charge of lukewarmness on the ground that they joined the army to witness the surrender of the British, not to take part in a bloody storm. Ramsay was present at the siege, and his account is good (*Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 34. See also Gordon, iii. 325, and Stedman, ii. 121). Captain McCall was there, too, and his account (*Georgia*, ii. 240–283) may be regarded as an original authority. The local histories[2] are sufficiently detailed for the general reader, and there are at least two good French accounts,[3] while the German historians[4]

[1] The French, in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (1878), p. 548, where it is stated that they were "translated from an original MS. in the possession of Mr. Frank Moore." Lincoln's orders, as then given, are stated to be on the same sheet and in the same handwriting as those of the French, though in English. A somewhat different and more accurate copy of Lincoln's orders is printed in Moultrie's *Memoirs*, ii. 37. Cf. Lincoln's MS. order-book.

There has been much dispute as to the size of the opposing armies. In the report which I have somewhat incautiously attributed to D'Estaing, the French army actually on shore is given at 2,823 Europeans, 165 volunteers from Cape François, and 545 "volunteer chasseurs, mulattoes, and negroes newly raised at St. Domingo." The American force is rated at 2,000, or 5,524 men in all. Cf. Hough, *Savannah*, 173, and Jones, *Savannah*, p. 40, note. Moultrie (*Memoirs*, ii.) increases the number of the Americans to 4,000, while lowering that of the French to 2,500. Stedman (*Am. War*, ii. 127) is even wilder when he says that the combined armies numbered more than ten thousand men, of whom about five thousand were French. In this he is followed by Mackenzie (*Strictures*, p. 12), and as both were officers in the force which came South with Clinton, it is probable that that was the impression prevalent in the British army. Chief-Justice Stokes (*View of the British Constitution*, etc., Lond., 1783, p. 116) estimates the Americans at 2,500 and the French at 4,500, while Jones (*Savannah*, p. 39) rates the French at 4,456, and the Americans at 2,127. This is probably as accurate an estimate as can now be made.

The writer of the so-called D'Estaing report says that the force in Savannah was composed of 3,055 English European troops, 80 Cherokee savages, and 4,000 negroes, or 7,155 men in all. Stedman gives the garrison at 2,500 "of all sorts," while T. W. Moore says that there were but 2,000 in the town. The legend on Faden's *Plan* gives the number at 2,360, while the writer of the first journal in Hough (p. 43) says that there were but 2,350 "effectives" in the place.

The Allies lost in the sortie of the 23d, 24th, or 25th of September — for the journals differ as to the date — from 70 to 150 in killed, wounded, and missing. Cf. Jones, *Savannah*, 22, 53. The writer of the *Extrait*, ec. of 158 pages, p. 141, says that this great loss was due to the fact that M. O'Dune, who had the immediate command at the time, was intoxicated, and pursued the assaulting column too far. The assault of Oct. 9th cost D'Estaing, according to the *Extrait* (as above, p. 148), 680 men, while the author of the other journal translated by Jones gives it as high as 821. The American loss was not far from 312, though Moultrie rates it at 457, or a total loss of about 1,133 in killed, wounded, and missing. The French suffered severely from sickness, — malaria on shore and scurvy in the fleet. So that Captain Henry, when he wrote (*Remembrancer*, ix.) that "we have every reason to believe that this expedition cost the enemy two thousand men," was probably not far from correct. In the document which I have called the D'Estaing report the French losses are given as follows (Hough, *Savannah*, p. 174): "Killed, 183; wounded, 454." But the figures have not been verified by a comparison with the original *Gazette*.

The English loss in the sortie was very slight, — not more than twenty-one. Repelling the assault on the 9th cost Prevost 16 killed and 39 wounded. But to these numbers should be added those picked off from time to time, which swelled the total to 103 in killed and wounded (Prevost's report in *Remembrancer*, iv. 81). He lost, in addition, 52 in missing and deserters, or 155 in all. But this was more than counterbalanced by desertions from the French ranks. It should be stated, however, that T. W. Moore, Prevost's aide, gave the loss of the garrison in killed and wounded alone at 163.

[2] C. C. Jones, *Georgia*, ii. 375–416; Lee and Agnew, *Historical Record*, 50–64; Arthur and Carpenter, *Georgia*, 174–193. Cf. also Allen, *History*, ii. 264; *An Impartial History*, p. 605; Andrews, iii. 309–318; and Beatson, *Memoirs*, iv. 516–534. The most inaccurate account known to the present writer is in E. Ryerson, *The Loyalists of America and their Times*, Toronto, 1880, vol. ii. p. 22.

[3] Dufey, *Résumé*, i. 312–321; François Soulés, *Histoire des Troublés de l'Amérique Anglaise*, Paris, 1787, iii. 211–219. See also Botta (Otis's trans.), iii. 66–75; and Giuseppe Colucci, *I casi della Guerra per l'Independenza narrati dall' ambasciatore della Republica di Canova presso la corte D'Inghilterra nella sua corrispondenza officiale inedita*, Genoa, 1879, ii. 536.

[4] Eelking, *Hülfstruppen*, ii. 57, and Lowell, *Hessians*, 242. Major-General John Watts De Peyster has an article on the siege in the *New York Mail* for Sept. 24, 1879. Something may also be found in Lossing, *Field-Book;* Stone, *Our French Allies*, etc. A description of Ebenezer, a town which constantly figures in this campaign, is in C. C. Jones, *Dead Towns of Georgia*, p. 183; also in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iv.; while the experience of the Salzburg settlers of that region is well set forth in P. A. Strobel's *The Salzburghers and heir Descendants*, Balt., 1855, pp. 201–211.

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should not be neglected, as there was a "Hessian" regiment in the town.

D'Estaing has usually been represented as hurrying on board and sailing away just in time to avoid a predicted storm. So far was this from being the case, that, although the assault was made on the 9th of October, the French were in front of the town on the 19th and 29th of the same month. The bulk of the fleet was blown from the anchorage on the 26th, though the last frigates did not leave until the 2d of November.[1] Historians ignoring these facts have too often praised the prescience of D'Estaing. The truth seems to be, that, being conscious of exceeding his instructions and impatient of delay, the French commander hazarded everything on an assault, and lost. The delay in getting away was due for the most part to the bad discipline which prevailed in the fleet.[2]

This gallant defence made Prevost a major-general, though he enjoyed his honors for but a short time, as he died in 1786. Maitland, to whose timely succor so much was due, died on the 26th of October from a fever contracted, it was supposed, during his gallant march to the aid of the beleaguered town. Cf. Hough, *Savannah*, p. 110. The success of the defence was due mainly to the talents and energy of the engineer officer, Moncrieff, attached to Prevost's expedition. No one was more conscious of this than Prevost, who wrote of him in the warmest terms in his report to Germain.[3]

The charge of Oct. 9th was fatal to two of the most romantic characters in our Revolutionary history, Jasper and Pulaski.[4]

CHARLESTON, 1780. — Lincoln presented no detailed report of his unsuccessful defence of Charleston, though a short note announcing the capitulation is in print. Lincoln asked for a court of inquiry into his conduct.[5] But as no one doubted his integrity or capacity, no court

[1] Cf. *A Journal*, in Hough, p. 46; *Another Journal*, in *Ibid.* 79; and the other original sources as above.

[2] As to the sufferings of the sailors and the lack of energy displayed by the officers of the fleet, see *Extrait du Journal* (158 page edition), p. 138 *et seq.* This part is translated in Jones, *Savannah*, p. 61.

[3] The verses of the royalist wits are in Moore's *Songs and Ballads*, 269, 274.

[4] The former had come into notice during the gallant defence of Fort Moultrie. Later he rendered important service, and was wounded in the lungs while carrying off the colors from the deadly Spring Hill redoubt at Savannah. There is no doubt of the truth of this intrepid bravery of Sergeant Jasper. Cf. McCall, *Georgia;* Horry, *Life of Marion*, p. 66; Stevens, *Georgia*, ii. 217. Cf. especially C. C. Jones, *Serjeant William Jasper, An Address delivered before the Ga. Hist. Soc. in 1876.*

The "impetuous Polander" was mortally wounded while making some kind of a charge in the rear of the enemy's line on the right. As to Pulaski, see, beside the general accounts and C. C. Jones's Address in *Georgia Hist. Coll.*, iii., the *Life of Count Pulaski* by Sparks, in his *American Biography*, xiv. 365–446; pp. 431–443 relate to the Southern campaign. Cf. also an article in *American Historical Record*, i. 397–399; and note in Hough, *Savannah*, p. 175, abridged from Stevens, *Georgia*, ii. According to Paul Bentalou, who claimed to have been with him when he died, his body became so offensive immediately after his death that it was thrown overboard from the vessel which was bearing the wounded to Charleston. Nevertheless, at the laying of the corner-stone of a monument to his memory in Savannah, a metallic box supposed to contain his remains was placed within the plinth alongside the corner-stone. With regard to his place of burial, see Bentalou, *Pulaski Vindicated from a charge in Johnson's Greene* (Balt., 1824), p. 29; C. C. Jones, *Sepulture of Major-General Nathanael Greene and of Brigadier-General Count Casimir Pulaski*, Augusta, Ga., 1885; and a letter from James Lynch, of South Carolina, to the editor of the *New York Herald*, Jan. 7, 1854, — reprinted in the *Hist. Mag.*, x. 285; Johnson, *Traditions*, note to p. 245, where another Pole, who claimed to have been aide-de-camp to Pulaski, and to have supported him in the death struggles, says that he was buried under a large tree, about fifty miles from Savannah.

[The Maryland Historical Society has the banner presented to Pulaski by the Moravian Sisters of Bethlehem in 1778. It was saved when Pulaski fell at Savannah in 1779, and came into the possession of the society in 1844 (*Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., xi.). There is a portrait of Pulaski, engraved by H. B. Hall in Jones's *Georgia*, ii. 402. (Cf. Lossing, ii. 735.) The history of efforts to establish Pulaski's service and recompense by the United States Government is traced in *Senate Exec. Doc. 120, 49th Cong., second session* (1887). — ED.]

[5] Printed in various places, — as, for example, in Hough, *Charleston*, p. 173; *Remembrancer*, x. 140. Other letters from Lincoln to Washington are in *Corresp. Rev.*, ii. 344, 385, 401, 403, 418, and 433, etc. Some of them, especially one of April 9th, are of considerable value. Among Lincoln's MSS. is a long letter from Lincoln to Washington, dated Hingham, July 17, 1780, defending his conduct. It is of value, but, if sent, has never, to my knowledge, been printed. The reasons for abandoning the defence of the bar are given in a letter from Captain Whipple and other commanders and pilots to Lincoln, dated Charleston, Feb. 27, 1780, in Ramsay, *Rev. S. C.*, ii. 397. See Lincoln MS. defence as above. There are also several papers relating to this portion of the siege in the third volume of the *Commodore Tucker Papers* in the Harvard College library. But see Moultrie (*Memoirs*, ii. 50) for his strictures on the giving up the position near Fort Moultrie. It is probable that, had the British fleet been kept out of the Cooper River, the surrender would have been long deferred, perhaps even until the hot season and the arrival of the French at Newport had compelled its abandonment.

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was ever held. As to the siege itself, Moultrie has been the main reliance. His *Memoirs* (ii. pp. 65 *et seq.*) contain the official correspondence between the opposing commanders, and a diary or journal running from March 28th to May 12th, which bears all the marks of a contemporaneous document. Ramsay, too, was present at the defence, but his account (*Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 45–62, — followed by Gordon, iii. 346) is very meagre.[1]

On the British side, the descriptions in Tarleton (*Campaigns*, 4–23) and Stedman (*American War*, ii. 176–192) are interesting and detailed. So far as they relate to events outside of the immediate vicinity of the city, they are trustworthy; but neither of these officers was present at the siege itself.[2] Of more importance than any contemporary account, with the possible exception of Moultrie's journal, is the report of Clinton to

[1] There are several other descriptions from American sources. The most valuable, so far as it goes, is the report of Du Portail to Washington (*Corresp. Rev.*, ii. 451). It relates, however, to a limited period. The same must be said of a few letters from the younger Laurens and from Woodford, the commander of seven hundred Virginians who arrived on the 21st of April. Laurens's first letter, bearing date of Feb. 25th, is in Moore's *Materials for History*, p. 173. The second, written on March 14th, is in *Corresp. Rev.*, ii. 413. The third, which bears date of April 9th, is in *Ibid.* 435. Woodford's letter of April 8th is in *Ibid.* 430. Cf. also *Ibid.* 401, 420, and Moore's *Materials*, 175.

The contemporary journals of value are: *Diary of Events in Charleston, S. C., from March 20 to April 20, 1780, by Samuel Baldwin*, in *New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 78–86, — Baldwin was a schoolteacher in Charleston; cf. *Ibid.* p. 77; *Journal of the Siege of Charleston in 1780*, by De Brahm (Feb. 9, 1780–May 12, 1781), in Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.* (1776–82), p. 124; and *Memoirs of Andrew Sherburne, written by Himself* (a "boy" on the American ship "Ranger"), first printed at Utica in 1828, and reprinted in an "enlarged and improved" form at Providence, in 1831. His curious journal begins on p. 24 of the 1st ed., and on p. 27 of the 2d. Maj. Wm. Croghan's journal at Charleston, S. C., Feb. 9–May 4, 1780, etc., is copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, vol. lx. There are two journals in *The Siege of Charleston by the British Fleet and Army, which terminated in the surrender of that place May 12, 1780*, with notes, etc., by Franklin B. Hough (Albany, 1867). The first is contained in two letters by an unknown hand, and relates to the operations on Lincoln's line of communications. The author was not present at the siege itself. The other journal relates to the operations against the town, but it has little value. Indeed, this volume of Hough's is not so interesting as the similar work on Savannah. Another journal, which relates more especially to the movements in the country, is the *Diary of Anthony Allaire*, a lieutenant in Ferguson's corps, printed by Draper in his *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, p. 484. Allaire corroborates in a most striking manner the accuracy of the charges of cruelty and outrage made by the author of the "Notes" in Stedman's *American War*. The account of the defence in Johnson's *Traditions* was written by an eye-witness, though long after the event. It is often very inaccurate, but nevertheless interesting. The assertion therein made that Gadsden signed the capitulation, and that therefore all of South Carolina was included in its terms, cannot be substantiated.

[2] According to Lincoln's official report, the Continental troops, "including the sick and wounded," surrendered prisoners of war at Charleston numbered 2,487. Adding to this the 89 Continentals killed, we have 2,576, or within five of the number of the garrison as given in the *New Jersey Gazette* for June 23, 1780 (Hough, *Charleston*, 198). Lincoln says further that at the time of surrender the militia "effectives" did not exceed 500 men (Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 141), in all not over 3,000. Clinton, in his report as usually printed, gives the total as 5,612, or 5,618, "together with town and country militia, French and seamen, make about six thousand men in arms." In Beatson, *Memoirs*, vi. 209, the number of seamen is printed as 100 instead of 1,000 — a considerable reduction, and perhaps nearer the mark. Clinton's estimate was further increased in the royalist newspapers of the time to "between seven and eight thousand men." Lincoln's figures are probably the nearest to the truth, as all the contemporary writers on the American side insisted that Clinton counted among his prisoners every man capable of bearing arms in Charleston. At any rate, whatever their number, the militia, excepting the artillery company, seem to have been of but little service, as their loss in killed and wounded was not over forty, and in this estimate is included the total loss to those inside the lines not otherwise accounted for. Lincoln stated his killed at 89, and wounded at 140. But both Ramsay and Moultrie say that from five to six hundred Continentals were in the hospital at the time of the surrender.

In Beatson's *Memoirs* (vi. 204) there is a *List of the different regiments and corps selected by Sir Henry Clinton to accompany him on the expedition against Charlestown.* It gives the total, exclusive of staff, at 7,550. There were in Savannah at the time about 2,000 more, and the reinforcement which arrived in April numbered about 3,000 men. Clinton therefore had about 13,000 men at his disposal in May, 1780. Of course, a large proportion of this force was employed in detachments, — guarding Savannah, breaking up Lincoln's communications, and the like; so that it is impossible to say how many men Lincoln had in his front at any one time.

Clinton's loss from Feb. 11th to May 12th is given by himself at 76 killed and 189 wounded. To this should be added the loss of the sailors, who seem to have participated in a good many land expeditions, — 23 seamen killed and 28 wounded, or a grand total of 316. None of these figures include the losses and numbers engaged in the minor actions. But there is so little data with regard to them that it has seemed best to omit them in these estimates.

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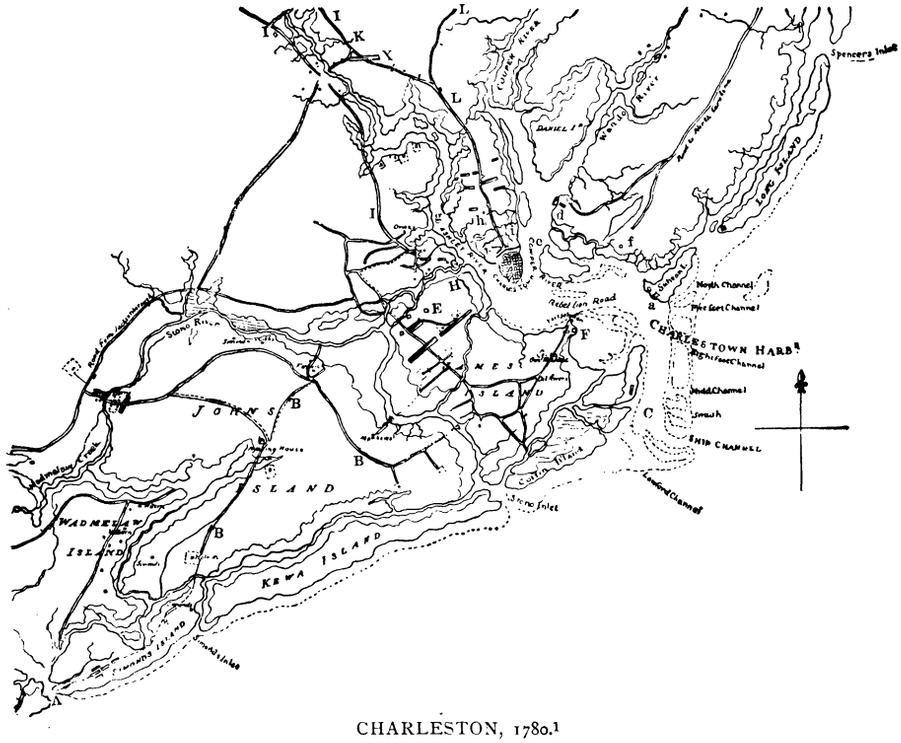

CHARLESTON, 1780.[1]

Germain. It is also in the form of a journal, and runs from March 29th to May 12th, and is printed as a part of *The London Gazette Extra*, issued on the 15th of June, 1780.[2]

[1] ["KEY: A, landing of the king's troops at Edisto inlet on the 11th Feb., 1780. B, march of the army on landing from James island. C, the king's ships in the offing, waiting for the spring tides to cross the bar, which being effected the 20th March, they anchored in Five Fathom hole, whence having [passed] through a heavy fire from Fort Moultrie and the batteries of Sullivan island, [they] dropped anchor before the town on the 9th of April. E, redoubts to protect the transports in Stono river. F, strong redoubt erected near Fort Johnson. G, battery to remove the enemy's ships at *d* in Ashley river. H, bridge made over Wapoo. I, march of the army from Linning's to Drayton's, 29th March, whence having crossed Ashley river, [it] halted the same night at X. K, encampment of the army, 30th March, on Charlestown Neck. L, march of a strong reinforcement to Col. Webster's corps, under the command of Earl Cornwallis, to cut off the enemy's communication by Cooper river. *a*, Fort Moultrie and works on Sullivan island, with the enemy's ships to enfilade the channel (surrendered on terms the 4th of May to the seamen and marines of the fleet). *d*, strong post on Lempries. *e*, ships in Cooper river, and Boom to obstruct the navigation. *f*, post on Mount Pleasant. *g*, Gibbs' Landing. *h*, redoubts and batteries to establish the first parallel begun the 1st of April. *i*, second parallel finished the 19th April. *k*, third parallel completed the 6th of May, whence having by sap drained and passed the enemy's canal works, [it] was carried on towards the ditch of the place, and the garrison, consisting of upwards of 6,000 men, [were] surrendered to his Majesty's arms, under the command of Lt.-Gen. Sir Hen. Clinton, K. B., etc., and Vice-Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot, on the 10th of May, 1780. The king's army and works are colored red, the enemy's yellow." — ED.]

[2] It was widely reprinted, as, for instance, in *The New Annual Register* for 1780, under *Principal Occurrences*, p. 55; *Pol. Mag.*, i. 455; *Remembrancer*, x. 41; Tarleton, 38, etc., etc. An abstract under title of *A memorandum*, etc., is given in the *Ninth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, App. ii. p. 109. A previous report, bearing date of March 9th, has been found, — *London Gazette* for April 25–29, 1780; *Pol. Mag.*, i. 397; Tarleton, 34; and Hough, *Charleston*, p. 190. The gap between March 9th and 29th must be filled from other sources. The instructions as to reducing South Carolina to obedience, from Germain to Clinton and Arbuthnot, are dated Whitehall, 3 Aug., '79 (*Charleston Year-Book* for 1882, p. 364). Clinton issued in all six proclamations, including the one signed by him conjointly with Arbuthnot, as commissioners. The first was dated at James's Island, March 3, 1780. It promised protection, etc., to all who should take the oath

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The correspondence between Clinton and Germain with regard to the planning of this campaign is in the *Ninth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, App. iii. pp. 95, 98, etc.[1] In this same appendix are three letters from Arbuthnot to Germain, giving interesting details. His official report was made to Mr. Stevens, secretary of the Admiralty, and was printed with Clinton's report. It is especially valuable with regard to the operations of the fleet. There is a critical account of the siege in Lee's *Memoirs*, i. 115–142, and the more popular descriptions are unusually good, especially those from German sources.[2]

MINOR ACTIONS, 1780. — It is to be regretted that we have no official account of the disaster at the Waxhaws from the American commander. Tarleton's official report to Cornwallis was originally printed in *The London Gazette Extra*, July 5, 1780.[3] The description of the affair in Dawson's *Battles*, i. 582, is based upon *Adj. Bowyer's Particular Account of Colonel Buford's defeat*. It differs materially from the account of the British commander.[4]

Lee says that most of the wounded died of their wounds. This can hardly be true, as Muhlenberg in a letter to Washington (Muhlenberg's *Muhlenberg*, 368) says that the prisoners taken at the Waxhaws have nearly all returned. There are no plans of the battle, and it has been found impossible to make any estimate of the numbers engaged.[5]

of allegiance. These protections were given in a most indiscriminate fashion, and caused the complaint of Cornwallis above noted. The paper was reprinted by Hough in his *Charleston*, p. 24. Next came the "Handbill," without date, but sent out soon after the capitulation (*Remembrancer*, x. 80). The proclamation of May 22d threatened vengeance on all who should prevent the loyalists from coming in (*Remembrancer*, x. 82; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 435; and Tarleton, 71). The most important proclamation, however, and the one to which Cornwallis took such violent exception, pardoned all not included in a few specified classes (June 1st), and was signed by the two chief commanders (*Remembrancer*, x. 85; Hough, *Charleston*, 178; Ramsay, *Rev. S. C.*, ii. 438; Tarleton, 74, etc.). A fac-simile is in *Charleston Year-Book* (1882), p. 369. The proclamation of June 3d called upon those on parole, with a few exceptions, to give up their paroles, take the oath of allegiance, and thereby secure "protections" (*Remembrancer*, x. 82; Hough, *Charleston*, 182; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 441; Tarleton, 73; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, ii. 384, etc.). *The Address of divers Inhabitants of Charleston to Sir Henry Clinton*, June 5, 1780, is (*Remembrancer*, x. 93; Ramsay, ii. 443; Moultrie, ii. 386, etc.) without names, which are appended to the copy in Hough, *Charleston*, 148, where it is stated to be reprinted from Rivington's *Royal Gazette* of June 21, 1780. The names, however, are from the *Gazette* of June 24th. The letters of Cornwallis on this subject are in his *Correspondence*, i. 40, 46, and 48. There is a very striking passage in Moultrie, i. 276, with regard to this business. Cf. also *Ibid.* 314, and Johnson's *Greene*, i. 279.

[1] Hough in his *Charleston* (p. 50) has reprinted a despatch purporting to have been written by Clinton and addressed to Lord George Germain. It was dated Savannah, Jan. 30, 1780; reprinted in Hough, *Charleston*, p. 50; and was said to have been captured by a privateer. In it Clinton described the dispiriting effect on the royalists of Georgia of D'Estaing's attack on Savannah. It has been regarded as a forgery, partly on this very account. It probably was a forgery. But it is curious to observe that the opening pages of Tarleton contain the same statement, and he reprints the despatch without a hint as to its being a forgery. And this forms the ground of Mackenzie's first stricture.

[2] Moore, *Diary*, ii. 269; "Allen," *Hist. Am. Rev.*, ii. 296; *An Impartial History* (Bost. ed.), ii. 386; Beatson, *Memoirs*, v. 8; Soulés, *Troublés*, iii. 259; Johnson's *Greene*, i. 274; Sargent, *Life of André*, p. 225; Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 135; Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 92; Wilmot G. De Saussure in *Charleston Year Book* (1884), p. 282; Eelking's *Hülfstruppen*, ii. 59; Ewald, iii. 252; and Lowell, *Hessians*, 243.

A good account of this and the other operations in South Carolina is in Mills's *Statistics of South Carolina*, while Mrs. Ellet, in her *Domestic History of the American Revolution* (pp. 151–290), has well set forth the services of the women of the South. [Cf. the *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson, during the invasion and possession of Charleston, S. C., by the British in the Revolutionary War. Arranged from the original manuscripts, by Caroline Gilman* (New York, 1838). The articles of capitulation are in Tarleton, p. 61, and R. E. Lee's ed. Lee's *Memoirs*, p. 158. The correspondence of the commanders is in *Polit. Mag.*, i. 454. The abject condition of South Carolina after the reduction of Charleston is set forth in Ardanus Burke's *Address to the Freemen of South Carolina*, Phil., 1783. The British exhilaration is shown in Moore's *Songs and Ballads*, 293. The *Memoirs of Josias Rogers, Commander of H. M. S. "Quebec," by Rev. Wm. Gilpin* (London, 1808), is said to have passages concerning the siege. — ED.]

[3] Reprinted in *Polit. Mag.*, i. 513; *Remembrancer*, x. 76; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 432; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 83; *Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 45, etc. It is often accompanied by two letters: one from Cornwallis, approving his conduct; the other from Clinton to Germain, calling the latter's attention to the fact that "the enemy's killed and wounded and taken exceed Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton's numbers with which he attacked them."

[4] There are good descriptions in Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 148; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 108; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, ii. 203; Gordon, iii. 360; and Stedman, ii. 192; though all these writers obtained their information from others.

[5] Good accounts of this affair are in Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 208, and Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 458.

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SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.[1]

[1] [Reduced from the plan in Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Amer. Rev.* (Charleston, 1851), p. 247. — KEY (American works): A, Wilkins, 16 guns; B, Gibbs, 9 guns; C, Ferguson, 5 guns; D, Sugar House, 6 guns; E, old magazine, 5 guns; F, Cummings, 5 guns; G, northwest point, 4 guns; H, horn-work (citadel) and lines, 66 guns, beside mortars; K, Gadsden's wharf, 7 guns; L, Old Indian, 5 guns; M, Governor's bridge, 3 guns; N, Exchange, 7 guns; O, end of the bay, Littleton's bastion, 4 guns; P, Darrell's, 7 guns; Q, boom, eight vessels, secured by chains and spars.

(British works). 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, redoubts begun April 1st; *o*, second parallel, finished April 19th; *p*, third parallel, completed May 6th; *q*, gun batteries; *r*, mortar batteries. — ED.]

There is a contemporary English map: *Environs of Charleston, S. C. Published June 1, 1780. By Capt. George Sproule, Assistant Engineer on the spot;* and a MS. *Sketch of the coast from South Edisto to Charlestown, 1 March, 1780,* — showing, among other things, "the rebel redoubt" at Stono. The best plan of the siege itself is *A Sketch of the operations before Charleston, the Capital of South Carolina. Published*

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For the period between the Waxhaws and the disaster near Camden, the reports of Cornwallis are of value (*Remembrancer*, x. 261; *Pol. Mag.*, i. 261, etc.); Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 128–145, has a fair account. The affair at Ramsour's Mill has not been given due prominence in the general histories. There is a good account of it in Caldwell's *Greene*, 123. But the description which has generally been followed is the one which General Joseph Graham — who was not present at the fight — printed in the *Catawba Journal* for Feb. 1, 1825.[1]

Colonel Williams transmitted a report of the action at Musgrove's Mill to Gates (*Remembrancer*, xi. 87). But the best account of the affair is in Draper's *King's Mountain*, who (p. 122) gives a list of his authorities. See especially McCall, *Georgia*, ii. 304–317; Jones, *Georgia*, ii. 452; and *Amer. Whig Rev.*, new series, ii. 578.

GATES'S DEFEAT NEAR CAMDEN, 1780. — The defeated general dated his official report at Hillsborough, Aug. 20, 1780 (*Remembrancer*, x. 335; Tarleton, 145; *Sparks's Correspondence of the Revolution*, iii. 66 and 76; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, v. 502, etc.). Cornwallis presented two reports bearing on the campaign. In the first — sometimes dated Aug. 20th, and sometimes Aug. 21st — he follows his movement to his arrival at Camden. The second — always dated the 21st — takes up the story at that point. They are both in the *London Gazette Extra* for October 9th, 1780.[2]

I have found nothing official from Rawdon;

17th of June, 1780, according to Act of Parliament, by I. F. W. Des Barres, Eng. It will be noticed that this was put forth two days after Clinton's despatch of May 14th was published in London. It is a large map, showing the positions in colors. There are two copies in the Harvard College library. It has been reprinted by Mayor Courtenay in the *Charleston Year-Book for 1882*, p. 360, as "Sir Henry Clinton's Map, 1780," with a description (p. 371). Some one has apparently attempted to remove the inscription referred to above, and only the words "of June, 1780" are legible. In other respects it is identical with the Des Barres map. In his *Year-Book* (1880, p. 264) Mayor Courtenay has reproduced an interesting *Plan of Charlestown. With its Entrenchments and those made by the English, 1780.* It relates only to the lines themselves, and was probably the work of an American. There is a good map, with lines in colors, in Faden's *Plans of Battles*, which is reproduced in Tarleton, p. 32, and Stedman, ii. 184. Ramsay (*Rev. S. C.*, ii. 59) gives an excellent map of a later date, as does Gordon (iii. 358). See also Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 765; Marshall's *Washington*, atlas no. 10; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 258; Carrington's *Battles*, p. 498; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1883, p. 827; and R. E. Lee's edition of Lee's *Memoirs*, p. 146. Mention should also be made of a MS. plan in the Faden coll., and of a map, apparently of French origin, the property of Daniel Ravenal, of Charleston (*Charleston Year-Book*, 1884, p. 295), which Mr. De Saussure regards as a copy of "Brigadier-General Du Portail's engineer's map;" but there seems to be no evidence of this in print. There is a good chart of Charleston harbor in the corner of Des Barres's map, and in the so-called *Mouzon Map* (1775), while Ramsay (*Rev. S. C.*, ii. 52) has a *Sketch of Charleston Harbour, shewing the disposition of the British fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot in the attack on Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island in 1780.*

Attempts at the identification of localities have been made by W. G. De Saussure in *Charleston Year-Book* (1884, pp. 282–308), and in an *Historical Map of Charleston, 1670–1883*, in the *Year-Book* for 1883. A plan of Fort Johnson on James' Island is in *Ibid.* (p. 473). These latter maps are also in a reprint of a portion of this *Year-Book*, issued under the title of *1670–1783: The Centennial of Incorporation, 1883* (Charleston, 1884).

[There are other charts of the harbor in the *No. Amer. Pilot;* in the *Neptune Americo-Septentrional.* A chart of the harbor and bars by R. Cowley is sometimes noted as published in London in 1780.

There are other maps of Charleston in Bellin's *Petit Atlas Maritime*, vol. i. 37; in Castiglione's *Viaggio* p. 309, etc. There are among the Rochambeau maps in the library of Congress (no. 19) *Vues de la rade de Charleston et du fort Sullivan, 1780*, and a colored plan (no. 46), measuring 20 × 18 inches, called *Plan de la ville de Charlestown, de les retrenchments et du siège fait par les Anglais en 1780.* — ED.]

[1] It was reprinted by Wheeler in his *North Carolina*, ii. 227, and in an abbreviated form in Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, p. 206. It forms the basis of the account in Dawson, *Battles*, i. 592. See also *Historical Magazine*, xii. 24.

[2] They can also be found in full in the *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.*, Appendix, iii. p. 103: *Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 488 and 492; Tarleton, 128; *Annual Register* (1780), under Principal Occurrences, p. 72; and *Political Magazine*, i. 675, 678. The second one is in the *Remembrancer*, x. 267; Tarleton, 128; *Gentleman's Magazine* for Oct., 1780; and in many other places. Not long before the battle, Gates supposed himself to be at the head of 7,000 men, — Williams in Johnson's *Greene*, i. 493, — while an estimate found in De Kalb's pocket (*Remembrancer*, x. 279) gives the size of the American army at some day before the battle at 6,000, less 500 deserters. In this estimate the Virginians were reckoned at 1,400, — twice their real number. Jefferson in "Memoranda" (Giradin, iv. 400) gives the total at 2,800, — the North Carolina militia being rated at 1,000, far below their real strength. Williams (*Narrative*, in Johnson's *Greene*) gives the "rank and file present and fit for duty" as 3,052. Gordon gives the total, including officers, as 3,663. If we add to this number the light infantry and cavalry we get a total of

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but on Sept. 19th, 1780, he wrote to his mother, the Countess of Moira, describing the events preceding the battle. He speaks of the course taken by Gates as "the ruinous part which they, the Americans, actually did embrace," adding that De Kalb had advised Gates to cross Lynch's Creek and attack him there. This Rawdon learned from an aide to De Kalb [1] — probably Du Buysson — who was taken with his chief.[2]

Tarleton, too, was a participator in the action, and his account (*Campaigns*, 85–110), though written long after the event, is valuable. It begins with Cornwallis's arrival at Camden.

But the description of the campaign and battle which far outweighs all others, is the *Narrative of the Campaign of 1780, by Colonel Otho Holland Williams, Adjutant-general*, — printed as "Appendix B" to Johnson's *Greene*, vol. i. pp. 465 – 510, and copied thence into Simms's *Greene*, Appendix. There is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of the story, though no one knows when Williams wrote it. Two of the American commander's aides wrote accounts. The more important is the letter from Thomas Pinckney to William Johnson, the biographer of Greene, dated Clermont, July, 1822, and therefore written long after the battle; but the author's recollections so exactly agree with the facts as now known that it is an account of the greatest value.[3]

The other is Major McGill's letter to his father, written within eight miles of the scene of action.[4]

McGill carried Gates's despatches to Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, and gave him an account of the battle, which formed part of a statement "of this unlucky affair, taken from letters from General Gates, General Stevens, and Governor Nash, and, as to some circumstances, from an officer [McGill] who was in the action."[5]

Still another excellent narrative of the campaign is in *A Journal of the Southern Expedi-*

4,033 men of all arms. This is probably as correct an estimate as can be made. Cf. J. A. Stevens in *Mag. Am. Hist.* (v. 267), where the subject is fully discussed.

Cornwallis had in the engagement itself 2,239 men, of whom 500 were militia. Cf. *Field Return of the troops under the command of Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis, on the night of the 15th of August, 1780*, in *Remembrancer*, x. 271, etc. This is given by Beatson, *Memoirs*, vi. 211, as *Return of troops . . . at the Battle of Camden.*

As to the American loss, it appears that Cornwallis, without taking much pains to inquire, wrote to Germain that between 800 and 900 of the enemy were killed and wounded, about 1,000 being prisoners. Even supposing the wounded to have been counted twice, this is too high. Only three Virginia and sixty-three North Carolina militiamen are anywhere reported as wounded, while none were killed. In fact, from their speedy dispersal the militia loss must have been very slight. In any correct return they would have appeared as missing. But no attempt at such a return was made. The nearest approach to it is *A List of Continental Officers, killed, captivated, wounded, and missing in the actions of the 16 and 18 August, 1780.* This is signed by Otho H. Williams, and is in *Remembrancer*, x. 338; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 454. It is erroneously printed in the *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, xxvii. 376, as a *Return of the Killed, wounded, captured, and missing at the Battle of Camden*, which it certainly is not. There were between ten and twelve hundred Continentals present. They bore the brunt of the action and suffered nearly all the loss. Yet Gates wrote on the 29th of August that "seven hundred non-commissioned officers and men of the Maryland division have rejoined the army." See, also, Williams in Johnson's *Greene*, i. 505. In view of this it seems that even Gordon's estimate of 730 is too high, while Cornwallis's figures are simply ridiculous. He certainly did not overstate his own loss when he gave it as 68 killed, 245 wounded, and 11 missing, or 324 in all. Cf. return usually annexed to his report, and printed separately by Beatson in his *Memoirs*, vi. 211.

[1] A mystery surrounds the life of De Kalb. But he died as became a man of worth and honor. The fullest account of his career is *The Life of John Kalb, Major-general in the Revolutionary Army, by Friedrich Kapp*, "privately printed" in New York in 1870. In 1884 there seemed to be a revival of interest in the hero of Camden, and the volume was published. It is a translation of Kapp's *Leben des Amerikanischen Generals Johann Kalb*, Stuttgart, 1862. An earlier notice was the *Memoir of the Baron de Kalb read at the meeting of the Maryland Historical Society 7 January, 1858, by J. Spear Smith.* Both Kapp and Smith, from whom Kapp quotes, are unwarrantably severe on Gates, as, too, is G. W. Greene in his *German Element in the War of American Independence*, N. Y., 1876, pp. 89–167. See, also, Thomas Wilson, *The Biography of the Principal American Military and Naval Heroes*, N. Y., 1817; Headley, *Generals*, ii. 318; Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 378, etc. For an account of the monument to De Kalb, see H. P. Johnston in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, ix. 183.

[2] The whole letter is interesting, — *Third Report of Hist. MSS. Com.*, Appendix, p. 430; a portion was reprinted in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii. 496, and copied thence by Kapp in his *Life of John Kalb*, p. 322.

[3] Printed under the title of *Gates's Southern Campaign* in *Hist. Mag.*, x. 244–253.

[4] There is an extract in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, v. 258. The whole is copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, xx., from the Gates Papers.

[5] The editors of Jefferson's *Works* (q. v. i. 249) omitted this on the ground that the "circumstances of the defeat of General Gates's army near Camden" are of "historical notoriety." Cf. Giradin's *Continuation*, iv 398, where an account probably identical with this is given. It is one of the best descriptions.

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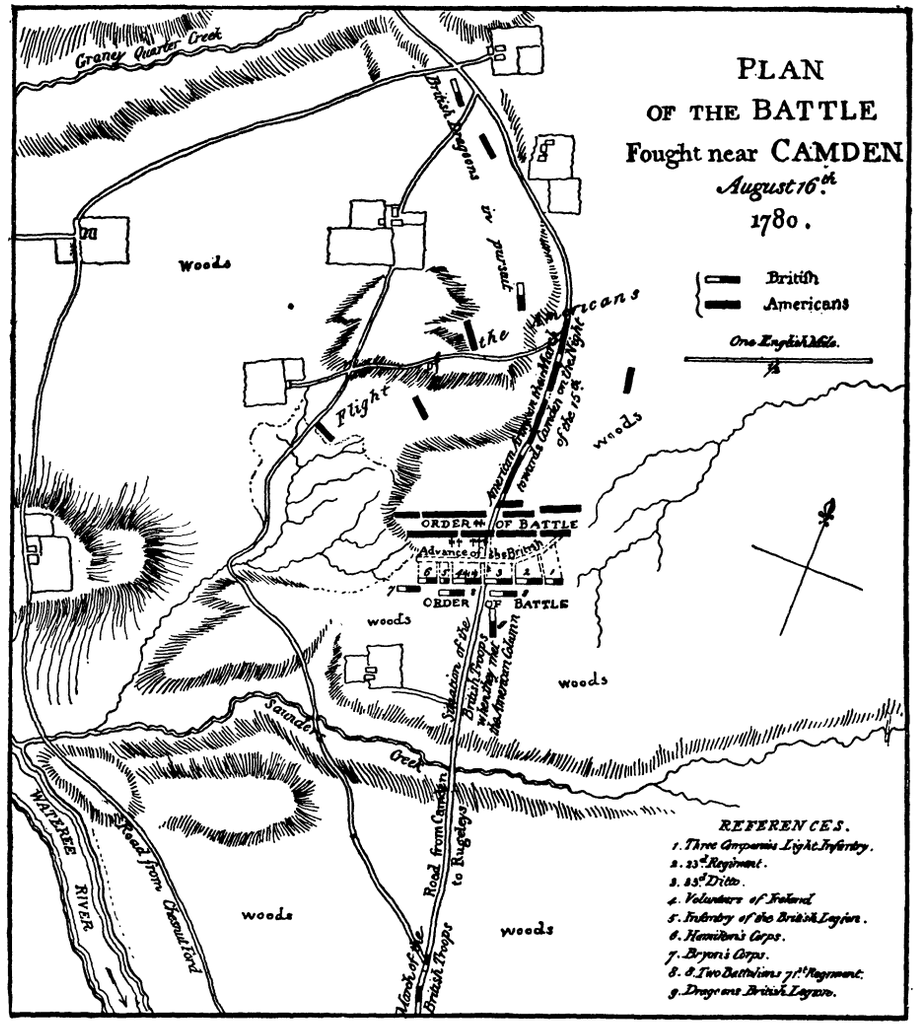

CAMDEN, AUGUST 16, 1780.[1]

tion, 1780–83. By William Seymour (*Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vii. 286, 377), who was sergeant-major of the Delaware regiment. The journal begins at Petersburg, May 26, 1780, thus describing the whole movement.

There are numerous descriptions by persons who, though not actually present at the disaster, yet enjoyed exceptionally good advantages for obtaining correct information.[2]

Of the earlier historians, Gordon (*History*, iii.

[1] [Faden's map, dated March 1, 1787, — the same used in Tarleton (p. 108) and in Stedman (ii. 210), and in the latter dated Jan. 20, 1794. KEY: 1. Three companies light infantry. 2. Twenty-third regiment. 3. Thirty-third regiment. 4. Volunteers of Ireland. 5. Infantry of the British Legion. 6. Hamilton's corps. 7. Bryan's corps. 8, 8. Two battalions, seventy-first regiment. 9. Dragoons, British Legion.

This same plan is re-engraved in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, v. 275, and in R. E. Lee's ed. of Henry Lee's *Memoir of the War*, etc., p. 182. The original MS. of the plan is among the Faden maps (no. 51) in the library of Congress. There is an eclectic plan in Carrington's *Battles*, p. 533; but the best of the modern maps is that by H. P. Johnston in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. 496. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 466. The *Political Mag.*, i. 731, has a map of the roads about Camden. — ED.]

[2] The best of this class, perhaps, is that of Colonel Senff, an engineer officer who was with Sumter at the time. The original is among the *Steuben Papers*, a portion being printed in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, v. 275.

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391 and 429) enjoyed the best advantages. He visited Gates in 1781 and used his papers. These MSS. had disappeared until a few years ago, when Dr. T. A. Emmet, whose grandfather was Gates's counsellor, found them in a garret. (Cf. *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, v. 241.) A portion of this collection was printed in *Ibid.* v. 281; as to the value of those reserved I have been able to learn nothing. A large part of the papers printed consists merely of the orders issued during the campaign. The most important of these — technically termed "after-orders," giving the order for the movement which brought on the action — have been printed over and over again.[1]

We have no detailed account of Sumter's attempt to injure the enemy, nor of his overthrow at Fishdam Ford, except that in Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 110–116. As may be imagined, Tarleton gave his own side of the case more than due prominence. Lee, in his *Memoirs* (i. 187), gives a good account. He adds that "Tarleton evinced a temerity which could not, if pursued, long escape exemplary chastisement." There is something in Stedman, ii. 211, and in Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 152. The accounts in the more popular books are so inaccurate that no mention of them is required.[2]

TREATMENT OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE BY THE BRITISH. — The well-known letters from Rawdon to Rugely have been widely printed.[3] With regard to the treatment of those captured

See also two letters written by Governor Nash of North Carolina (Tarleton, 149, and *Corres. Rev.*, iii. 107). The latter is especially valuable as showing the effects of the disaster on the public mind. Marion also announced the defeat to P. Horry (Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.*, 1776–1782, p. 11).

In a letter dated Kennemark, Sept. 5, 1780, Greene describes the defeat from Gates's despatches, which had not then been made public (*R. I. Col. Rec.*, ix. 243; *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 265; and *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, v. 279). A more valuable letter on the same subject is one to Reed, written after his arrival in the South (Reed's *Reed*, ii. 344). But the most important of these Greene letters is one dated High Hills of Santee, Aug. 8, 1781 (quoted by Gordon, iv. 98), in which Greene declares that Gates did not deserve the blame with which his career in the South was so unhappily closed. Moore (*Diary*, ii. 310) gives several extracts from accounts of the affair which appeared in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*. Another contemporary account from a British source is in Lamb's so-called *Journal*, pp. 302–307. Lamb was a standard-bearer in a British regiment at the time, and his narrative seems to have been written while details were still fresh in his mind.

[1] *Remembrancer*, x. 276; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 456, etc. Important letters of Gates as to his dispositions after the action are in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, v. 308; *Remembrancer*, x. 338; *Corres. Rev.*, iii. 66; *Maryland Papers*, 128, etc., etc.

The charges of undue haste and refusal to take the advice of others, so recklessly heaped on Gates by Bancroft and the writers who have copied him, appear to be without foundation. After a careful examination of the field, in company with Otho H. Williams, Greene advised against making an inquiry into Gates's conduct, while "Light-Horse Harry" Lee wrote to Wayne (R. E. Lee's edition of Lee's *Memoirs*, p. 32) that Gates "has been most insidiously, most cruelly traduced. . . . An action took place on very advantageous terms; we were completely routed." In his *Memoirs*, Lee censured Gates for not using cavalry. But this, too, seems undeserved, as a note to page 394 of Giradin's *Continuation* contains evidence to the effect that Gates could not get — though he made every effort — the cavalry he was blamed for not employing. The most exhaustive article in his defence is *The Southern Campaign, 1780: Gates at Camden*, by John Austin Stevens, in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, v. 24–274. It is wholly in favor of Gates, and is so one-sided that it should be read with the greatest caution. Singularly enough, when he wrote this article, Mr. Stevens, as he acknowledges (p. 424), did not know of the existence of the Pinckney letter noted above. For the other side, perhaps, nothing is better than a short, carefully written article by Henry P. Johnston, entitled *De Kalb, Gates, and the Camden Campaign*, in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, viii. 496, and reprinted without map in Kapp's *Kalb*, Appendix, p. 322. Of the more popular accounts, that in Marshall's *Washington* (iv. 169) is still one of the best. Mention should also be made of the description in McRee's *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, N. Y., 1857, i. 456–461. Accounts of more or less value will also be found in Greene's *Greene*, iii. 17; Johnson, *Greene*, i. 296; *Harper's Monthly*, lxvii. 550; Botta (Otis's trans.), iii. 206; Soulés, *Troubles*, iii. 285; Allen, *Hist. Amer. Rev.*, ii. 318; Andrews, iv. 27; J. C. Hamilton, *Hist. of the Republic*, ii. 120; Sparks, *Washington*, vi. 214; Irving, *Washington*, iv. 91; Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 459; Carrington, *Battles*, 513; Dawson, *Battles*, iii. 613, etc., etc.

[2] [There is some detail in Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Amer. Rev.*, iii. App. The best known portrait of Sumter is by C. W. Peale. It is engraved in the quarto edition of Irving's *Washington*. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 651. — ED.]

[3] The first, dated Camden, July 7, 1780, is in *Remembrancer*, xi. 156, and *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 339. The more famous letter, without date, but containing the offer of a reward for the head of every Irish deserter, is in Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 132; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, ii. 215; and *Washington's Writings*, vi. 554. See also Sparks, *Corres. Rev.*, iii. 77 (note). The extract of the letter to Balfour or Cruger, which aroused the ire of Washington, is in *Washington's Writings*, vii., Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 157; and Moultrie, *Memoirs*, ii. 240. Cornwallis's own version is in his *Correspondence*, i. 56, and Draper's *King's Mountain*, p. 140. A proclamation embodying the British commander's ideas as to confiscation was issued on either the 6th or 16th

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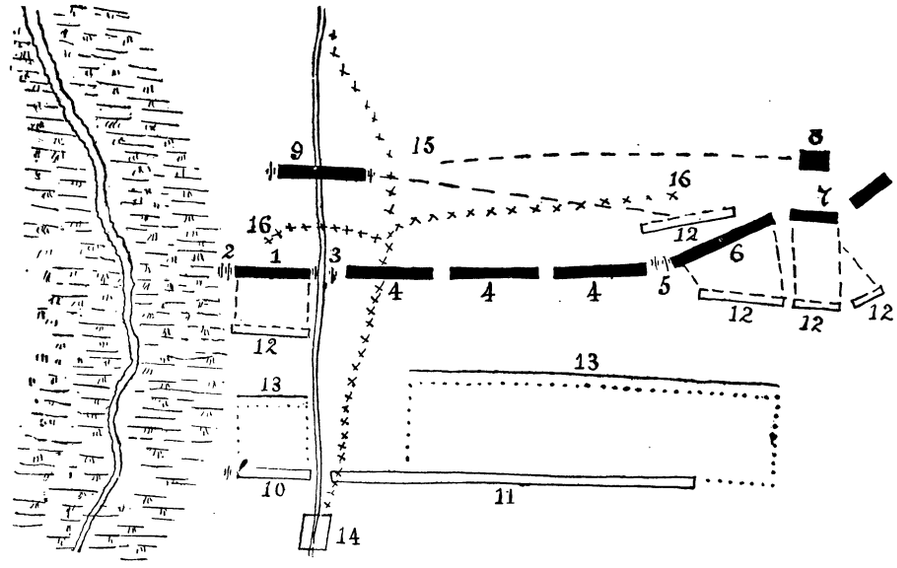

GATES'S DEFEAT AT CAMDEN.[1]

at Savannah and Charleston, Southern writers do not seem to have strictly adhered to the truth. Those captured by Campbell were protected by no treaty of capitulation; and as to those taken at Charleston, the charges of Moultrie and others were always denied.[2]

of September, 1780 (Tarleton, 186; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 460; and *Remembrancer*, xi. 25). Clinton's reply to Washington is in *Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 60, with Cornwallis's and Rawdon's explanations (pp. 72, 501).

[1] [The movements as detailed in a plan by Colonel Senff, preserved among the *Steuben Papers* (N. Y. Hist. Soc.), are shown in this sketch after a cut in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (1880), vol. v. p. 275. The plan and accompanying journal, taken from the Steuben Papers, are in the Sparks MSS., no. xv. A marsh and the river were on the American right and the British left. The road to Camden is marked by parallel lines. The American right, 400 Marylanders under General Gist, were between the road and the low ground at 1, with two cannon on their right at 2, and two others on the left in the road at 3. Beyond the road were three brigades of North Carolina militia (4, 4, 4), under Brigadiers Rutherford, Graigery, and Butler, with two fieldpieces at 5, on their left. Beyond this the American line was completed by 700 Virginia militia under Brigadier Stevens (6), and 300 light infantry under Colonel Potterfield (7). Colonel Armand, with 60 horse, was in the rear (8) of this part of the line, and as a reserve Smallwood with the first Maryland brigade of about 400 men, was across the road at 9. [The names are given as in the sketch.]

On the British side the first troops to appear were at 10 with a fieldpiece, and their main body formed at 11. The American troops at 6 and 7 advanced to 12, and were met by the British (11) moving by their right flank and then advancing to 13. The American reserve (9) then moved to 12 to support the left wing, while the right wing (1) advanced to 12 and engaged the British left (13). The Americans at 4, 4, 4, and 12 (opposite 6 and 7) now broke and fled. At this opportune moment the British cavalry (14) charged along the line shown by small crosses, and turning to the right and left took in reverse the Americans at 1, and the reserve (9) in their new position at 12. The whole American army scattered in retreat before the British advance.— ED.]

[2] Ramsay was a prisoner at the time, and what he says (*Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 158–173, 288–303) has a considerable value. A large portion of Moultrie's second volume (pp. 117–201) is taken up with the same subject. Both of them relied on a letter written to Ramsay by Dr. P. Fassoux, surgeon-general in the hospital at Charleston. Moultrie declares that the letter "is an exact statement of their conduct in our hospital at that time." The letter is in Moultrie, *Memoirs*, ii. 397,— the indorsement is on p. 277; Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.* (1781–82), p. 116; and Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 527. If a tithe of this statement is true, the conduct of the British officers in charge at Charleston was simply brutal; but the British surgeon denied most of the statements. It will do no harm to contrast this with the treatment of those taken at Yorktown, as told by one of their own number, Gen. Graham. Cf. his *Memoirs*, 66 *et seq.*, and App. p. 306. English writers have asserted that papers implicating the Charleston prisoners in a conspiracy to overthrow the government were found in the

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Isaac Hayne, at the time of the surrender of Charleston, was a colonel in a militia regiment, but, being in the country, he was not included in the capitulation. His wife and two children were ill with the small-pox, and it was impossible to take them to a place of refuge. He went to Charleston and offered to give his parole as a prisoner of war. He was told that he must take the oath of allegiance or be confined as a rebel. It was a hard position, and, thinking of his wife dying at home, he took the oath; not, however, until he had called Ramsay (*Rev. in S. C.*) to bear witness that he was forced to it by necessity. He retired to his farm, and lived there unmolested until the success of the American arms once more brought his friends around him. Then he was told by the British leaders that he must arm on the king's side or go to prison. He regarded this as a violation of his agreement, and enlisted under Pickens. He commanded a regiment of militia drawn from the neighborhood, and composed of men who believed with him that when protection was withdrawn the duty of allegiance went with it. Soon after this he captured, not many miles from Charleston, Williamson, a noted renegade, who was regarded by his former friends as the "Arnold of the South." On his way back Hayne was captured, taken to Charleston, and hanged.[1] The fact that Greene and Marion (Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.*, i. 125) both regarded it as calling for retaliation[2] goes a great way towards showing that Rawdon and Balfour acted harshly and precipitately in the matter; but the case is an admirable example of the light in which Cornwallis — for Balfour tried to justify his conduct by a reference to the letter or order issued by Cornwallis after Camden — persisted in regarding those who fought for their country and their rights. It seems to me, however, that Cornwallis's position was a false one; and to assert, as Balfour asserted, that South Carolina was completely conquered in 1780, was to assert what was not true. Rawdon sailed for home soon after this affair. He was captured by the French, and did not reach London until after Yorktown. He was immediately assailed in the House of Peers by the Duke of Richmond for his share in this business. In reply he challenged the noble duke, and the upshot was that Richmond apologized.[3] Many years later, Lee sent Rawdon a copy of his *Memoirs*, in which Hayne is warmly defended. Rawdon, then Earl of Moira, wrote a long letter (June 24, 1813) in reply, but his defence does not appear to be sound.[4] It should be said, in justification of the light in which Hayne was regarded by the British officers at the time, that they believed he had taken a second oath to the king just before his capture in arms; but this does not appear to have been the case.[5]

The most aggravated case of murder on the American side was the shooting of the Tory Col. Grierson after his surrender, near Augusta. The murder was committed in broad day, yet Pickens declared that the murderer was not known.[6]

pockets of those taken at Camden; but no proof of this has ever been produced. In fact, in his letter of Dec. 4th Cornwallis alleged as a reason for their removal to St. Augustine that they were so insolent in their behavior they could not be allowed to go at large in Charleston. Indeed, the prisoners seem to have been treated with increased harshness after Camden. Before that time everything had been done to induce them to enlist in the British army. A regiment had been raised, and the command offered to Moultrie, and refused by that sturdy patriot in a letter which has been printed over and over again. Cf. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, ii. 166; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 289; *Charleston Year Book* for 1884; and reprinted as *The Correspondence of Lord Montague with General Moultrie, 1781* (Charleston, 1885).

[1] Hayne's letters to the British authorities are in Gibbes, i. p. 108; *Remembrancer*, xiii. 121; Ramsay, 508–520.

[2] Greene waited till Gadsden and his fellow-prisoners were safe within the American lines; and his officers, in ignorance of his purpose, remonstrated, Aug. 20, 1781, against this delay (Ramsay, ii. 521; Moultrie, ii. 414; Greene's *Greene*, iii. 558; Gibbes, i. 128). Greene's formal proclamation, Aug. 26th, declared that the first regular British colonel captured should suffer (Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 524; Moultrie, ii. 417; *Remembrancer*, xiii. 125, etc.). Cf. also Greene to Washington, Aug. 26, 1781, in *Corres. of Rev.*, iii. 393; Balfour to Greene, Sept. 3, 1781. The letter to which this is an answer I have not found in Ramsay, *U. S.*, 520, extract; and Gibbes (1781–82), 168. And see also Greene to Balfour, Sept. 19, 1781, in Gibbes, 168. Before this threat could be carried out a new commander arrived at Charleston, and the war took on humaner methods.

[3] Cf. Hansard, xxii. 963; *Parl. Reg.* (Debrett), xxv. 81; *Polit. Mag.*, iii. 45, 73, 237, 383; Lee's *Memoirs* (2d edition), 326; *Hist. Mag.*, x. 269.

[4] Lee's *Campaign of 1781*, App.; R. E. Lee's ed. of Lee's *Memoir*, p. 613.

[5] Cf. Lieut. Hatton in Mackenzie's *Strictures*.

[6] Pickens to Greene in Johnson's *Greene*, ii. 135, and Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.* (1781–82), 91. On the other hand, Browne, the British commander at Augusta, in a letter to Ramsay, dated Dec. 25, 1786 (White's *Hist. Coll.*), asserts that James Alexander, a captain in Pickens's militia, was the murderer whom Pickens shielded. It would seem that such was the case. See further Johnson's *Traditions;* McCall's *Georgia;* Jones's *Georgia*, ii. 455; Stevens's *Georgia*, ii. 247; White's *Hist. Coll. of Georgia*, 210; Lee's *Memoirs*, ii. 204; and Stedman, *American War*, ii. 219.

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KING'S MOUNTAIN. — There is very little original material in print bearing on Clarke's siege of Augusta. McCall's narrative (*Georgia*, ii. 321) has been very generally followed. An anonymous account from a British source is in the *Remembrancer*, xi. 28.

Lyman C. Draper,[1] in his *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, gives nearly all the important documents relating to that action. Unfortunately, as its title indicates, there is too much hero worship[2] in the volume, and Draper's own account is based too largely on tradition to be wholly trustworthy, and is too diffuse and intricate. As a repository of documents, however, the volume is of the first importance. I shall attempt only a summary of the documents bearing on the movement.

Shelby wrote to his father five days after the fight (Draper, 302), and later, on October 26th, to Col. Arthur Campbell (Draper, 524). The statements in the first letter as to losses, etc., are strangely at variance with those contained in an official report signed by Campbell, Shelby, and Cleveland on October 20th.[3] Col. William Campbell also wrote to Arthur Campbell on the same day (Draper, 526; Gibbes, p. 140, and elsewhere). Draper gives several other accounts, the most important being "Battle of King's Mountain," probably written by Robert Campbell, "an ensign in Dysart's corps" (Draper, 537, from MS. in possession of the Tenn. Hist. Soc.). Gen. Joseph Graham, who had no part in the fight, being still confined in the hospital from the wound received at the defence of Charlotte, wrote a description.[4] David Campbell, in a letter (Foote's *Sketches of Virginia*, 2d series, p. 126) dated Montcalm, Dec. 1, 1851,[5] defended his ancestor. Still other accounts are in Draper, many of them reprints; and a letter from Iredell to his wife, dated Granville, Oct. 8, 1780 (McRee's *Iredell*, i. 463), should not be overlooked.

The most interesting description of the campaign from the British side is in the *Diary of Anthony Allaire*, of Ferguson's corps.[6] The chronology is useful in fixing dates, and his narrative of his treatment while in captivity and during his successful attempt to escape is very interesting. He is also supposed to have been the author of a letter written by "an officer from Charleston, Jan. 30," which is printed in Rivington's *Royal Gazette* of Feb. 14, 1781, and reprinted in Draper, 516.[7]

There are two interesting letters from Raw-

[1] There is an account of this author's life in *Mag. Western History*, Jan., 1887.

[2] He gives portraits of John Sevier, Shelby, Samuel Hammond, Joseph McDowell, and De Peyster; and a view of Ferguson's headquarters. W. E. Foster, in his review of Draper, gives references (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1882, p. 92).

[3] See the "report" in Draper, 522; Foote's *Western North Carolina*, 126; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 338; and the newspapers of the time. As to the opposing numbers, Ferguson had when attacked from nine to eleven hundred men; the Americans numbered a little over nine hundred. But as to the losses, it is within the truth to say that the British loss was not under seven hundred and fifty in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and it has been given as high as eleven hundred and three in the official report. There is every reason to suppose that this was an overestimate. The killed and wounded on the American side did not exceed one hundred, and may be stated at ninety. This is supposed to have resulted from the fact that the fire of the Tories, being down-hill, was not so effective as the fire of the patriots in the opposite direction. Draper (*King's Mountain*, 297) has said all that can be said on this subject. There is an account of Campbell in the *Mag. of Western Hist.*, Jan., 1887.

[4] Draper, 546; Foote's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, 264; and *Southern Literary Messenger*, xi. 552. It forms the basis of the account in Ramsay's *Annals of Tennessee*, 225. On the whole, this account is very favorable to Shelby.

[5] Many years before this, a dispute had broken out between the descendants of Campbell and Shelby himself. The portions of the papers which this brought forth, so far as they relate to King's Mountain, are reprinted in Draper, 540. What was in some sort a last word was said by John C. Preston, Campbell's descendant, in his *Address delivered at the Celebration of the battle of King's Mountain* (printed separately at Yorkville, S. C., 1855).

Charges of cowardice were also made on the British side. In February, 1781, a writer in the *Political Magazine* accused De Peyster of surrendering too soon; but in the same magazine (iii. 609) are documents vindicating his character. Ferguson's death deprived Cornwallis of a most valuable officer. For Ferguson, see *Biographical Sketch or Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Ferguson, by Adam Ferguson* (Edinburgh, 1817). Cf. also *Political Magazine*, ii. 60; Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 63; Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 2d series, 129.

[6] This was given to Draper by Allaire's grandson, J. De Lancey Robinson, of New Brunswick. The part relating to this campaign is in Draper, 505–515. [The British Museum has recently acquired a MS. narrative of one Alexander Chesney, who describes the partisan warfare in Carolina during the Revolution. He was wounded at King's Mountain. — ED.]

[7] There are good accounts in the contemporary books, especially in Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 178; Gordon, iii. 462; Moultrie, ii. 242; Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 207; Stedman, ii. 220; and Tarleton, 164. Tarleton's account of Ferguson's campaign was displeasing to Mackenzie; cf. *Strictures*, 58. It was also very distasteful to Corn-

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don, showing the extent of the disaffection to the royalist cause in the Carolinas.[1]

Cornwallis seems to have presented no detailed report; at least, none has been printed, to my knowledge. There are allusions to the affair which show how deeply he was impressed by the coming of the men from beyond the mountains. The effect it had upon the plans of the British can be learned from a letter from Germain to Clinton, dated Jan. 3, 1781, in which he regrets that Ferguson's defeat compelled Cornwallis to require Leslie to quit the Chesapeake.[2]

There is also an anonymous memoir of A Carolina Loyalist in the Revolutionary War in Chesney's *Essays in Modern Military Biography* (London, 1874, pp. 461–468), which contains something of interest.

[The latest contribution to the story of the parts played by John Sevier, Isaac Shelby, and James Robertson in helping to work the discomfiture of the British in the Southern colonies is the *Rear Guard of the Revolution by Edmund Kirke* [J. R. Gilmore], N. Y., 1886. The author says "his materials were principally gathered from old settlers in East Tennessee and Western North Carolina, one of whom was the son of a trusted friend of Sevier, Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey of Knoxville, the author of the *Annals of Tennessee*, who in his youth had known Sevier and Robertson, and who was nearly ninety years old when he was questioned by Gilmore." — ED.]

MINOR ACTIONS, 1780. — The library of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains an original account of Weemys's unfortunate night attack on Sumter's camp at Fishdam Ford, from the pen of the British commander. It should not be followed too closely, as it was not written until many years of peace and poverty had clouded Weemys's judgment and memory. A more trustworthy description is in a letter from Sumter to Smallwood, written on the field of battle, Nov. 9, 1780 (*Maryland Papers*, p. 122). It is to be regretted that no letter of his relating to the affair at the Blackstocks has been preserved; for the British accounts are very confusing, Tarleton even claiming the victory (*Campaigns*, p. 178). This he did on the strength of a despatch from Cornwallis to Clinton, dated at Wynnesborough, Dec. 3, 1781.[3] This, in its turn, as Mackenzie points out (*Strictures*, p. 71), was based — so far as it relates to the affair at the Blackstocks — on Tarleton's own report. In fact, Tarleton was beaten at that time. Mackenzie does not seem to have been present in person, but his account was based on the declarations of witnesses. It is the best description of the fight that we have, and has been followed by later writers, notably by Stedman (ii. 226–231). The only account that we have from an American source was written by Col. Samuel Hammond, who was present, as he was at the Cowpens (Johnson's *Traditions*, pp. 507, 522). It should not be too closely followed. There

wallis, whom his former subordinate censured. Much can be gleaned from the local histories: W. B. Zeigler and B. S. Crosscup, *The Heart of the Alleghanies or Western North Carolina* (Raleigh, N. C., and Cleveland, Ohio, 1883, p. 219); Hunter, *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, 300; J. H. Logan, *History of the Upper Country of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1859), vol. i., all ever published, p. 68. Cf. also J. W. De Peyster in *Historical Magazine*, xvi. 189–197, and *Magazine of American History*, v. 401–424; Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 624, and *American Historical Record*, i. 529; Marshall, *Washington*, iv. 397; J. C. Hamilton, *Hist. of the Republic*, ii. 161; *Am. Whig Rev.*, 2d series, ii. 580. Bancroft was present at the celebration in 1855, and made a speech. Cf. *Celebration of King's Mountain*, p. 75; Moore's *Life of Lacey*, etc. For poetry we have a rude ballad by an unknown author, — cf. Draper, 591; a poem by Paul H. Hayne in *Harper's Monthly*, lxi. 942; by W. G. Simms in *Ibid.* xxi. 670; and a stirring ballad, written shortly after the action, by an anonymous author in Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*, p. 335, and Draper, 592.

There is no good plan of this action. Foote (*Sketches of Western North Carolina*) says that Graham made "several plots of the ground showing the position of the different bands at different times." One of these, depicting the situation at the time of the surrender, has been printed. It should have accompanied the original publication of Graham's account in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (xi. 552), but was omitted. What I take to be the same is given by Major-General John Watts De Peyster in the *Historical Magazine* (xvi. 192), who says that it was first printed in the *Southern Lit. Messenger*, but when he does not say. He adds that it was copied in the *University of North Carolina Magazine*. A plan closely resembling it in general features is in Ramsay's *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 238. A fac-simile of this last is in *Mag. of Am. Hist.* v. 414. Draper (page 236) gives a *Diagram of the Battle of King's Mountain*, in which the corps are arranged to suit his ideas, together with a map of the neighboring region. There seems to be little doubt but that Graham's arrangement is faulty, and too favorable to Shelby. As to this officer, cf. *Mag. of Western Hist.* (Jan., 1887). Lossing gives views of the field (*Field-Book*, ii. 629, 634).

[1] Cf. *Ninth Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*, App. iii. p. 109. The second of these is also in *Cornwallis Cor.*, i. 495, and Clinton, *Observations on Cornwallis*, etc., App., 32.

[2] Cf. *Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 124; *Fifth Report of Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 236; *Political Mag.*, ii. 339; and *Germain Cor.*, 10.

[3] *London Gazette*, Feb. 13–17, 1781; *Annual Register*, 1780 (Principal Occurrences, p. 17); Clinton, *Observations on Cornwallis*, etc., App. p. 45; and *Cornwallis Corres.*, i. 497. A short extract is in Tarleton, p. 203.

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are a few reports and letters written by Cornwallis, and by Rawdon during his chief's illness, relating to this period, that should not be overlooked.[1]

GREENE'S CAMPAIGN IN GENERAL. — The standard authorities relating to Greene's campaign have already been mentioned.[2] Lee was Greene's most trusted adviser, but there were others also deep in his confidence, such as Morgan, O. H. Williams,[3] William Washington,[4] Carrington,[5] Howard,[6] and W. R. Davie.[7] Greene also utilized the services of the partisans Marion, Sumter, Pickens, and the rest. There is a noted passage bearing on the proper method of treating these men in one of Greene's letters to Morgan before the affair at the Cowpens. It seems that Morgan had complained of Sumter's order to his subordinates to obey no commands unless conveyed through him. Greene replied to Morgan: "As it is better to conciliate than aggravate matters, where everything depends so much upon voluntary principles, I wish you to take no notice of the matter, but endeavor to influence his conduct to give you all the aid in his power." It was by pursuing such a course that Greene secured the coöperation of all men in the South.

A good knowledge of the scene of operations is indispensable to a thorough understanding of Greene's remarkable campaigns. The general direction of the rivers should be especially noted, as upon it the success of a particular movement often turned.[8]

[1] *Cornwallis Corres.*, i. 57–74, and Clinton, *Observations on Cornwallis*, etc., pp. 29, 35.

[2] Cf. also Marshall, *Washington*, iv. 336; G. W. Greene, *Historical View of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1865), pp. 265–281, — very laudatory. McRee, *Life of Iredell* (i. 481–565), contains, besides many interesting letters from and to the subject of the book, an explanatory text, in which the author endeavors to defend North Carolina from various charges that have been brought against her people and militia. *Reminiscences of Dr. William Read* in Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.* (1776–82), 270 *et seq.*; Randall, *Life of Jefferson*, i.; Kapp's *Steuben*, Am. edition, pp. 344–369; Le Boucher, i. 280, and ii. 17; Allen, *Hist. Am. Rev.*, ii. 369–392; Caldwell's *Greene*, pp. 150–388; Reed's *Reed*, ii. 339–381; J. C. Hamilton, *Life of A. Hamilton*, i. 308, and *History of the Republic*, ii. 41, 133; Irving's *Washington*, iv. There is an interesting article in *Harper's Monthly*, xv. 159, on the first part of the campaign, and a good account of the later portion from the British side in the *Political Mag.*, iv. 25–36.

Various letters of Greene after assuming command are in the *Steuben Papers* (copies in *Sparks MSS.*, xv.). Washington's instructions are in Sparks, vii. 271. He reached Charlotte in December (*Corresp. of Rev.*, iii. 165; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1881; by Lewis Morris in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875, p. 473; by C. W. Coleman in *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, vii. 36, 201.

[3] For a brief and appreciative notice of Williams, see Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 410. Cf. also *A Sketch of the Life and Services of Gen. Otho Holland Williams, read before the Md. Hist. Soc. by Osmond Tiffany* (Baltimore, 1851).

[4] There is a short notice of William Washington in Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 399. See also Wyatt, 79–83.

[5] Carrington was less known, but Hartley in his *Heroes*, p. 318, has devoted a short space to him.

[6] Cf. *Memoirs of Generals . . . who were presented with medals by Congress*, by Thomas Wyatt (Phila., 1848), pp. 70–78; *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, vii. 276–282, — with portrait; Hartley, *Heroes*, 317; Rogers, *Biog. Dict.*, 228, etc.

[7] Davie, however, rose into prominence. Cf. Frances M. Hubbard, *Life of William Richardson Davie*, in Sparks, *Am. Biog.*, xxv. pp. 1–135. Pages 13–177 relate to his military career. Cf. also Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 381; *Lives of the Heroes*, 134; and Rogers, *Biog. Dict.*, 114.

[8] Cf. Greene's *Greene*, iii. ch. 1. [The earliest general map of the Southern campaigns from American sources appeared in David Ramsay's *Hist. of the Rev. in So. Carolina* (vol. i., Trenton, 1785). Gordon, in 1785, sent this Ramsay map to Greene, asking him to correct it, and lest it should not answer he sent other maps of the Southern States for Greene to amend (*Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 24, 25). Gordon's own map is in his third volume, and is reduced in Greene's *Greene*. Other early American maps are those in Marshall's *Atlas* to his Washington, and in Johnson's *Greene*, vol. ii.

The English maps are *A new and accurate map of North Carolina and part of South Carolina, with the field of battle between Earl Cornwallis and General Gates* (London, 1780), and Faden's map of Feb. 3, 1787, showing the *Marches of Lord Cornwallis in the Southern provinces, comprehending the two Carolinas, with Virginia and Maryland and the Delaware Counties* (20×26 inches), which is the one also used in Tarleton's *Campaigns*. Cf. those in the *Political Mag.*, Nov., 1780, and Kitchen's *Map of the Seat of War*, in *London Mag.*, 1781, p. 291. There are later eclectic maps in Carrington, 556; *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. 324; and in such lesser works as Ridpath's *United States*, 342, and Lowell's *Hessians*, 265. There are French maps in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais*, ii.; Balch's *Les Français en Amérique*, etc.

There was a map of South Carolina published in nine sheets (London, 1771, — *King's maps, Brit. Mus.*, i. 209). That by James Cook was engraved by Bowen in 1773 (*Brit. Mus. Catal. Maps*, 1885, col. 699). Other maps antedating the active hostilities in the South were those in the *Amer. Military Pocket Atlas* (1776); the large sheet (56×40 inches), with considerable detail, called *Map of North and South Carolina,*

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THE COWPENS. — Morgan's official report (Jan. 19) to Greene and Greene's instructions to Morgan (Charlotte, December 16, 1780) are in Graham, pp. 260, 467, while from that point and date the whole campaign can be traced by the letters printed by Graham.[1]

A letter from Tarleton to Morgan dated on the 19th, two days after the battle, and relating to prisoners and wounded, is in *The Charleston News and Courier*. I have nowhere found a formal report by Tarleton. His description of the fight, at the time, is undoubtedly embodied in Cornwallis's report to Germain, dated Turkey Creek, Broad River, Jan. 18, 1781.[2]

At a later day Tarleton wrote out an account (*Campaigns*, pp. 213–223). Seldom has a commander written a more unfair account of his defeat. Not merely that he is unjust to Morgan, but he is also very unjust to his own men. A much better description, by a British eye-witness, is Mackenzie's (*Strictures*, 95, followed by Stedman, *Amer. War*, ii. 316–325). Indeed, this last is in some respects the best account that we have. A narrative from "Colonel Samuel Hammond" (Johnson's *Traditions*, pp. 526–530) is not trustworthy.[3]

THE RETREAT. — Our knowledge of the

the work of H. Mouzon and others (London, Sayer & Bennett, 1775); and upon this and Cook's the map in B. R. Carroll's *Hist. Coll. of So. Carolina* is based. Sayer & Bennett (London, 1776) published a smaller map, 19×25 inches, called *A general map of the southern British colonies in America, comprehending North and South Carolina, [etc.] with the Indian countries. From the modern surveys of de Brahm & others & from hydrographic survey, by B. Romans, 1776.* It has marginal plans of Charleston and St. Augustine.

In 1777 there was published both in London and Paris a large map of South Carolina and Georgia, after surveys by Bull, Gascoigne, Bryan, and De Brahm. The Paris publisher was Le Rouge, and it was included in the *Atlas Amériquain*, which also reproduces the Mouzon map and the English map of the Carolina coasts, by N. Pocock (1770).

The Bull, etc., map of 1777 was reissued by Faden in 1780 as a *Map of South Carolina and a part of Georgia.* Cf. the map of *Parts of South Carolina and Georgia* in the *Political Mag.*, i. 454. The *Brit. Mus. Catal. Additional MSS.*, no. 31,537, shows four plans, giving positions of the British in South Carolina from May to September, 1779.

North Carolina alone was not so well mapped as South Carolina at the outbreak of the war. There was a map published in London in 1770, after surveys by Collet, governor of Fort Johnson (*King's maps, Brit. Mus.*, i. 208), and in the same library is a drawn map, also by Collet, of the back country, made in 1768, in twelve sheets. E. W. Caruthers' *Interesting Revolutionary incidents chiefly in the old North State*, second series (Philadelphia, 1856), has a folding map, with the marches of Greene and Cornwallis, from the Cowpens till the separation at Ramsey's Mill.

The standard map of Virginia at the outbreak of the war was that by Fry and Jefferson (see Vol. V. p. 273), originally issued in 1751, but reproduced by Jefferys in 1775, and included in his *American Atlas* (1775, no. 31). In 1777 Le Rouge reproduced it in Paris, and included it in the *Atlas Amériquain.* Cf. the map of Virginia and Maryland in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais;* and the maps in *Political Mag.*, i. 787, and *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vi. 25; and for details those in Simcoe's *Journal* (giving various skirmishes, etc.), Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 158; and Carrington's *Battles*, p. 616. There is among the Rochambeau maps (no. 51) a *Plan du terrain à la rive gauche de la rivière de James, vis-à-vis Jamestown, en Virginie, où etait le Combat du 6 Juillet, 1781*, giving the first and second positions of the troops in the engagement between Lafayette and Cornwallis. It is a colored map, 18×18 inches, with a good key. Cf. map on the operations in Virginia in *Mémoires* of Lafayette (Paris, 1837), vol. i. — ED.]

[1] Pp. 258–329; 290–312 dealing more especially with this engagement. See also Johnson's *Greene*, vol. ii. pp. 346, 370, 372, and 410, and *Charleston News and Courier* for May 10, 1881. Some part at least of the correspondence of General Morgan is in the collection of Theodorus Bailey Myers (*Johnson's Orderly-book*, p. 211). There are a few letters in the *Correspondence of the Revolution*, iii. 217, with Greene's official announcement of the victory to Washington (pp. 207, 214). Greene's letter to Marion is in Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.*, 1781–82, p. 16.

[2] *The London Gazette, March 27–31, 1781*, reprinted either in whole or in part in *Remembrancer*, xi. 272; *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 221; Tarleton, 249; Cornwallis, *Answer to Clinton's Narrative*, App. 1; Cornwallis, *Corr.*, i. 81. Balfour, then the commander at Charleston, also reported the particulars to Germain. Cf. *London Gazette*, as above, etc. Cornwallis's order to Tarleton to "push Morgan to the utmost" is in Graham's *Morgan* 277, and in Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 244.

[3] Mention should also be made of Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 252–266, and R. E. Lee's ed., 229; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, ii. 252; Gordon, Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii., — all at second hand. See also Johnson's *Greene*, i. 368; Greene's *Greene*, iii. 139; *Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781, and 1782. By the Marquis de Chastellux — translated from the French by an English Gentleman* (London, 1787), ii. 60. The marquis claimed to have derived his account from Morgan, but he probably did not understand him, as his description is at variance with the best authorities. There are accounts of more or less value in McSherry, *Maryland*, 276; *Memoir of General Graham*, p. 38; Marshall, *Washington*, iv. 342; Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 636; Carrington,

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period from the Cowpens to the crossing of the Dan is based to a great extent upon the letters of the American leaders.[1]

Cornwallis made a formal report to Germain, dated Guilford, March 17, 1781.[2] Balfour in an independent report to Clinton (*Remembrancer*, xi. 330, and *Polit. Mag.*, ii. 328), gave a somewhat similar account of the operations; but the most important document that has yet been printed is Cornwallis's *Order-book*, covering this period. It opens with an order of January 18, 1781, and runs with scarcely a break to March 20th. It was used by Graham in his preparation of the *Life of Morgan*, but was not generally accessible until some years later, when Caruthers printed it as the appendix to the second volume of his *Incidents*. Caruthers' own account of the movement (*Incidents*, pp. 13–67), although weighted with personal reminiscences, is still the best single narrative.[3]

Tarleton's description (*Campaigns*, 222) of the march is far from satisfactory, and should be supplemented by that of the less partial Stedman (*Amer. War*, ii. 325) and Gordon (iv. 37).[4]

The only action of this retreat that deserves special mention is the very gallant charge of the Guards at Cowan's Ford over the Catawba. It was especially creditable to the Grenadiers, and has received far less attention at the hands of American writers than it deserves. A good account is in Hamilton's *Grenadier Guards*, ii. 243,[5] and Stedman has devoted considerable space to it. On the other hand, it should be said that the description in Tarleton cannot be reconciled with known facts, and deserves no credit.

THE GUILFORD CAMPAIGN. — Lee's description of the overthrow of Pyle and his companions has been generally followed by historians.

Battles, 546; *Historical Magazine*, xii. 356 (Dec., 1865), a "traditionary account;" *Harper's Monthly*, xxii. 163, etc. Probably as good an estimate as can be formed of Morgan's force is that contained in a letter from Greene to Marion of January 23, 1781. He there gives it at 290 infantry and 80 cavalry of the line, and about 600 militia; total, 970. The estimate of the militia is too high, and might be reduced by 100. Then, too, there were a few small detachments. So that Morgan's assertion in his official report, that he fought with only 800 men, is not incompatible with this statement of Greene's. The British brought, or should have brought, into action at least 1,000 men, including 50 militia and a baggage-guard, which made off, without striking a blow, as soon as the news of the defeat reached it. Greene rates Tarleton's force at 200 more. But 1,000 was probably not far from his number of "effectives" on the morning of Jan. 17, 1781, as opposed to Morgan's 800.

In his official report Morgan gave his loss as 12 killed and about 60 wounded. He states, however, that he was not able at the time of writing to ascertain the loss of the militia in the skirmish and front lines. It must have been very small, however. The British loss he gives as more than 110 killed, more than 200 wounded, and between 500 and 600 prisoners. Morgan states, however, that, as he was obliged to move off the field so quickly, the estimate of killed and wounded was very imperfect. The loss of the British in officers was very large, and it is safe to follow Graham (*Life of Morgan*, p. 308) and place the killed at 80, the wounded at 150, and the prisoners at 600. The important fact is the deprivation to Cornwallis of his light infantry at a time when he was sorely in need of such.

A good plan will be found in Johnson's *Greene*, i. 378, of which a reduced fac-simile is given by Graham (p. 297). A more valuable plan as coming from an actual observer, Colonel Samuel Hammond, is in Johnson's *Traditions*, pp. 529, 530. The best plan is in Carrington's *Battles*, p. 547. [The medals given to Morgan, Colonels Washington and Howard are figured in Loubat's *Medallic Hist. of the U. S.*, and in Lossing's *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, p. 341. Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 637, gives a view of the field. — ED.]

[1] Those from Morgan are in Graham's *Morgan*, 328 *et seq.* The most interesting letter from Greene is one that he wrote to Reed (March 18), in Reed's *Reed*, ii. 348. A letter to Washington (Irwin's Ferry on Dan, Feb. 15, 1781) may be regarded as his official report. Cf. *Corres. Rev.*, iii. 233. It should be read in connection with one of six days earlier, in the same volume, p. 225. Cf. also a letter to Lieutenant Lock as to militia in *Hist. Mag.*, v. 86; Caruthers' *Incidents*, p. 195; originally printed in Tarleton, 252. Lee's description of the retreat after the union of the two wings at Guilford is admirable (*Memoirs*, i. 267–298).

[2] *London Gazette for June 2–5, 1781; Annual Register* for 1781 (*Principal Occurrences*, p. 62); Cornwallis, *Answer to Clinton*, Appendix, p. 23; Cornwallis, *Corres.*, i. 502; Tarleton, 259, etc. For a less official account, see Cornwallis to Rawdon, Feb. 4 and Feb. 21, in Cornwallis, *Corres.*, i. 83, 84.

[3] Cf. also *British Invasion of North Carolina in 1780 and 1781. A Lecture, by Hon. Wm. A. Graham, delivered before the N. Y. Hist. Soc. in 1853.* This short and interesting account of the campaign is printed as part iii. of *Revolutionary History of North Carolina* (Raleigh and N. Y., 1853), pp. 180–187. General Joseph Graham also presented the local idea of this campaign in the *University of North Carolina Magazine*, vol. iii.

[4] See also Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 203; Greene's *Greene*, iii. 148–175; Johnson's *Greene*, i. 387. Johnson thinks that too much credit has been given to Cornwallis. Lamb's *Journal*, 343; Marshall's *Washington*, iv., etc.

[5] The map is on p. 245. Stedman also gives a plan in *Amer. War*, ii. 328. The whole march can be traced on the general maps, especially the map in Caruthers' *Incidents*, second series. Cf. Lossing, ii. 598.

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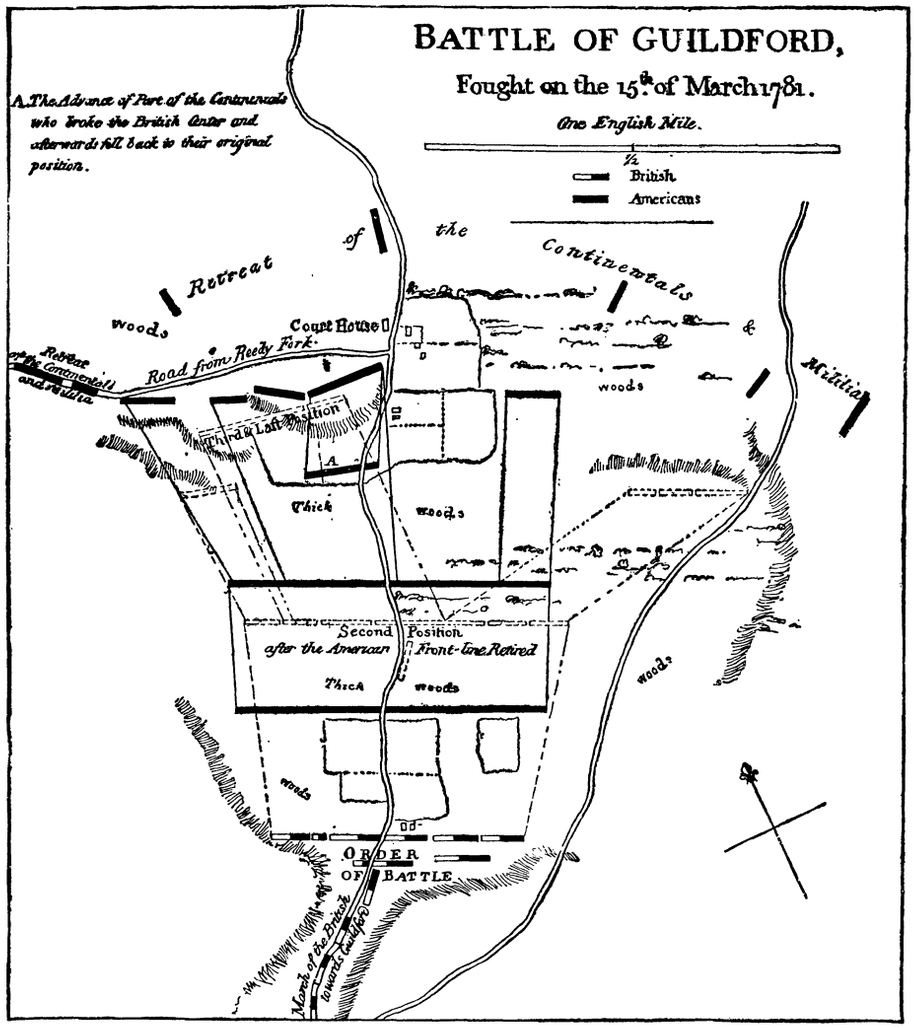

GUILDFORD, MARCH 15, 1781.[1]

It is not entirely satisfactory (*Memoirs*, i. 306).[2] Lee says that the action was begun by the Tories, and that he acted merely on the defensive. General Joseph Graham, who was on the field as a captain of militia, asserts the contrary.[3]

As to the other operations leading up to the

[1] [Sketched from Faden's map (March 1, 1787), which is the same as the map in Tarleton (p. 108), with the same date, and in Stedman, ii. 342, with slight changes, dated Jan. 20, 1794. It is followed in the maps in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (1881), p. 44; in R. E. Lee's *Lee's Memoir*, etc., p. 276; in Caruthers' *Incidents* (Philadelphia, 1808), p. 108; in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 608. There are among the Faden maps (nos. 52, 53) in the library of Congress two MS. drafts of the battle, — one showing the changes in the position of the forces. Johnson (*Greene*, ii. 5) gives five different stages of the fight, and G. W. Greene (iii. 176) copies them. His lines vary from the descriptions of Cornwallis. Cf. Carrington's *Battles*, p. 565; Hamilton's *Grenadier Guards* (ii. 245); *Harper's Monthly*, xv. 162, etc. — ED.]

[2] See also Seymour's "Journal" (*Penna. Hist. Mag.*, vii.) for another contemporary account.

[3] *North Carolina University Magazine*, vol. vii. 193. This was written in 1824 and cannot be regarded as authority of the first importance. The passage relating to this affair is quoted by Caruthers, *Incidents*, 76. That author's own account is derived to a great extent from tradition (*Incidents*, 71 *et seq.*). In the above

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final action at Guilford Court-House, and as to that combat itself, the reports and other letters of the opposing commanders, Greene[1] and Cornwallis,[2] are all that can be desired.

The narratives of Lee (*Memoirs*, i. 338–376) and Tarleton (*Campaigns*, 269) are interesting, though neither saw much of the battle, — Tarleton being in reserve, and Lee's attention being fully occupied by the regiment of Bose. Wounds received at the Cowpens unfortunately prevented Mackenzie from speaking with authority of Tarleton's account of this battle.[3]

The best account by a later writer is that in Caruthers (*Incidents*, 2d series, pp. 103–180); but, like all North Carolinians, he endeavors to excuse the early flight of the militia of that State, and his narrative is too largely founded on tradition.[4]

HOBKIRK'S HILL. — The official reports serve us first: Greene's, full and precise,[5] on the American side; and on the British, Rawdon's and those of the intermediate officers, till the accounts reached Germain.[6]

letter Graham asserted that he saw Eggleston — the leader of Lee's rear troop — strike a Tory with the butt of his pistol, and that the blow brought about the conflict. The different narratives cannot be reconciled. Very likely Lee had forgotten the exact details. It is certain that Stedman (*Amer. War*, ii. 333), in his estimate of the Tory loss in killed alone at between two and three hundred, more than doubled the actual number; but it was a murderous business at best.

[1] There are three letters from Greene to Washington in Sparks, *Corr. Rev.*, iii. 224, 259, 266. The second of these (March 10) was also printed in *Remembrancer*, xii. 37; *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 380; and Tarleton, 258. Greene's official report to the President of Congress may be found in Caldwell's *Greene*, p. 432; *Ann. Reg.* for 1781, Principal Occurrences, p. 148; *Remembrancer*, xii. 37; Tarleton, 313; Lee, *Memoirs*, i. 414, etc. Cf. also a letter to Morgan in Graham's *Morgan*, 372, and to Reed, in Reed's *Reed*, ii. 348. As to the proper dispositions to make in engagements where much reliance must be placed on militia, see Morgan to Greene, Feb. 20, in a note to Johnson's *Greene*, ii. 6. As to events subsequent to the battle, see Nash, governor of N. C., to Washington in Sparks, *Corres. Rev.*, iii. 282; Greene to same in *Ibid.* 277; Johnson, *Greene*, ii. 37; and *Remembrancer*, xii. 116. Greene also wrote to Greene, governor of R. I., on the same subject. Cf. *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 284, and *R. I. Col. Rec.*, ix. 380.

[2] Cornwallis's report to Germain (*London Gazette*, June 2–5, 1781) was widely reprinted (*Corn. Corr.*, i. 506; Cornwallis, *Answer to Clinton's Narrative*, App. p. 35; *Remembrancer*, xii. 21, etc., etc.). He also wrote a friendly note to Rawdon, in which he says that after a very sharp action he had routed Greene (*Corn. Corr.*, i. 85; *Remembrancer*, xi. 332; *Polit. Mag.*, ii. 329, etc.). Balfour communicated the news of the "victory at Guilford" to Germain in two letters, dated respectively March 24 and 27. These last three letters arrived in London in season to be published in the *Gazette Extra* for May 11, 1781, — nearly a month before the official report was given to the world. Cf. also *Remembrancer*, xi. 329. Cornwallis's *Order-book* is very valuable for this period, although it is often hard to reconcile the dates as there given with the accepted accounts, — in Caruthers, *Incidents*, 2d ser. pp. 391–442. See also St. George Tucker to Fanny (his wife) under date of March 18, 1781, in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii. 40; viii. 201; and Seymour's "Journal" in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, vii. 377. [Major Weemys gives the supposed strength of Cornwallis's army before the action at Guilford, March 15, 1781, as, in the field with him, 2,700; in his department, 6,000 in all (*Sparks MSS.* xx.). — ED.]

[3] Good descriptions are in the *Memoirs* of the British Graham (pp. 41–46), in Gordon (iv. 53), and in Stedman (ii. 337). Lamb in his so-called *Journal* (pp. 348-362) follows Stedman, but he added several interesting anecdotes, which it must be remembered are related by an actual actor in the battle.

[4] Another apologetic description is that in McSherry's *Maryland* (p. 286). The plain fact is that the 2d Maryland broke and contributed materially to the defeat of the Americans. The Grenadier Guards (Hamilton, ii. 247) did excellent work on the British side, and the account in the history of that corps is good. The Hessians, too, once more appeared on the Southern fields (Eelking, *Hülfstruppen*, ii. 101, and Lowell, *Hessians*, 268). Other accounts may be found in Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 336; Greene's *Greene*, iii. 176; Johnson's *Greene*, ii. 4; Allen, *Hist. Amer. Rev.*, ii. 393; Andrews, iv. 100; Botta (Otis's trans.), iii. 263; Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 599 and 608; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii. 38; *Harper's Magazine*, xv. 158; Dawson, Carrington, etc.

A narrative of subsequent events in North Carolina, with a loyalist's sympathies, is in *The Narrative of Colonel David Fanning . . . as written by himself*, Richmond, 1861. "Printed for private distribution only." A small edition (50 copies) was brought out by Sabin in 1865.

[5] Greene to Huntingdon (President of Congress) in Caldwell's *Greene*, p. 435; *Remembrancer*, xii. 126; *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 547; Tarleton, 467, etc. See also letters to Lee and Marion in Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.*, 1781–82, 60. Cf. also Sparks, *Corres. Rev.*, iii. 299, and Reed's *Reed*, ii. 351, 361.

[6] Rawdon's order which brought on the battle is in *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 340. The British commander reported to Cornwallis (*Corn. Corr.*, i. 97, and *Remembrancer*, xv. 1); Balfour to Germain (*London Gazette*, June 2–5, 1781; reprinted in *Annual Register* for the same year under Principal Occurrences, p. 71; *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 380; *Remembrancer*, xii. 27; Tarleton, p. 465; etc.). On the 6th Balfour wrote to Clinton, giving a very gloomy

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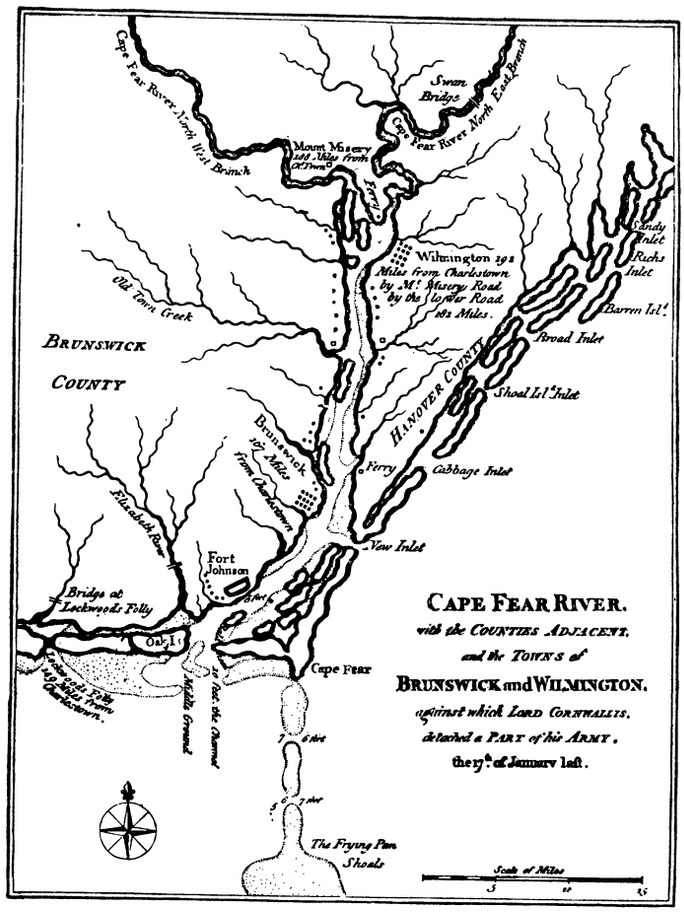
Col. O. H. Williams also wrote an interesting account of the fight in a letter to "Elie" (his wife), dated Camp before Camden, April 27, 1781 (Potter's *American Monthly*, iv. 101, and Tiffany's *Williams*, p. 19). Still another of Greene's officers — Major William Pierce — in a letter (August 20) devoted considerable space to this indecisive engagement (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii. 431–435). A somewhat different description *den as called by others, tho' the ground on which it was faught is now (1810) called the Big Sand Hill above Camden* (*American Historical Record*, ii. 103).

Whether Greene was or was not surprised is the only point about which there has been much dispute in recent years. Johnson (*Greene*, ii. 72) has effectually disposed of this question in Greene's favor; but it must be admitted that he



From the *Political Magazine* (vol. ii. p. 117).[1]

by a looker-on was written many years afterwards by Samuel Matthis, an inhabitant of the district. It is entitled: *Account of the battle of Hobkirk's Hill as some call it, or Battle of Cam-* was "very suddenly attacked," to use the words of Lee, who was not present at the battle, and who seems to have forgotten the exact relation of events of this campaign. The account of this

account of affairs (Clinton, *Observations on Cornwallis*, etc., App. p. 97). Clinton enclosed several letters of about this time to Germain (*Remembrancer*, xii. 151). In a letter to Cornwallis, dated Monk's Corner, May 24, Rawdon describes his movements after the fight. It is a valuable letter (*London Gazette*, July 31–Aug. 4, 1781; *Remembrancer*, xv. 4, while extracts are in *Ibid.* xii. 151; *Pol. Mag.* ii. 482; Tarleton, 475; Clinton, *Observations on Cornwallis*, etc., App. p. 91; Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.* (1781–82), p. 77, etc.).

[1] [There is a chart of Cape Fear River, 1776, in the *No. Amer. Pilot*, no. 28. — Ed.]

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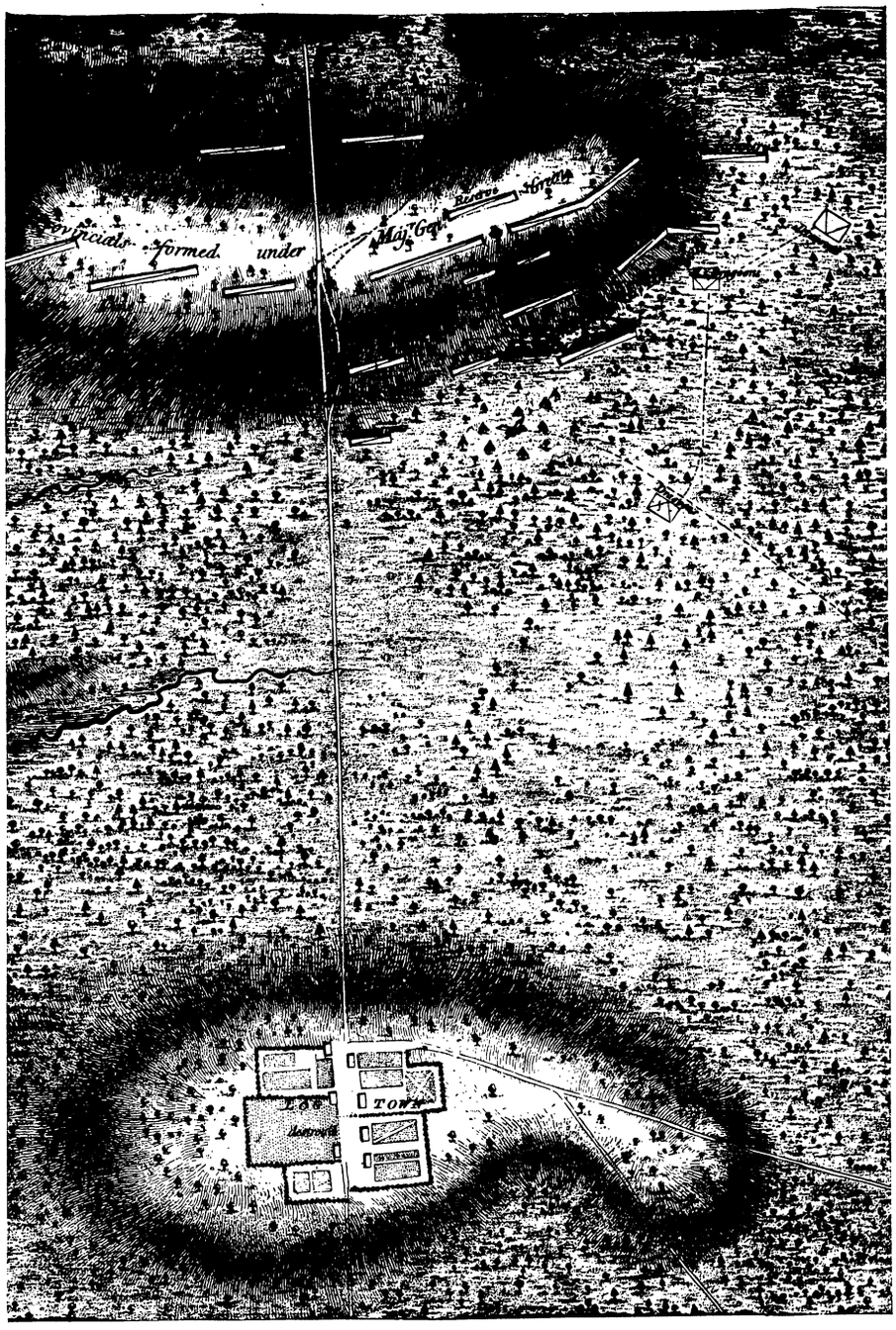

HOBKIRK'S HILL.[1] (*Sometimes called the Second Battle of Camden.*)

[1] [*Sketch of the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden, on the 25th April, 1781, drawn by C. Vallancey, Capt. of the Vols. of Ireland.* [The cross-swords show] *where the enemy's piquets were attacked. Faden,* Aug. 1, 1783. It is the same plate, with slight changes, used in Stedman (ii. 358), where it is dated Feb. 6,

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affair in the lives of Greene by Johnson and Greene (iii. 241), as well as that in Marshall's *Washington* (iv. 510), is based upon an unpublished narrative by Colonel Davie, which is among the "Greene MSS." [1]

THE CAPTURE OF THE POSTS. — For the account of the capture of Fort Watson, Marion's report (April 23) to Greene has been the main reliance (Simms, *Marion*, p. 231; *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 548; *Remembrancer*, xii. 127, etc.). Lee's narrative of this period (*Memoirs*, ii. 50) is detailed, but it was written too long after the war to be accurate. This is unfortunate, as we have no other account of the taking of Fort Motte (*Memoirs*, ii. 73) by an on-looker, unless we accept the letter sent by Greene to Congress as an original source. It is not known when Greene arrived at Fort Motte, which was at some time before the surrender.[2]

At this time Marion became discouraged, and wrote to Greene that he contemplated retiring. These letters are in Gibbes, p. 67–69. Rawdon presented a report covering this period.[3]

The siege of Augusta was much better chronicled, as with it McCall (*Georgia*, ii. 321) again becomes useful.[4] Another description, though from what source is not stated, is in Johnson's *Traditions*, 354. Lee's account is in his *Memoirs*, ii. 81–95 and 100–118. The first part refers more especially to the capture of Fort Granby and of Fort Galphin, an outpost of Augusta. The official correspondence between Lee and Pickens on one side and Brown on the other has been printed over and over again.[5]

SIEGE OF NINETY-SIX. — Cruger [6] presented no formal report of his defence — so far as I know; but there is a good account of the siege in Mackenzie's *Strictures*, pp. 139–164, written by Lieutenant Hatton, of the New Jersey Loyalist Volunteers: cf. p. 129. Mackenzie himself is very severe on Tarleton's account (*Campaigns*, 495). Greene's very meagre report is dated Little River, June 20, 1781 (Caldwell's *Greene; Pol. Mag.*, ii. 550; Tarleton, 498, etc.).[7]

Rawdon's report of his successful attempt to relieve the garrison is in *Remembrancer*, xv. 9.[8]

Neither Greene nor Lee (*Memoirs*, ii. 119) intimate that the stockaded fort was abandoned before Lee's assault, though the English authorities assert it. Nor does Greene allude to the gallant sally of the defenders of the "Star,"

1794. It is reëngraved in R. E. Lee's ed. of Henry Lee's *Memoirs of the War*, p. 336. Johnson's plan (*Greene*, ii. 76) is reproduced in G. W. Greene's *Greene*, iii. 241. Carrington (p. 576) gives an eclectic plan, and there is a small plan in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 679. — ED.]

[1] Cf. also Gordon, iv. 81; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*; Stedman, ii. 324; Lee, *Memoirs*, ii. 57 (he always spells the name of the battle-ground Hobkick's Hill); Lee, *Campaign of 1781*, 264; Balch's *Maryland Line*, 143. As to numbers, Greene thought that the two armies were about equal, — one thousand on each side. This is probably nearly correct; for Rawdon gave his own number at 960, and Gordon, on the authority of returns not now accessible, rated Greene's force at 1,194 men of all arms. This included 254 North Carolina militia who had just arrived. They were not included in the battle line. Williams reported the American loss at 268; but 133 of these are given as missing, with the remark that they probably had mistaken the order as to a place of rendezvous. Rawdon reported his own loss at 220 men. But Tarleton, on the authority of a return in the *Annual Register*, gives it at 258. The discrepancy is not material.

[2] His letter to the President of Congress is in *Remembrancer*, xii. 197; Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.* (1781–82), p. 70; etc. Cf. also a letter to Washington in Sparks, *Cor. Rev.*, iii. 310.

[3] Cf. *Remembrancer*, xv. 6, for a *copy*. Cf. also *Remembrancer*, xii. 153; *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 483; and Gibbes, p. 89, for *extracts*. A report to Clinton of June 6 is printed, with this, except in Gibbes.

[4] Substantially the same account is in White's *Hist. Coll. of Georgia*, p. 607; Stevens's *Georgia*, ii. 247; and Jones's *Georgia*, ii. 455.

[5] See, in addition to the above, *Remembrancer*, xii. 289. There are no plans of any of these sieges, and the statements as to numbers are too vague and contradictory to be made the basis of any accurate estimates.

[6] There is an account of Cruger in Jones, *New York during the Rev. War*, ii. 376.

[7] See also Greene, to Marion in Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.* (1781–82), p. 100; to Washington in Sparks, *Cor. Rev.*, iii. 341; and to Jefferson in Greene's *Greene*, iii. 555. O. H. Williams sent an interesting description of the siege to his brother (Tiffany's *Williams*, p. 21). Greene's letters to Sumter and Marion and Sumter's letters to Marion are in Greene's *Greene* (fragmentary) and Gibbes, 93 *et seq.*

[8] Several letters from Balfour to Germain of this period are in *Remembrancer*, xii. 172 and 173; *Polit. Mag.* ii.; and *London Gazette*, Aug. 7–11, 1781. Rawdon gives the loss of the garrison as less than forty, but this is very possibly too low. Cruger had 550 men when the siege began. The British account in Mackenzie rates Greene at 5,000, which estimate is absurd. It was not under 1,000 nor over 1,500, including militia. Williams reported the loss at 57 killed, 70 wounded, and 20 missing. Rawdon had "near 2,000" men. Of these 7 were placed *hors de combat* on the way up, "50" died of the heat, and Lee captured 250 of the cavalry on the homeward march, — a total loss of 307.

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which compelled the assailants to retire from the ditch, with great loss to themselves.[1]

EUTAWS. — I should place first Greene's official report, though it is not as full as could be desired.[2]

Williams has left two accounts: the first is a letter, dated Fort Motte, Sept., 1781 (Tiffany's *Williams*, p. 22). The important paper, however, is entitled: *Account furnished by Colonel Otho Williams, with additions by Cols. W. Hampton, Polk, Howard, and Watt* (when written is not stated), in Gibbes (pp. 144–157). It is a long and detailed description of the battle by men who actually took part, but as it may have been written long after the event, too much reliance should not be placed upon it. Still another description of the campaign, though not of the battle, is contained in two letters from Major William Pierce to St. George Tucker (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii. 435). Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart presented a report to Cornwallis, which has been widely reprinted.[3]

It differs from the American accounts in many particulars, especially as to the disorganization of his own troops, which very likely has been described in too glowing colors by American writers. Lee was present at the battle, but his description (*Memoirs*, ii. 276–301) of the contest is sometimes hard to reconcile with the accounts of his fellow-soldiers. Greene, according to Williams, was hardly satisfied with the conduct of that partisan leader, and Lee soon after retired from the army, ostensibly for other reasons. Neither Johnson (*Greene*, ii. 219) nor G. W. Greene (*Greene*, iii. 384) have added much to our knowledge of this action, and the same may be said of the other writers on the war.[4]

GREENE'S LATER CAMPAIGNS. — There are many letters of this period in the third volume of Sparks's *Correspondence of the Revolution*, and in Gibbes's *Documentary History* (1781–1782). Many of those in the latter are of merely local interest, a large number of them relating more especially to a quarrel between Horry and Mahem, Marion's two subordinates. Lee, too, after his return from Yorktown became discontented, and many letters which passed between him and his commander are printed by Gibbes. Much of Lee's uneasiness was doubtless due to the prominence which Greene awarded to Laurens. Leslie's letter proposing a cessation of hostilities was enclosed by Greene in a letter to the President of Congress (*Remembrancer*, xiv. 324). A truce not being acceded to, he demanded provisions (*Remembrancer*, xv. 28). This too being refused, he endeavored to seize them. One of the expeditions resulted in the death of Laurens.[5] Gist made a report of this action, and there is a note from Greene to Washington.[6] Benjamin Thomson, — afterwards Count Rumford, — at this time lieutenant-colonel in a regiment stationed near

[1] Something can also be found in Gordon, *American War*, iv. 92; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*; Stedman, *Amer. War*, ii. 364; Johnson's *Greene*, ii. 127 (he apologizes for Sumter's behavior; but see Greene's *Greene*, iii. 319); Greene's *Greene*, iii. 219; Jones, *New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii. 376; Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 690; Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 524; etc. Simms has written several romances relating to this time.

Johnson has given a plan of the works in his *Greene*, ii. 140; a reduced fac-simile is in Greene's *Greene*, iii. 299. The works were planned by Lieutenant Haldane, of Cornwallis's family (cf. Stedman, ii. 364), but Lieutenant Barrette was engineer in charge at the time of the siege. Cf. Hatton in Mackenzie, 163. Also map in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 691.

[2] Dated near Ferguson's Swamp, Sept. 11, 1781, in Caldwell's *Greene*, p. 441; *Remembrancer*, xiii. 175; *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 677; Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.* (1781–82), p. 141; Tarleton, p. 513, etc. Cf. also Marion to P. Horry, in Gibbes, 160.

[3] It was dated Eutaw, Sept. 9, 1781 (*London Gazette*, Jan. 29–Feb. 2, 1782;) reprinted in whole or in part in *Ann. Reg.*, 1782, Principal Occurrences, p. 7; *Remembrancer*, xiii. 152; *Pol. Mag.*, iii. 108; Tarleton, 508; Gibbes, p. 136; etc., etc.

[4] [Cf. J. W. De Peyster in *United Service* (Sept. 1881); *Harper's Mag.*, lxvii. 557; Lossing, ii. 699; Dawson, Carrington, etc. On the Eutaw flag, see R. Wilson in *Lippincott's Mag.*, xvii. 311. Johnson (*Greene*, ii. 224) gives a plan of two stages of the battle, and it is reproduced by G. W. Greene (iii. 384). Carrington (p. 582) gives a minuter plan. Johnson (ii. 238) gives a map of the country between Eutaw and Charleston.

The journal of Captain Kirkwood, of the Delaware regiment, beginning at Germantown, Sept. 14, 1777, and giving the marches of that regiment in 1777, its course during the Southern campaign of 1780, with a table of the losses at Eutaw, Sept. 8, is in *Sparks MSS.*, xxv. (also xlix. vol. 3). Greene's medal is given in Loubat. — ED.]

[5] A notice of Laurens's career, by G. W. P. Custis, is in Littell's Graydon's *Memoirs* (Appendix, p. 472). See also Hartley's *Heroes*, 310.

[6] *Remembrancer*, xv. 29; the latter is also in *Corres. of the Rev.*, iii. 529. The Delaware troops took part in this action. Cf. C. P. Bennett in *Penna. Mag.*, ix. 452 *et seq.* Major Bennett was a lieutenant in the regiment at the time. His account, however, was written fifty years after the war, and cannot be reconciled with contemporary narratives.

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Charleston, wrote many letters in Jan., 1782, which have been printed by the Royal Commission on Hist. MSS. in their *Ninth Report*, Appendix, iii. p. 118.[1]

An account of the march of the reinforcements sent south under St. Clair is in *Harmer's Journal*, while the "Journal" of Major Denny in *Penna. Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, vii. pp. 249 *et seq.*, contains much of interest relating to the operations around Charleston.[2] Mention should also be made of a series of letters from Major Pierce to St. George Tucker, bearing on this period, in *Mag. Am. Hist.* (1881), pp. 431–445, while there is an original account by Seymour in *Penna. Mag.*, vii. 377. A British narrative of the same operations is in *Political Mag.*, iv. 36–44.[3]

There are several descriptions of the triumphant entry of the Americans into Charleston on the 14th of December, 1782; that by Horry in *Charleston Year Book* (1883) is perhaps the best.[4] Of the contemporary historians, Gordon (vol. iv. 173–177, 298–305) has given the best account of this time.[5] In the library of the Mass. Hist. Soc. there is a manuscript giving details of the emigration at the evacuations of Savannah and Charleston.[6] It appears from this that no less than 13,271 of the former inhabitants of those States, including 8,676 blacks, left with the British army when it finally retired from the South.

THE BRITISH IN VIRGINIA, 1779 AND 1780. — Besides the documents mentioned in the *Virginia Calendar of State Papers*, there are full and detailed accounts by Mathews and Collier of their doings at Portsmouth and Suffolk.[7] There is some account also of the naval portion of this expedition in Town's *Detail of Some Particular Services performed in America, compiled from journals . . . kept aboard the Ship Rainbow*, New York, 1835, pp. 77–88.[8]

Clinton's instructions to Leslie are in *Clinton's Observations on Cornwallis*, App., pp. 25, 27. There is little else bearing on this movement except a few letters from Steuben in *Historical Mag.*, iv. 301, and *Corres. of the Rev.*, iii. 203.[9]

ARNOLD AND PHILLIPS IN VIRGINIA, 1781. — With regard to the first part of Arnold's raid into Virginia, we have several letters from him to Clinton.[10] On the American side there are many interesting letters in the *Maryland Papers* (134–144), and in Muhlenberg's *Muhlenberg*, 404,

[1] Cf. *Life of Count Rumford*, by George E. Ellis, pp. 123–131, and 666–668. There is absolutely nothing about Rumford's military career in Renwick's so-called *Life of Benjamin Thomson*, in Sparks's *American Biography*, xv. pp. 1–216. A most curious and insufficient reason for this omission is given on p. 59 of the same work.

[2] See also "Journal of Captain John Davis" in *Penna. Hist. Mag.*, v. 300, and Seymour's Journal in *Ibid.* vii. 390.

[3] The *Maryland Papers*, too, contain several interesting letters, especially one from Roxburgh to Smallwood (p. 186), on the evacuation of Savannah. See also, with regard to the same event, Greene to the President of Congress, in *Remembrancer*, xv. 21.

[4] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, ii. 343, has devoted considerable space to it. Cf. also *Mag. Am. Hist.*, viii. 826.

[5] Cf. especially on this last campaign Johnson's *Greene*, ii. 238–394, and Lee, *Memoirs* (2d edition), p. 378 *et seq.*

[6] This table as given in *Charleston Year Book* (1883), p. 416, is not entirely correct.

[7] See letter from Clinton, enclosing reports from Mathews of May 16th and 24th, and from Collier of May 16, 1779 (*London Gazette*, June 19–22, and July 6–10, 1779; also in *Remembrancer*, viii. 270, 296, etc.). Collier also wrote three letters to Stephens, secretary of the admiralty (*London Gazette*, as above, and July 10–13, 1779).

[8] See also Girardin, *Continuation of Burk*, iv. 332–338; Hamilton, *Grenadier Guards*, ii. 236; Stedman, ii. 136; J. E. Cooke in *Harper's Mag.*, liii. 1, etc.

[9] [A journal of Baron Steuben in Virginia, Dec. 21, 1780, to Jan. 11, 1781, is among the copies of the Steuben MSS. in the *Sparks MSS.*, xv. 182. Cf. Kapp's *Steuben*, and the lives of Jefferson, then governor. Cf. Henry A. Muhlenberg's *Life of Maj.-Gen. Peter Muhlenberg* (Philad., 1849), who was under Steuben. Cf. also *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, 1887; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 383; *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. 333, for portraits and accounts. — ED.]

[10] Clinton, *Observations on Cornwallis*, App. p. 61; *Parliamentary Register*, xxv. 143; and *Germain Corresp.*, 75, 79. Arnold's report to Clinton of May 12th — Phillips, who died on the 13th, being too ill to write — is really a diary of events since the 18th of the preceding April, the day on which Phillips began the ascent of the James. It is in *Remembrancer*, xii. 60; *Political Mag.*, ii. 390; and *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 294. Extracts are given by Ramsay, Tarleton (p. 334), and others. The report (May 16) is given in full in Arnold's *Arnold*, p. 344. Jones in his *New York during the Revolutionary War* (ii. 463) says that Clinton, distrusting Arnold, gave dormant commissions to Dundas and Simcoe. The commissions were never used; but Simcoe in his *Military Journal* (ed. of 1787, pp. 108–146; ed. of 1844, pp. 158–208) gave a narrative of the whole movement, in which he figured himself as the principal personage. See also *Memoir of General Graham*, pp. 33–37; Beatson's *Memoirs*, v. 211–225; and Eelking, *Hülfstruppen*, ii. 105.

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etc. See also *Ibid.* 216–253, for a description of Gen. Muhlenberg's share in resisting these incursions. Steuben, as Greene's lieutenant, had the chief command in Virginia at the time, and Kapp in his *Steuben* (Amer. ed., p. 371 *et seq.*) has not failed to give him full credit for his courageous endeavors.[1]

LAFAYETTE AND CORNWALLIS IN VIRGINIA.— Lafayette, during his campaign against Phillips, and afterwards against Cornwallis, was considered as under the command of Greene. He reported to Greene, and his reports may be found in the *Remembrancer* (vol. xii.).[2] He also kept up an incessant correspondence with Washington, and Sparks's *Corres. of the Rev.*[3] should therefore be compared with the papers in Lafayette's *Memoirs*.[4] A few reports and letters from Cornwallis at this time will be found in his *Correspondence* (i. 105 *et seq.*). Tarleton (*Campaigns*, 279) gives a good account of the march from Guilford to Wilmington and thence to Petersburg, from his point of view. Gen. Graham was at that time a captain in the 76th regiment, which, with the 80th, bore the brunt of the action at the crossing of the James. The account of the affair in his *Memoirs* (pp. 53–55) is one of the best we have. Simcoe, in his *Journal* (ed. 1787, pp. 146–177; Am. ed., pp. 209–250), has given a detailed description of the campaign. He has exaggerated his own services, but has atoned, in part, for this by giving a set of good plans of the rencounters which he tried to dignify into battles.[5] Giradin (*Continuation of Burk*, iv. 490) has given the Jeffersonian version of the period.[6]

This gallant struggle of Lafayette against great odds was very creditable to him and to his soldiers; but it had little or no influence on the final result. Nevertheless, it has attracted the attention of recent writers, and has brought out two good articles: one from the pen of Carrington (*Mag. Am. Hist.*, vi. 340, with map), the other from a less known writer, Mr. Coleman (*Ibid.* vii. 201).[7]

THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN. — Clinton and Cornwallis, in their pamphlets on the conduct of the campaign, printed most of the important documents which passed between them and their superiors and subordinates. Others will be found in the documents printed by order of the Lords, and still others in the biographies of the different commanders. I shall point out only the most important. In a letter (Wilmington, April 18, 1781) Cornwallis explained the reasons for the Guilford campaign, gave an account of his later movements, and advocated a march into Virginia. On the 24th he wrote to Phillips that his situation at Wilmington was very distressing (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 155, etc.). On the preceding day he had announced his determination to Germain to go north (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 145; extracts in numerous places, among others in Tarleton, 325). But more valuable than these are two letters to Clinton written April 24th (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 156; extracts in Cornwallis's *Correspondence*, i. 94; Cornwallis's *Answer*, p. 55; and in many other places). Clinton disapproved this movement from the outset. (Cf. letter, May 29th, in Clinton's *Observations on Cornwallis*, App. p. 99.) Cornwallis tried to

[1] Giradin's account is full (*Continuation of Burk*, iv. 418). See also Muhlenberg's *Muhlenberg*, pp. 205–213; Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 269; Lee's *Memoirs*, R. E. Lee's ed., 297, 314; Howison's *Virginia*, ii. 248; Randall's *Jefferson*, i. 283–294, etc. See also, on these movements in Virginia, Wirt's *Henry*; Rives's *Madison*, i. 289; Madison's *Writings*, i. 45; Jefferson's *Writings*, ix. 212; Jones's *New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii. 177; Campbell's *Virginia*, 168; I. N. Arnold's *Life of B. Arnold*, 342–348; Gordon's *Am. War*, iv. 59; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 384; *Va. Hist. Reg.*, iv. 195; Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 387; Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 347, 410; Carrington's *Battles*; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 434, 546; and J. A. Stevens's "Expedition of Lafayette against Arnold" in *Maryland Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1878).

[2] See also Gordon, iv. 107; Lee, *Memoirs* (2d edition), 285; Stedman, *Am. War*; and Beatson, *Memoirs*, v. 239. On Lafayette's preparations, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, v. 150.

[3] Something may be found in Regnault's *Lafayette*, 190; Kapp's *Steuben*, 420; Eelking, *Hülfstruppen*, ii. 109; Chotteau, *Les Français*, etc. See also *Harper's Monthly*, vii. 145.

[4] *Mémoires . . . du Générale Lafayette publiés par sa Famille* (Paris, 1837), vol. i. This edition was in six volumes. An English translation in three volumes was published at London in the same year. The first volume of this was reprinted at New York in 1838, with an appendix containing many valuable documents not elsewhere in print. Among these is a report to Greene relating to the affair at the crossing of the James near Jamestown. Wayne, who commanded at the front, also made a report, which is in Sparks's *Corres. of Rev.* Lafayette's letters and narrative of his campaign in Virginia are in the *Sparks MSS.*, nos. lxxxiv., lxxxvi.

[5] See also *The Part of Virginia which was the seat of action*, in Gordon, iv. 116.

[6] There is an interesting letter from Christian Febiger to T. Bland, dated July 3, 1781, in *Bland Papers*, p. 71. See also *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[7] Cf. also Denny's journal in *Penna. Hist. Soc. Mem.*, vii.; Judge Brooks's account in *Va. Hist. Reg.*, vi. 197; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, ii. 572. Lafayette always thought that he forced Cornwallis back to take post at Yorktown; [but it was really Clinton's message that he could not reinforce Cornwallis that led the latter to fortify himself, according to E. E. Hale (*Franklin in France*, 463). — ED.]

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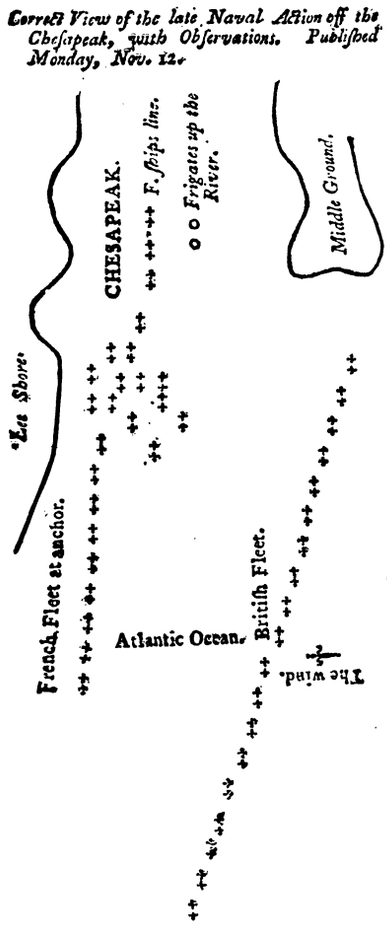

DE GRASSE'S VICTORY.[1]

justify his conduct in a letter dated Portsmouth, July 24th (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 207, etc.). On the other hand, Germain was "well pleased to find Cornwallis's opinion entirely coincided" with his (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 135). Cornwallis therefore went north without any misgivings.[2]

On June 11th Clinton ordered Cornwallis to seek some defensive position (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 160). Four days later he wrote that he should need some of Cornwallis's troops (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 175, and Cornwallis's *Answer*, App. p. 112). This request he repeated on the 19th, and again on the 26th (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 177, and *Germain Corresp.*, 187). In this last he announced his purpose of marching on Philadelphia. On the 30th Cornwallis wrote one or two letters questioning the utility of the defensive post he was ordered to occupy (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 169, and at greater length in Cornwallis's *Answer*, App. p. 118). In another letter, dated July 8th, he again questioned the utility of a defensive post. Clinton on his part, in two letters of July 8th and 11th, censured the Virginia commander for repassing the James, and ordered him to occupy Old Point Comfort (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 171). Again, in another letter of the same date as the second of these, he reiterates his order to fortify a station in the Chesapeake for the protection of large ships. Admiral Graves also wrote to Cornwallis, urging him to seize and fortify Old Point Comfort (Cornwallis's *Answer*, App. p. 180). A board of officers was now sent to report on the practicability of holding Old Point Comfort as a station for line-of-battle ships. They reported (*Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 182) that the proposed site was not suitable, and this decision Cornwallis communicated to Graves (Aug. 26th, in the App. to his *Answer*). He also wrote to Clinton on the next day somewhat bitterly in regard to his criticisms and orders

[1] [A contemporary type-sketch from the *London Magazine*. The *Political Mag.*, 1784, p. 20, has a folding plan. The most detailed plan is in Stedman (ii. ch. 44), *The position of the English and French fleets immediately previous to the Action on the 5th of Sept., 1781*, which is reproduced in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1881, p. 367. For the operations in and about the bay, see Carrington's plan in his *Battles*, p. 596. Contemporary charts of the bay are in the *No. Amer. Pilot*, nos. 26 and 27; the *Neptune Americo-Septentrional*, no. 20; and Des Barres's *Atlantic Neptune*. Graves's despatch on his failure, dated at sea, Sept. 14, is in the *Political Mag.*, ii. 605, with other accounts (p. 620); with further explanations from Clinton and Graves (p. 668). Cf. *Ibid.* iii. 153. John G. Shea edited in 1864 two contemporary journals as *Operations of the French Fleet*, etc., with a plan. One of these journals was printed at Amsterdam in 1783 (*Murphy Catal.*, no. 1,386). Cf. Stedman, ii. ch. 44; Chevalier's *Hist. de la marine française* (Paris, 1877), ch. vii.; Léon Chotteau's *Les Français en Amérique*, p. 248; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 476. — ED.]

[2] The *Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Hist. MSS.* (App. i. p. 29) contains two letters still further lessening the responsibility of Clinton for the disaster. In the first, from Lord George Germain to Clinton, the latter is given "positive orders to push the war in the South." The projected withdrawal of Arnold and Phillips is not approved. This is dated May 2, 1781. In the second letter, also from Germain, Clinton is advised that the French fleet will sail to America, and that Rodney will follow it. This letter is dated July 7, 1781. It is not stated whether Clinton ever received these notes. If he did receive them, he certainly must have felt obliged to continue the war in the South.

In the *Fifth Report of the Commission on Hist. MSS.* (p. 235) there are three letters written by "Sir H. Crosby" and "Sir H. C.," which the editor takes to stand for Sir H. Crosby. At least one was written by Clinton, and the probability is that all were written by him. The first (N. Y., July 28, 1781) relates to the

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(*Corn. Corresp.*, i. 107). Thinking that his orders required him to fortify Yorktown, he repaired thither, though writing to O'Hara that the position was a bad one on account of the heat, etc. (*Corn. Corresp.*, i. 111). Clinton also wrote three letters at about this time, which Cornwallis did not receive until after his surrender. The first and important one is in *Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 182, while all three are in the Appendix to Cornwallis's *Answer*, pp. 237, 251, 257. Such are the most important documents bearing on the responsibility[1] for the disaster at Yorktown.

Cornwallis's official report to Clinton (Yorktown, Oct. 20, 1781) was forwarded by Clinton to Germain on Nov. 15, 1781.[2] The two commanders kept up a constant correspondence during the siege, and from their letters the details may be gathered. These are all printed in the Appendix to the *Parliamentary Register* and in numerous other places.

As soon as it was known at New York that Cornwallis was besieged by such superior numbers, every effort was made to relieve him.[3] The fleet had been so badly cut up during the recent encounter with De Grasse that Graves refused to venture again to sea before extensive repairs had been completed. Consequently, when the relieving fleet arrived off the capes of the Chesapeake the capitulation of Yorktown had been signed. The letters and reports relating to this abortive endeavor will be found in the *Parl. Reg.*, xxv. pp. 190–200. There seems to be no reason to blame Clinton or Graves for this delay.[4]

The correspondence between the opposing commanders as to the surrender has been often printed, as have the articles.[5] As late as Oct. 19th Clinton wrote to some one in England giving an account of the operations leading to the siege.[6] On Oct. 29th Clinton wrote to Germain the first official news concerning the surrender. This letter (*London Gazette*, Nov. 24–27, 1781, and *Remembrancer*, xiii. 33) is marked as received on Nov. 27th; but Wraxall, in a well-known passage, says that the first official news of the surrender was received on the 25th.[7]

The *Ninth Rep. of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (App. iii. pp. 112–114) contains four letters from "G. Damer" to Lord George Germain, relating to the Virginia campaigns from Phillips's expedition to the end. These letters are of exceeding value and interest. They bear out the assertion so often made in the preceding narrative as to the great want of harmony which prevailed in the higher ranks of the British forces in this country.

Washington's official report[8] announcing the surrender (*Remembrancer*, xiii. 60, and innumerable other places) is of far less importance than his order-book and his journal (May to

proceedings of Cornwallis, and gives a statement of the troops under some of the British generals in America, and an estimate of the number of French troops which Washington has within call. The third (to G. G., dated Dec., 1781) is plainly the work of Clinton, as the author says that, from the tone of Cornwallis's letter of Oct. 20 (his official report), it might be supposed that the author was to blame for the selection of the post at Yorktown. In the last, also written in December, 1781, the writer attributes the disaster to the want of promised naval supremacy under Sir G. Rodney. He also gives Cornwallis's explanation of the passages complained of in his report. Cf. also Jones's *New York during the Rev. War*, ii., notes to pp. 464–470, where the editor gives extracts from Clinton's annotations of a copy of Stedman's *American War*. S. H. Gay (*N. Am. Rev.*, Oct., 1881) follows Cornwallis's movements previous to his fortifying at Yorktown.

[1] On this subject see also Clinton's *Observations on Stedman*, p. 16.

[2] *London Gazette*, Dec. 15. Among the more accessible books containing it are *Remembrancer*, xiii. 37; Johnston's *Yorktown*, 181; Tarleton, p. 427; Lee, *Memoirs* (2d ed.), App. p. 457; R. E. Lee's ed., 610, etc.

[3] Clinton to Cornwallis, Sept. 6, 1781, in *Parl. Reg.*, xxv. 189. Clinton also described his endeavors in a letter to Germain in *Remembrancer*, xiii. 57.

[4] Cf. *Two Letters respecting the conduct of Rear Admiral Graves on the coast of the United States, July–November, 1781, by William Graves, Esq.* Edited by H. B. Dawson, 1865. The original was privately printed. Dawson says "the present edition is as perfect a fac-simile of the original as can now be made."

[5] *Remembrancer*, xiii. 515, while a letter from Cornwallis to Washington respecting the form of parole is in *Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 126.

[6] *Fifth Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS.*, p. 235 (Lansdown MSS.).

[7] [*Memoirs*, ii. 434, copied in Niles's *Principles*, etc. (ed. 1876). For effect of the news in England, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1881, p. 363; and John Fiske on the political consequences, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan., 1886. The papers laid before Parliament are in the *Polit. Mag.*, iii. 339. Cf. also Walpole's *Last Journals*, ii. 474; Donne's *Corresp. of George III.*, etc., ii. 390; Macknight's *Burke*, ii. 457, etc. For the effect in Europe generally, see Parton's *Franklin*, ii. 452; Hale's *Franklin in France*, p. 464. — ED.]

[8] Cf. also two valuable letters written during the siege from Washington to Heath, who commanded on the Hudson, in 5 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iv. 224 *et seq.* [We note two early tables of the prisoners taken, one in the Meshech Weare papers in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library, and the other in the *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. iii. The vote of thanks given by Congress to Washington, with his reply, is in *Journals of Congress*, iii. 694. Washington's epaulettes worn at the time are in the Mass. Hist. Soc. (*Proc.*, iii. 133). For "Cornwallis Burgoyned," see Moore's *Songs and Ballads*, 367. — ED.]

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YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN.[1]

[1] [From the *Political Mag.*, ii. 624, being the westerly half of the map there given, originally published in London, Nov. 30, 1781, by J. Bew. Faden published in 1781 *A Plan of the Entrance of Chesapeake Bay, with James and York Rivers, by an officer*, which shows the condition in the beginning of October. — ED.]

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SIEGE OF YORKTOWN, 1781. (*Ramsay.*)

[NOTE ON THE MAPS OF THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN.— There is among the Rochambeau maps the original sketch, done with a pen and a wash, 40×12 inches, showing the different encampments of the French army between Boston and Yorktown, which is etched in Soulés' *Histoire des Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise*, and reproduced in Balch's *Les Français en Amérique*, and in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, v. p. 1, and vii. pp. 8, 12, 17.

The route of the allies from Chatham to Head of Elk, by Lieutenant Hills, a British map, is in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, v. 16. Cf., for a general view, *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. p. 328. The best account of this march and the return to Boston is by J. A. Stevens in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iii. 393; iv. 1; v. 1; vii. 1.

The earliest American map of the siege is one by Sebastian Bauman, an officer of German extraction attached to Lamb's artillery, whose draft was engraved in Philadelphia in 1782. There are copies in the N. Y. and Penna. Hist. Societies, and, reduced one half, it is given in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vol. vi. 57), and it is also in Johnston's *Yorktown*, p. 198. There is among the Rochambeau maps in the library of Congress (no. 63) a *Plan of the investment of York and Gloucester by Sebastian Bauman;* the French in yellow, the Americans in blue, and the English in red.

The earliest American maps issued to accompany narratives were Ramsay's in his *Rev. in So. Carolina*, ii. 545 (reproduced herewith, and followed in *Harper's Mag.*, lxiii. 333, and Lowell's *Hessians*, 278); Gordon's, in his vol. iv. 196, also follows Bauman; Marshall's, in his *Atlas* to his *Washington* (reproduced herewith).

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YORKTOWN, 1781. (Marshall's *Washington.*)

Later published are the maps in Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 186; in Atlas to Guizot's *Washington;* in Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., iv. 356; E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, 424; Carrington's *Battles*, 646; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 518; Ridpath's *United States;* J. A. Stevens's *Yorktown Centennial Handbook;* Johnston's *Yorktown* (pp. 133, 144).

The leading British map of the siege is *A Plan of Yorktown and Gloucester . . . from an actual survey in the possession of Jno. Hills, late lieut. in the 23d Regiment* (Faden, London, Oct. 7, 1785). There is another dated March 1, 1787, and, though a different plate, it corresponds nearly to the one in Stedman, ii. 412, which is reproduced in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vi. p. 8; Tarleton's *Campaigns*, ch. vii.; R. E. Lee's ed. of Henry Lee's *Memoirs*, etc., p. 500; Hamilton, *Repub. of the U. S.*, ii. 263. Other early English maps are: *A*

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Nov., 1781), which last is in the State Department at Washington (T. F. Dwight in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vi. 81). The portion on this campaign is in *Ibid.* (vol. vi. pp. 108–125; vii. 122–133). Portions of his orderly-books, extending, with breaks, from June 19, 1781, to April 30, 1782, were printed in the *Amer. Hist. Record* (iii.; on the siege itself, pp. 403, 457–462). The orderly-books were reprinted at Philadelphia in 1865,[1] while two orders of Sept. 15th and 25th, not included, are in the *Penna. Hist. Mag.* (1881), and in Johnston's *Yorktown*, 199. Many other

Plan of the Posts of York and Gloucester in the Province of Virginia, established by his Majesty's Army, etc., which terminated in the Surrender . . . on the 17th Oct., 1781. Surveyed by Capt. Fage of the Royal Artillery, which contains a small plan showing the position of the army between the ravines. What appears to be an original map is the *Plan of York Town shewing the Batteries and Approaches of the French and Americans, 1781*, on p. 61 of the *Memoir of General Graham.* A large map in colors is: *Plan of York Town in Virginia and adjacent country exhibiting the operations of the American, French, and English armies during the siege of that place in Oct. 1781*, by J. F. Renault. Leake's *Lamb*, p. 278, contains a fair map, with contours shown, although incorrectly.

There are MS. maps of the siege in the British Museum. Other MS. maps of Yorktown and the neighboring waters, including the drawn plan made for Faden's engraved map, are among the Faden maps (nos. 90, 91, 92) in the library of Congress.

There are among the Rochambeau maps in the library of Congress several illustrating the siege of Yorktown and attendant movements in Virginia:—

No. 50, *Carte des environs d'Hampton*, 1781, measuring 36×24 inches, and colored faintly.

No. 52, a pen-and-ink *Plan de Portsmouth, Va.*, 15×12 inches.

No. 53, *Plan des ouvrages de Portsmouth en Virginie*, colored, 15×12 inches.

No. 54, *Carte detaillé de West Point sur la rivière de York au confluent des rivières de Pamunky et Matapony*, a colored sketch.

No. 55, a pen-and-ink sketch, *Batteries de West Point de la rivière York*, 15×12 inches.

No. 56, a pen-and-ink sketch, *Plan des environs de Williamsburg, York, Hampton and Portsmouth*, measuring 12×12 inches.

No. 57, a colored plan, 3×4 inches, showing the French army in camp, Sept., 1781, called *Carte des environs de Williamsburg en Virginie.*

No. 58, *Plan d'York en Virginie, avec les attaques faits par les armées français et Américain en Oct. 1781*, a colored sketch.

No. 59, *Siége d'York, 1781*, a colored plan, 23×24 inches.

No. 60, *Plan des ouvrages faits à Yorktown en Virginie*, a tracing, 24×20 inches.

No. 61, a sketch in ink and water-colors, with an elaborate key, *Notes sur les environs de York*, 24×12 inches.

Balch refers to a MS. map by Soulés, preserved in the Archives de la Guerre at Paris, and another attached to the MS. *Journal de mon séjour en Amérique*, which he attributes to Cromot-Dubourg. Soulés' map, *Plan d'York en Virginie avec les attaques et les campemens de l'Armée combiné de France et d'Amérique*, is given in his *Troubles*, etc., vol. iv., reduced in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (June, 1880).

Another published French map is a *Plan de l'armée de Cornwallis, attaquée et faitte prisoniere dans Yorktown, le 19 8bre par l'armée combinée Française et Américaine. Dessiné sur les lieux par les Ingenieurs de l'armée à Paris. Chez Le Rouge, Xbre, 1781.* Another good French map has no clew to its authorship except the words "M. fecit." It is entitled *Plan de l'Attaque des villes de Yorck et Gloucester dans lesquelles etoit fortifié le Général Cornwallis fait prisonnier le 19 Octobre, 1781* (a copy in Harvard College library). Two anonymous French maps are: *Plan d'York en Virginia avec les attaques et les Campemens de l'armée de France et de l'Amérique* (fac-simile in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1880, p. 440), and *Carte de la partie de la Virginie . . . avec le plan de l'Attaque d'Yorktown et de Gloucester.* There is also a Paris map of Virginia, published by Esnauts and Rapilly, giving the *Baie de Chesapeake avec plan de l'attaque.*

There is a German map by Sotzman.

All these maps were based on more or less imperfect surveys. A map giving correct topography, *Yorktown, Virginia, and the Ground Occupied in the Siege of 1781; a topographical survey by direction of Brev.-Maj.-Gen. G. W. Getty, U. S. A., commanding Artillery School, Fort Monroe, 1880*, was drawn by Lieut. Caziare. A reduced fac-simile is given in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vii. 408,—described, p. 339). Caziare also drew the plan, embodying the lines of Faden and Renault, which is given in Patton's *Yorktown*, p. 34, and *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 288. A section of another and earlier government survey, by Major Kearney, showing the roads as they were in 1818, is in Johnston's *Yorktown*, p. 103. Cf. his list of maps in *Ibid.*, p. 198. — ED.]

[1] *Orderly-book of the Siege of Yorktown, from September 26th, 1781, to November 2d, 1781* (Philad., 1865), being Revolutionary series, no. 1, published by Horace W. Smith.

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important journals and orderly-books on the American side are preserved.[1]

On the French side we have several contemporary accounts. First of all I should place an anonymous journal which has been attributed to Rochambeau.[2] The *Diary of a French Officer, 1781* (March 26 to Nov. 18, 1781), presumed to be the work of Baron Cromot-Dubourg, an aide to Rochambeau, was brought to light by Mr. Balch (*Mag. Am. Hist.*, vii. 295), and is printed in *Ibid.* iv. 205, from an unpublished MS. then in the possession of Mr. C. Fiske Harris,[3] of Providence, R. I.[4] In some respects this is the most valuable paper of this class that we have. Still another important diary is the *Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution, 1780–1783. Translated from the French MS. by William Duane, and edited by Thomas Balch* (Albany, 1876, pp. 92–184 especially including the march back to Boston).[5]

In 1879 Mr. J. A. Stevens printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* a series of letters from Count Fersen to his father, occasionally inclosing a bit of journal, a great deal of which relates to the operations before and after Yorktown, and it is in all respects a very valuable contribution. The greater part of Deux-Pont's *Campaigns*[6] relates to this period, while the *Journal of an Officer* (pp. 148–164) and portions of the diaries kept by the naval officers refer to the same campaign.

The French accounts of the assaults on the

[1] Lincoln's MS. orderly-book is in possession of Mr. Crosby, of Hingham, Mass. Johnston (*Yorktown*, p. 91, note) gives an order of Lincoln's as copied from the Lamb MSS. An orderly-book of General Gist belongs to the Maryland Hist. Soc. An *Orderly-Book of the Second Battalion of the Penna. Troops before Yorktown* is in Egle's *Notes and Queries*, 145–156. It runs, however, only to Sept. 14th. See also Feltman to Lieutenant Johnston, dated Yorktown, Oct. 10, 1781, in Egle (p. 132). There is a *Journal of the Campaign by Lieutenant William Feltman*, May, 1781-April, 1782 (*Penn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1853, and *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vol. xi.); and a *Journal of the Siege of York in Virginia, by a chaplain of the American Army* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iv. 102–108). From a reference in Thacher's *Journal*, Johnston (*Yorktown*, App., p. 196) infers that the latter appears to have been the work of Chaplain Evans, of Scammell's corps. A portion of the *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny* relates to this siege (*Penn. Hist. Soc. Mem.*, vii. 237–249). Another valuable journal is the one kept by Capt. John Davis, of the Pennsylvania line (*Westchester Village Record*, 1821, and *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, 1st ed., p. 465, and 2d ed., p. 293, and entire from May 26, 1781, to June 10, 1782, in *Penna. Hist. Mag.*, v. 290–311; vii. 339). Other journals are *Notes of the Siege of Yorktown*, by Dayton, in *New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix.–x. 187; Colonel Tilghman's *Diary of the Siege of Yorktown* in Appendix to *Memoir of Tench Tilghman; Journal of the Siege of Yorktown*, by Col. Richard Butler, in *Hist. Mag.*, viii. 102; *Extract from the Journal of a Chaplain in the American Army* — Sept. 12–Oct. 22, 1781 — in *Potter's American Monthly*, v. 744; *Journal of Colonel Jonathan Trumbull* in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (April, 1876), vol. xiv. 331; Thacher's *Military Journal*, pp. 334–351; "Siege of York and Gloucester" in *American Museum*, June, 1787, — reprinted in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 222–224; an anonymous journal in Martin's *Gazetteer of Virginia*, pp. 293–295; and a *Diary of the March from the Hudson to Yorktown and return, by Lieutenant Saunderson*, of the Connecticut line, in Johnston's *Yorktown*, p. 170, — the original being in that author's possession. The diary of David Cobb, Oct.–Nov., 1781, is in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1881, p. 67. A journal of Henry Dearborn, ending Nov. 24, 1781, is owned by Dr. T. A. Emmet, of N. Y., having been bought in the J. W. Thornton sale, no. 284. See also letters from Governor Nelson to various persons in the "Nelson Papers" (no. 1 of the New Series of the Publications of the Virginia Historical Society). There are other letters in the *Va. Hist. Reg.*, ii. 34; v. 157; Drake's *Knox*, 69, etc.

[2] It is entitled *Journal of the Operations of the French Corps under the command of Count Rochambeau* (*Remembrancer*, xiii. 35, and *Pol. Mag.*, ii. 707). Portions are also in Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 443, taken, probably, from a diary which was afterwards printed in the *Paris Gazette*, Nov. 20, 1781, as *Journal des Opérations du Corps Français sous le commandement du Comte de Rochambeau;* also found in *Two Letters respecting the conduct of Rear Admiral Graves*, pp. 31, 32, and translated by Dawson, pp. 38, 39. Another translation, *Substance of a French Journal from the Supplement to the Gazette de France of Nov. 20, 1781*, is reprinted in the *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vii. 224, from *Pennsylvania Packet* of Feb. 21, 1782. See also the account in Rochambeau's *Mémoires*, i. 289–302; Wright's translation of above, 65–80; Soulés, *Troubles*, iii. 369–378, and 386–398, — attributed to Rochambeau; and Lauzun, *Mémoires*, 194–205.

[3] No. 1,886 in his sale catalogue.

[4] The *Magazine of American History* contains two other journals which really formed a part of this diary, and were written by M. de Ménonville (vii. p. 283–288), and by "the engineers" (vii. 449–452).

[5] The original *Journal de Campagne de Claude Blanchard*, ed. by Maurice La Chesnais, was published in Paris, 1869.

[6] *My Campaigns in America. A Journal kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780–81. Translated from the French Manuscript, with an Introduction by S. A. Green*, Boston, 1868. The original and translation are here printed successively. Dr. S. A. Green came upon this valuable manuscript by chance while in Paris.

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redoubts are in the above. Hamilton's report to Lafayette is in *Remembrancer*, xiii. 61, while Lafayette's report to Washington is in *Corresp. of the Rev.*, iii. 425.[1]

There are good accounts of this campaign in the standard books.[2] Of the more recent works, Henry P. Johnston's *Yorktown*[3] stands first, though it was written with an evident bias. J. H. Patton[4] also produced a small volume. Giradin's *Continuation of Burk* (iv. 519) contains a one-sided description; and the lives of many of the Revolutionary worthies[5] devote a considerable space to the campaign. Among these is the *Life of Muhlenberg* by his son (268–276), in which an unfounded claim is advanced for the sire that he commanded the storming party led by Hamilton. The more popular books also have detailed accounts,[6] while the subject has been repeatedly treated by orators, notably by Robert C. Winthrop.[7]

Edward Channing

EDITORIAL NOTES ON EVENTS IN THE NORTH, 1779–1781.

WHILE the events followed in the preceding chapter were all tending, both by Washington's victory and Greene's defeats, to a discouragement of the English necessary to induce the British government to desire a peace, the succession of events in the North had hardly any interdependence, and of themselves conduced but little to the same end. The campaigns of Sullivan in 1778 and 1779, the dismal failure of the Massachusetts expedition to Penobscot in 1779, and the plot of Arnold, are considered in other chapters. A brief commentary upon the other transactions of this period here follows.

[1] At a later day it was charged that Lafayette had ordered the garrison of the small redoubt to be put to the sword in revenge for the murder of Alexander Scammell. Of course the charge was false. It led to a correspondence between Lafayette and Hamilton. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 363 *et seq.*, and Hamilton's *Works*, vi. 555. Lafayette's narrative, as he gave it to Sparks, is in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii.

[2] Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, ii. 317; Gordon, iv. 175; Stedman, ii.; Lee, *Memoirs* (2d ed., p. 307). Lee was present during the siege as the bearer of despatches from Greene, or for some other reason.

[3] *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis*, 1781 (N. Y., 1881). Johnston also printed an article in *Harper's Monthly*, lxiii. 323.

[4] *Yorktown, an Account of the Campaign* (N. Y., 1882). See also, by the same author, *The Campaign of the Allies* in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 241.

[5] Drake's *Knox*, 62; Hamilton's *Hamilton*, ii. 256–275; Leake's *Lamb*, 276; Williams's *Olney*, 266; Custis's *Recollections*, 229; Kapp's *Steuben*, 453, etc., with the diary of an Anspach sergeant. Cf. Balch, p. 14, for references to another diary of a German.

[6] See J. A. Stevens, *The Allies at Yorktown* in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vi. 1; Page, *Old Yorktown* in *Scribner's Mag.*, xxii. 801; Goldwin Smith, *Naseby and Yorktown* in *Contem. Rev.*, Nov., 1881; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1881, — a collection of newspaper scraps, some of value; E. M. Stone's *French Allies*, 416; E. E. Hale in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1881; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, v. 290; W. S. Stryker's *New Jersey Continental Line in the Virginia Campaign of 1781* (Trenton, 1882); Longchamps, *Histoire Impartiale*, iii. 129; Robin, *Nouveau Voyage*, 29; Le Boucher, ii. 26; Chotteau, 267; Regnault's *Lafayette*, 199, — not good for much; Tarleton's *Campaigns*, 351; Clinton, *Observations on Stedman*, 22; Beatson's *Memoirs*, v. 271; *Memoir of General Samuel Graham*, 55; Grant's *British Battles*, 173; Botta, Otis's trans., iii. 374. Lamb's *Journal*, p. 370 *et seq.*, is of considerable interest, especially the portion narrating his escape and subsequent recapture. See also Capt. William Mure to Andrew Stuart, dated Yorktown, Oct. 21, 1781, in Mahon's *Hist. of England*, vol. vii. App. xxxviii. There is in the Boston Public Library a MS. orderly-book of the troops under Lord Cornwallis, dated Williamsburgh, 28 June, 1781, to Yorktown, 19 October, 1781, and made up by several officers. The generally received account of the reception of the news in England is probably not correct. Cf. Stockbridge in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 321.

[7] The official account of the recent celebration at Yorktown is called a *Report of the Commission for a monument commemorative of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis* (Wash., 1883). This contains Robert C. Winthrop's oration, which has also been separately printed. Another notable address was by the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, delivered at Richmond and published. A French account of this anniversary, *Yorktown Centénaire de l'indépendance des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, 1781–1881* (Paris, 1886), is the work of Rochambeau's descendant. Cf. Stone's *French Allies*, 535; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 302; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 101. Another volume called forth by the same celebration is *An Account of General Lafayette's Visit to Virginia in 1824–25*, by Robert D. Ward, Richmond, 1881.

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The spring of 1779 was not an encouraging one for the cause. Washington had kept his main army during the winter at Middlebrook (Irving, iii.; Greene's *Greene*, ii. 160), and he was now resolved on a defensive campaign (Bancroft, x. ch. 9). He gave his views to Congress (Sparks, vi. 158); but that body inspired little confidence. It did something to increase the efficiency of the army in creating an inspector-general (*Journals*, iii. 202); but its internal bickerings were sadly discouraging (Greene's *Hist. View;* Bancroft, x. 208; Greene's *Greene*, ii. 170, 175; John Adams's *Works*, i. 292). The legislators were powerless to regulate prices as they wished, and riots were in progress at their very doors (Reed's *Reed*, ii. ch. 6). They sent *A circular letter* to

HESSIAN MAP OF THE HUDSON HIGHLANDS.

their constituents, and urged enlistments in an address (May 26th; Niles's *Principles*, etc., 1876, p. 405); while Gouverneur Morris prepared for them some *Observations on the American Revolution, published according to a Resolution of Congress, by their Committee for the Consideration of those who are desirous of comparing the Conduct of the Opposed Parties, and the several Consequences which have flowed from it* (Phila., 1779). (Cf. Sparks's *Gouv. Morris*, and the letter of Thomas Paine, *Hist. Mag.*, i. 20.)

The British in New York were as inactive as Washington was. We get pictures of the life of the fortified

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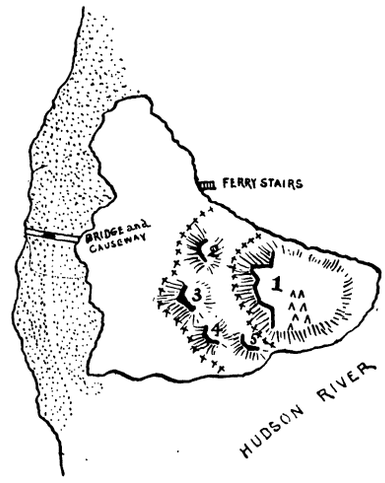
town in the *Memoirs* of the Baroness Riedesel; Duncan's *Royal Artillery*, ii. ch. 28; Montresor's account in *N. Y. City Manual*, 1870, p. 884,—also see that for 1863; Gen. Pattison's letters in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875; *Memoirs of General Samuel Graham.*

Heath was commanding east of the Hudson (*Memoirs*), and Gen. McDougall at West Point, which had been fortified the previous year (Sparks, v. 224, 282, 311; Ruttenber, *Obstructions*, 115; Lossing, *Field-Book*, ii. 132; Journal of Capt. Page in *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, iv., v.) There is among the *Moses Greenleaf MSS.* (Mass. Hist. Soc.) an orderly-book beginning at West Point, Jan. 1, 1779, and ending at Morristown, Dec. 12, 1779.

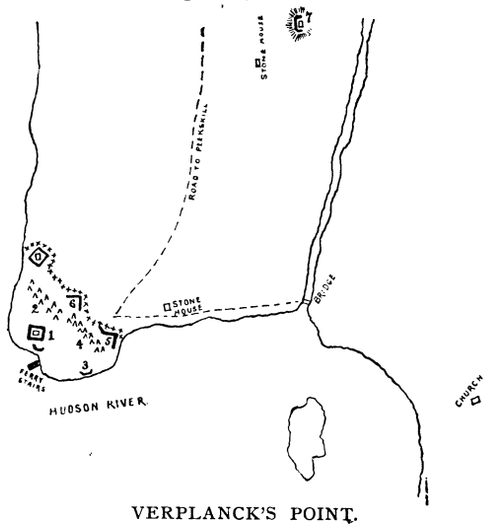
There is annexed a sketch from the Hessian *Plan des opérations dans l'Amérique septentrionale depuis 12 Août, 1776, jusqu'à 1779.* The broken lines mark the roads. Cf. *The Country west of the Hudson, occupied by the American army under Washington, from a MS. map drawn for Lord Stirling in 1779*, given in Evans's *Memoir of Kosciuszko* (1883), etc.

Early in July (2d) there was an affair between Tarleton and Col. Sheldon at Poundridge in Westchester (Tarleton's *Memoirs; Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iii. 685). Washington, as the season advanced, kept to the Highlands, and an attempt to draw him down was made by Clinton in dispatching Tryon with a marauding force to invade Connecticut by water. Tryon's instructions, July 2d, are in Charles H. Townshend's *British Invasion of New Haven and Connecticut, with some account of the burning of Fairfield and Norwalk.* They did not contemplate the destruction of houses; and Johnston, in his *Observations on Judge Jones* (p. 59), controverts that Tory chronicler who charged such intent upon Clinton. Cf. Hinman, *Hist. Coll. of Conn.*, 607; Stuart's *Jona. Trumbull*, ch. 37; Chauncey Goodrich in *New Haven Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 27; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 180; Ithiel Town's *Particular Services*, etc., p. 90; Gen. Parsons's letters in Hildreth's *Pioneer Settlers of Ohio*, 537; Dawson, i. 507; *Hist. Mag.*, ii. 88; Lossing, i. 424; Sparks, *Corresp. of Rev.*, i. 315; Leonard Bacon's oration on the Centennial; and addresses of E. E. Rankin and Samuel Osgood in the *Centennial Commemoration of the burning of Fairfield* (New York, 1879). Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii. 103; *Diplom. Corresp.*, ii. 253; iii. 99.

There is an address of Admiral Collier and Gen. Tryon, July 4th, to the inhabitants of Connecticut. Tryon subsequently published an *Address of Maj.-Gen. Tryon, written in consequence of his late expedition into Connecticut* (Sabin, xiii. 53, 495). Trumbull feared another invasion in the autumn (*Hist. Mag.* ii. 10).



STONY POINT.



VERPLANCK'S POINT.

The posts at Stony Point and Verplanck's had been begun as outposts of West Point, and to protect King's Ferry, the crossing below the Highlands. Before the works were finished the British had captured them, in June (Sparks's *Washington*, vi. 292). Washington planned a surprise of the British garrison, and the two annexed sketches, furnished to him by Gen. Heath, seem to have been prepared in anticipation of the movement.

The first, "Stoney Point," is from a pen-and-ink sketch, indorsed "From Genl. Heath, letter 3d July, 1779," which is among the Sparks maps in Cornell University library, and carries the following KEY: 1, the capital work on the highest part of the point, commanding the out-flêches, which is conformed to the broken eminence it is built on; 2, 3, 4, 5, flêches built on so many little eminences, each with one embrasure; but in the principal work (1) the number of embrasures is uncertain, being covered by the works and the declivity of the hill. Two rows of abatis (×××) cross the point from water to water. The other plan, marked "Verplanck's Point," is sketched from a pen-and-ink drawing in the same collection,

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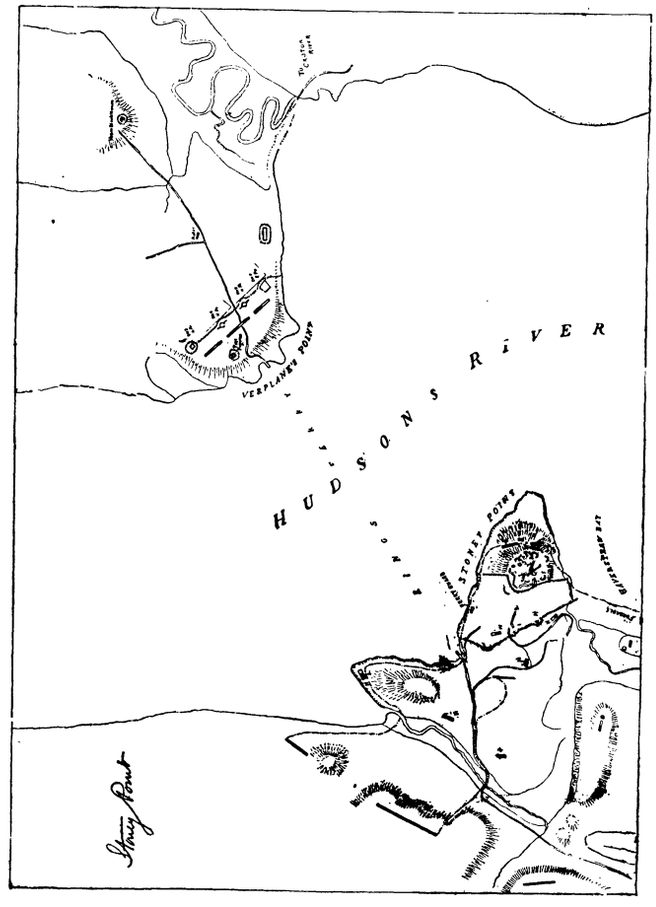
also indorsed "From Gen^{l}. Heath, letter 3d July, 1779," and bears this KEY: 1, Fort de la Fayette, with block-house and barbette battery; 2, board huts in form of tents; 3, American barbette; 4, British tents, about one regiment; 5, 6, two new flêches by the Britons; 7, block-house on a stony hill, with a redoubt. The abatis is marked ×××.

The lead of the movement was entrusted to Wayne. His instructions, in Washington's handwriting, are given in Dawson, in fac-simile (p. 18). His orders are dated July 15 (Niles, *Principles*, 1876, p. 495; *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, v. 7). Wayne's first report of his successful attack to Washington is given in fac-simile in Armstrong's *Wayne*, Dawson, and Lossing (ii. 179); and his longer account of the next day is in Sparks's *Washington*, vi. 537; and in *Ibid.* vi. 298, is Washington's report to Congress. H. B. Dawson's *Assault on*



FADEN'S STONY POINT, 1779.

Stony Point (Morrisania, 1863) is an elaborate monograph. H. P. Johnston has a special paper in *Harper's Monthly*, lix. 233 (July, 1879), and J. W. De Peyster another in the *N. Y. Mail*, July 15, 1879, while a controversy of Johnston and De Peyster is in the *Monmouth Inquirer*. "Who led the forlorn hope at Stony Point?" is discussed in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Oct., 1885, p. 357. Cf. Armstrong's *Wayne;* Dawson's *Battles;* Moore's *Diary*, ii. 192; *Penna. Archives*, vii.; Marshall's *Washington*, iv. ch. 2; Irving's *Washington*, iii. 465; Hull's *Rev. Services*, ch. 16; Reed's *Reed*, ii. 110; Kapp's *Steuben*, ch. 11; Hamilton's *Republic*, i. 443; acc. of Col. Febiger in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, March, 1881; Duncan's *Royal Artillery*, 3d ed., ii. 353; Pattison in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875, p. 95; and Gen. Joseph Hawley's *Centennial Address*, July 16, 1879. The British later reoccupied the post (Sparks's *Corresp. of Rev.*, ii. 328).

The chief map of the attack is a *Plan of the Surprise of Stoney Point, 15 July, 1779, from surveys of Wm. Simpson, Lt. 17th Regt. and D. Campbell, Lt. 42d Regt., by John Hills, Lt. 23d Regt., London, Faden,*

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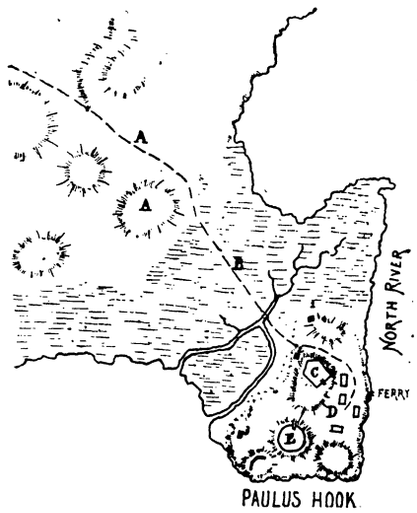
March 1, 1784. There is a fac-simile in the *N. Y. Calendar of Hist. MSS.*, p. 347, and in Dawson. It needs the following KEY: 1, Two companies of the 17th regiment. 2, Ditto. 3, Sixty of the loyal Americans. 4, Two grenadier companies of the 17th regiment. 5, A detachment of the royal artillery. A, Ruins of a block-house erected and destroyed by the Americans. B, A temporary magazine. C, One 24 and one 18 pounder, ship guns. D, Ditto. E, One iron 12-pounder. F, One 8-inch-howitzer. G, One brass 12-pounder. H, One short brass 12-pounder. I, One long brass 12-pounder. Cf. plans in Hull's *Revolutionary Services*, ch. 16; Sparks's *Washington*, yi. 304; Guizot's *Washington*, Atlas; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 175. The medals given to Wayne, De Fleury, and Stewart are described in Loubat. (Cf. Lossing, ii. 180, 181.) A rude view of the capture in Bickerstaff's (Boston) *Almanac*, 1780, is reproduced in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, xvi. 592.

A few weeks later (Aug. 19), Major Henry Lee emulated Wayne in a sudden attack on Paulus Hook (Jersey City). We have reports on both sides. That of the British, General Pattison's, is in Duncan's *Royal Artillery*, ii. 355, and his letter to Townshend in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1875, p. 79. On the American side we have accounts in Sparks's *Washington*, vi. 317, 326, 332–336, 376; Lowell (*Hessians*, 228) says that R. E. Lee's statement (in H. Lee's *Memoirs*) that Paulus Hook was captured by a stratagem is not borne out by Marshall (*Washington*, iv. 87) or by the German accounts (Ewald, ii. 295). Cf. Moore's *Diary*, ii. 206; Irving's *Washington*, iii. 475; Dawson's *Battles;* Quincy's *Shaw*, 65; Reed's *Reed*, ii. 125; Duer's *Stirling*, 204; Bancroft, x. 229; J. W. De Peyster in *N. Y. Mail*, Aug. 18, 1879; and S. A. Green in *Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1868 (2d ser., iv. 264). George H. Farrier prepared a *Memorial of the centennial celebration of the battle of Paulus Hook, Aug. 19th, 1879* (Jersey City, 1879), which has an appendix of documents.

Loubat and Farrier give an account of the medal presented to Lee.

The annexed sketch, "Paulus Hook," is from a draft of an original Hessian map in the library at Cassel, furnished by Mr. Edward J. Lowell (cf. his *Hessians*, p. 228), with the following KEY: A, Covering force of the attacking Americans. B, Line of attack on the block-houses (1, 2, 3) and fort (C), which mounted seven six-pounders, which were not used. D, Barracks in which one hundred and ten prisoners were taken. E, Work occupied by a Hessian captain, one officer and twenty-five men, possessed at the time the Americans retired, at daybreak. (Cf. plan in Lossing, ii. 828.) Farrier gives a plan from an original in the library of Congress.



OCTOBER 18–19, 1779.

The winter of 1779–80 was an exceptionally severe one in the North (Jones's N. Y., i. 320; Greene's *Greene*, ii. 184; Leake's *Lamb;* Almon's *Remembrancer*, ix.) After Clinton had gone South to attack Charleston, Knyphausen was left in command in New York (Eld's journal in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xviii. 73; Eugene Lawrence on life in N. Y. in *Hist. Mag.*, i. 37; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, vol. ii.).

Washington was encamped at Morristown, New Jersey. Views of his headquarters are in Lamb's *Homes of America; Appleton's Journal*, xii. 129; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 309, and his *M. and M. Washington*, 191. (Cf. *Poole's Index*, p. 873; *Harper's Mag.*, xviii. 289; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 89, 118.) Letters of Washington, while in Morristown, in addition to those given in Sparks, are in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iii. 496. Orderly-books are in N. Y. Hist. Soc. cabinet and in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvii. 48.

The trials and deprivations of the army were so great that Washington did not dare take advantage of an ice-bridge formed across the Hudson, for an attack on New York, though the British feared that he might. There were varying councils on this point in the American camp (Duer's *Stirling*, ch. viii.). The British apprehension (Feb., 1780) is shown in Duncan's *Royal Artillery*, ii. 359; *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875, pp. 147, 152. The difficulties in the American camp are followed in Irving's *Washington*, iv. ch. 1 and 4; Thacher's *Mil. Journal;* J. F. Tuttle in *Hist. Mag.*, June, 1871, and *Harper's Mag.*, Feb., 1859. A lack of money in the paymasters' chests caused dissatisfaction, which grew into an insurrection. The British, seeking to increase the trouble, marched into New Jersey, under General Matthews, but they were driven back, and waited on the coast till Clinton, returning from Carolina, reinforced them, when they again advanced. Washington, meanwhile, suspecting an incursion up the Hudson, had gone thither with a large part of his troops, leaving Greene at Morristown. Greene met the British and defeated them at Springfield, when they returned to New York. The progress of these events can be followed. On the American side, Greene's *Greene*, ii., and his letters in Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 75, 506; Gordon, iii. 368; Marshall's *Washington*; Sedgwick's *Livingston;* Bancroft, x. ch. 18; Irving's *Washington*, iv. 6; Carrington, 502; Lossing, i. 322; in histories of N. Jersey;

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Atkinson's *Newark*, 104; Hatfield's *Elizabeth*, ch. 22; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iii. 211, 490. On the British side, Moore's *Diary*, ii. 285; Simcoe's *Queen's Rangers;* in letters in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875, p. 458. George Mathew, of the Coldstream Guards, wrote an account (*Hist. Mag.*, i. 103, — App., 1857), and some details are in the *Court Martial of Col. Cosmo Gordon* (London, 1783). For maps, John Hill's, published by Faden, 1784, is the principal one. Cf. Carrington; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 322; and the map of Elizabethport Point (1775–1783) by E. L. Meyer, published in 1879.

What is known as the affair of Bull's Ferry (July 21, 1780) was an unsuccessful attempt by Wayne upon a block-house garrisoned by Tories. (Cf. *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, v. 161; Armstrong's *Wayne;* Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 116; and his *Corresp. of Rev.*, iii. 34, 37; Sargent's *André*, 234.) André wrote on this misadventure of Wayne the well-known doggerel verses called *The Cow-Chace*, part of Wayne's project having been to gather cattle. The verses appeared in three numbers of *Rivington's Gazette* (New York, Aug. 16, 30, Sept. 23, 1780; Menzies, $23), and were republished by Rivington separately, 1780 (J. A. Rice's sale, $265), and also in Philadelphia, 1780. The book was reprinted at London with notes in 1781; at New York in 1789 (Morrell's *Catal.*, $36); at London in 1799, with Dunlap's tragedy of *André* (Menzies, 61, $23); at Albany in 1866, edited by F. B. Hough; at Cincinnati in 1869. André seems to have made several copies of the MS. Sargent prints it from one of these. Another belonged to Dr. W. B. Sprague, and Lossing printed from this (*Field-Book*, ii. 878; *Two Spies*, 68). It will also be found in Moore's *Songs and Ballads*, 299; J. A. Spencer's *United States*, vol. ii. etc.

The summer was barren of military interest. Steuben was trying to reorganize the army (Kapp's *Steuben*, ch. 12–15). The low condition of the army is shown in Washington's letters (Sparks, vii. 156; *Corresp. of Rev.*, iii. 15; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1879). Washington issued a circular letter on the army's distress (*New Hampshire State Papers*, viii. 870; cf. *Journals of Congress*, iii. 469). The British intercepted some mournful letters, and printed them (*Political Mag.*, ii. 73).

In August there was a gathering of delegates from the New England States at Boston, "to advise the most vigorous prosecution of the war, and provide for the reception of our French allies." The *Proceedings* of this meeting have been edited from the original MS. by F. B. Hough (Albany, 1867). In November a convention of the Northern States at Hartford sought methods of furnishing men and supplies (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1882, viii. 688; and Clinton's knowledge of it in *Ibid.* x. 411).

Hope revived with the prospect of the arrival of Rochambeau and the French, in July, 1780 (Heath's *Memoirs*, 243; *Corresp. of Rev.*, iii. 12). The first communications of Washington and Rochambeau are in Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 110, and App. 4, with an account of Lafayette's conference with the French. Rochambeau's instructions are in *Ibid.* vii. 493. The letters of Rochambeau and Lafayette are in the *Sparks MSS.*, lxxxv.

The English fleet blockaded the French in Newport harbor. The *Political Mag.*, 1780, has a map showing the blockade of the French admiral Ternay by Arbuthnot. Letters of the English admiral are in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report IX.*, App. iii. p. 106.

On the occupation of Newport by the French, see Mason's *Newport; Newport Hist. Mag.*, ii. 41; iii. 177; Stone's *French Allies*, 256; *Lippincott's Mag.*, xxvi. 351; Drake's *Nooks and Corners of the N. E. Coast; Harper's Mag.*, lix. 497. The correspondence of Rochambeau and the Rhode Island authorities is in the *R. I. Col. Rec.*, ix. There is a diary of a French officer in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iv. 209; and Fersen's letters are in *Ibid.* iii. 300, 369, 437.

Several maps of Newport and vicinity are given in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, like the plan of the town by Blaskowitz; the *Defences of Newport, 1781*, from a MS. French chart; and the *Scene of Operations before Newport, 1781*, from a MS. survey by Robert Erskine, geographer to the American army, of which the original is in the cabinet of the N. Y. Hist. Society.

There are among the Rochambeau maps several plans of Newport and its neighborhood, including no. 38, *Plan de Rhodes Isle et position de l'armée française à Newport*, measuring 5 × 3 inches, colored and showing roads, fences, forts, and the fleet in the harbor; no. 39, *Plan de la ville, port, et rade de Newport, avec une partie de Rhode Island, occupée par l'armée française*, evidently by the same draftsman as the preceding, dated 1780, colored, measuring 24 × 30 inches, showing forts, Gen. Sullivan's old camp, the old line of the English, etc.; no. 41, a plan, 8 × 15 inches, called *Quatre positions de la flotte française et position de la flotte anglaise;* no. 42, evidently by Montresor, colored, measuring 4 × 3 inches, dated 1780, called *Plan de la position de l'armée française au tour de Newport, et du mouillage de l'escadre dans la rade de cette ville.* Le Rouge published a map of this title in Paris, in 1783. Cf. map in *Political Mag.*, i. 692.

On the French participation in the war we have Rochambeau's *Mémoires*, with an English translation by Wright, and the *Troubles* of Soulés, which is supposed to have been inspired by Rochambeau. Cf. Walsh's *Amer. Register*, ii. The other French contemporary accounts are the *Mémoires* of Count Ségur and the Duc de Lauzun; the *Travels* of Abbé Robin and of Chastellux, of which there is an English translation by George Greive (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1869); the *Journals* of Deux-Ponts, edited by S. A. Green, and of Claude Blanchard. (Cf. *Revue militaire française*, and Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators.*) The later French accounts in general are Leboucher's *Hist. de la guerre de l'indépendance des Etats-Unis;* Balch's *Les français en Amérique* (1872); Chotteau's *Les français*, etc. A comprehensive later American account is E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies.* Cf. Lossing in *Harper's Mag.*, xlii. 753.

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Counter attacks of Clinton on Newport and of Washington and Rochambeau on New York were prevented by untoward circumstances (Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 130, 137, 171, with App. 6; Jones's *New York during the Rev.*, i. 358; *Mémoires* of Rochambeau).

In September, 1780, Washington had an interview with Rochambeau at Hartford to devise further operations, but the plot of Arnold disconcerted all measures (E. M. Stone, 281; Irving's *Washington;* J. C. Hamilton's *Republic*, ii. 49). Alexander Hamilton had drawn up a plan of combined operations.

In October there was an unsuccessful expedition to Staten Island (*Life of Pickering*, i. ch. 17; *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 257; *Hist. Mag.*, i. 104).

Washington was now in camp at Totowa and Preakness, in New Jersey. There are a map and view of his headquarters in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1879. Cf. orderly-book in *2 Penna. Archives*, xi., and Journal of Capt. Joseph McClellan in *Ibid.*

The Pennsylvania line was at Morristown, under Wayne, and in January, being without pay and supplies, they revolted, and marched towards Philadelphia to claim redress of Congress. The New Jersey line was similarly affected. Prompt and judicious measures quelled the mutiny, but not till some emissaries, whom Clinton had sent to increase the trouble, had been hanged by the insurrectionists. Original sources: Wayne's letters to Washington, in the *Corresp. of Rev.*, iii. 192; Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 348, with App. x.; proposal of a Committee of Sergeants, with Wayne's comments, in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxix. p. 100 (also no. liv. 5); documents in *Penna. Archives*, viii. 698, 701, 704, and ix.; second series, xi.; *Colonial Records*, xii. 624; *Hazard's Register*, ii. 160; *St. Clair Papers*, i. 108, 532; *Bland Papers*, ii. Cf. also Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 393; Irving's, iv. 195; Hamilton's *Hamilton*, i. 323, and *Works*, ii. 147; Amory's *Sullivan*, 181; *Madison Papers*, i. 77; Reed's *Reed*, ii. ch. 14. Clinton's report is in Almon's *Remembrancer*, xi. 148. The information reaching the British camp is in Clinton's *Secret Intelligence*, in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, x. 328, 331, 418, 497; an account of the hanging of the British emissaries is in the *Hist. of First Troop of Philad. City Cavalry*, p. 28.

Washington and Rochambeau had held a conference at Weathersfield, Conn. (May 22, 1781), to arrange for a plan of combined action (Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 517, for their views respecting the safety of Newport, meanwhile). The conference was held at the Webb House (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, June, 1880). The French army then moved by way of Providence to the Hudson, and there is among the Rochambeau maps in the library of Congress a plan of their route, with key, giving their twelve encampments on the way (nos. 42 (*bis*), 43, 44). *Marche de l'armée française de Providence à la Rivière du Nord, 1782.* In the *Mag. Amer. Hist.* (iv. 299) there is a map of the *Route of the French from Providence to King's Ferry*, following a MS. attached to a diary of a French officer.

Rochambeau established his headquarters at the Odell House, in Westchester (Stone, *French Allies*, 394; C. A. Campbell in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iv. 46). On June 12th, the two commanders held a council of war at New Windsor (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iii. 102). Clinton's secret journal shows how well the British commander was informed of what was going on (*Ibid.* xii. 73, etc., 162, etc.). Beside the correspondence of Washington at this time, in Sparks, there are other letters in *Ibid.* iv. and v. Washington's first attempt to act in union with the French was in the proposed attack on the forts on New York Island. (Cf. Washington's journal in *Ibid.* vi. 117; xi. 535.) There is among the *Lincoln Papers* (*Sparks MSS.*, xii.) a "memorandum to regulate the movements of the allied army on the night of the 31st of July, 1781." J. A. Stevens follows the operations of the combined armies at this time (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iv., Jan., 1880). He gives a map of the attempt at King's Bridge, July 3, 1781. There is among the Rochambeau maps an excellent draft, about thirty inches wide by fifteen high, showing New York with Long Island, with the French camp as high up as Tarrytown, called *Position du camp de l'armée combinée de Phillipsbourg du 6 Juillet au 19 Août, 1781.* Stevens gives a fac-simile of this, and also a map of the environs of New York between the Sound and the Hudson, called *Surveys in New York and Connecticut States for his Excellency, Gen. Washington, by Robert Erskine, Anno 1778, W. Scull delin.*, — a MS. plan in the New York Hist. Soc. library (*Proc.*, 1845, p. 56), where is also a MS. *Chart of the Harbour of New York, with a map of the Country bordering upon the Sound, and extending to the Connecticut, with the names of the principal places laid down thereon, by Robert Erskine, 1779* (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1848, p. 188). The Rochambeau maps contain other evidences of the activity at this time of the French topographical engineers; as, for instance, a plan (no. 29) done in ink and color, measuring ten inches wide by twelve high, and not very exact, called *Reconnaisance Juillet, 1781, ouvrages* [*de*] *Morrisania, Isle de New York*, by Montresor and Buchanan, and a second (12 × 15 inches) which gives the works at Frog's Point (no. 30), and adds to the title "Plan d'une batterie de Long Island." Another (no. 32), called *Reconnaisance des ouvrages du nord de l'Isle New York, 22–23 Juillet, 1781*, measures twelve inches wide by fifteen high, apparently the work of Montresor, and shows Fort Washington, Laurel Hill, etc. It was Washington's purpose at this time to make Clinton expect an attack on New York (Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 54, 130, 517; *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, 2d series, i. 327). Clinton has recorded his reason why he did not venture to attack Washington in July and August, while the Americans were encamped at King's Bridge (*New York City during the Rev.*, New York, 1861, pp. 177–184). By August 14th, the coöperation of the French fleet being assured, Washington decided to march to Virginia (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii.; also xi. 343; *Diplom. Corresp.*, xi. 417). He said the main cause of his coming to this decision was the failure of the

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New England States to supply men (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vi. 125). Washington's headquarters at this time were in the Livingston mansion (Lossing, ii. 195).

The question of Washington having been made a marshal of France has caused some discussion. *Hist. Mag.*, ii., iii.; E. M. Stone's *French Allies*, 373; Balch, *Les Français en Amérique*, 122.

While Washington marched towards Virginia, the marauding expedition which Clinton had sent under Arnold, along the Connecticut coast, failed to divert him from his purpose, as the British commander had hoped it would. The attack fell upon New London and Groton, early in September. Trumbull's letter to Washington is in the *Corresp. of Rev.*, iii. 403. Cf. Stuart's *Trumbull*, ch. 45; Arnold's account in the *Polit. Mag.*, ii. 666; Sparks's *Arnold*, and Arnold's *Arnold;* "Sir Henry Clinton and the burning of New London," in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, March, 1883, p. 187. There are contemporary accounts in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, x. 127 (1856); Niles's *Principles* (1876), p. 143; Moore's *Diary*, ii. 479; and in the *Narrative of Jonathan Rathbun, with accurate accounts of the capture of Groton fort, the massacre that followed, and the sacking and burning of New London, Sept. 6, 1781, by the British forces*, by Rufus Avery and Stephen Hempstead, with an appendix (1810).

The principal monograph is William W. Harris's *Battle of Groton heights: a collection of narratives, official reports, records, etc., of the storming of Fort Griswold, the massacre of its garrison and the burning of New London by British troops. With introd. and notes; rev. and enl. with additional notes, by Charles Allyn* (New London, 1882). The original issue was in 1870. The perfected edition is enriched with many documentary proofs.

There have been other anniversary addresses: Tuttle's at Fort Griswold (1821); W. F. Brainerd's (1825); Griswold's in commemoration of Col. Ledyard (1826), who was run through by his own sword after he had surrendered it; R. C. Winthrop's (1853) in his *Addresses* (1852–1867, p. 84); Leonard W. Bacon's, with an historical sketch by J. J. Copp, in the *Battle of Groton Heights* (1879).

The local authorities are Hollister's and other histories of Connecticut; Caulkins' *New London*, ch. 32; Hinman's *Hist. Collections;* L. W. Champney's "Memories of New London" in *Harper's Mag.*, lx. (Dec., 1879), p. 62, with views in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 43, 46.

A paper by C. B. Todd on the massacre (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii. 161) has an account of Ledyard and his family, with views of his house in Hartford and the monument on Groton Heights (cf. Harris and Allyn, p. 179), and a list of the slain. Gov. Trumbull made a report on the losses inflicted at New London and Groton, Sept. 6, 1781, which, with affidavits respecting the conduct of the enemy, are in the State Dept. at Washington.

There are critical accounts in Dawson's *Battles* and in Carrington's *Battles*. The latter has a plan. A map of Mass., Rhode Island, and Connecticut, showing the geographical relations, is in *Polit. Mag.*, iii. 171.

A MS. "Sketch of New London and Groton, with the attacks made on Forts Trumbull and Griswold by the British troops, under the command of Brig.-Gen. Arnold, Sept. 6, 1781," is among the Faden maps (no. 98) in the library of Congress, together with a separate ink drawing of Fort Griswold (no. 99), — both of which are engraved in Harris and Allyn.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY THE REVEREND EDWARD E. HALE, D. D.

THE battles of the Revolution were fought on the sea as often as on the land, and to as much purpose. The losses inflicted on their enemies by the United States in their naval warfare were more constant, and probably more serious, than any losses which they inflicted elsewhere. At the beginning of the war, the mercantile class of England, even then a powerful element in her politics, were far more indifferent to the questions at issue than they became afterwards, when the rates of maritime insurance began to rise rapidly. These high rates had begun long before France and Spain entered into the struggle; and the captures which the English navy made by no means compensated England for the losses which she sustained. In such a contest, it generally proves that the richer combatant is he who pays the most. The loss of an English Indiaman or a Mediterranean trader on her voyage to "the Pool," [1] or to Bristol, was but poorly compensated by the capture of even a dozen American schooners laden with salt fish and clapboards.

The men of New England, after the early exodus of the Tories, were almost unanimously engaged against England, and they were engaged with that intensity of purpose which belongs to Puritans and to republicans. They were then almost wholly a maritime race; and those ethnologists who think that New Englanders have a larger share of Norse blood than most Englishmen may well justify their theory by the fearlessness of the genuine Yankee upon the sea and his passion for maritime adventure. So soon, therefore, as the outbreak of hostilities began to disturb the natural course of their commerce, the seamen of the New England coast took up the business of cruising against their enemies, as if it were quite normal and something to which they had been born and trained.

New England was at this moment an important factor in the maritime interest of the world. She had special facilities for shipbuilding. In that essential department of maritime commerce her artisans excelled any in the world, and for three quarters of a century the export of ships, which were sold abroad, had been one of the most profitable features of New England commerce. It required two thirds of a century after John Winthrop built

[1] Liverpool.

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the "Blessing of the Bay" to persuade the masters of the royal ship-yards that there was any timber in America which they could use in preference to that which they received from Norway.[1] But Lord Bellomont, as early as 1700, had urged that the king should not buy his spars in the open market in England, but should send his own vessels to New England for them. In the same letters he pointed out to his correspondents that the effect of the present regulations was that the Americans shipped spars to Portugal, which were then used in the navy of France. In point of fact, when at last, in 1778, all four parties were engaged in the Revolutionary War, the spars of most of the vessels of England, France, Spain, and America had all been cut in the forests of New England. It is, indeed, quite within the memory of men now living that in the wildernesses of Maine or New Hampshire some fine old monarch of the forest might still be found bearing the broad arrow of the king of England. He had been marked for the royal navy while King George yet reigned over half this continent, and he had been spared from the axe by the Declaration of Independence.[2]

A people thus bred to the sea, and able to assert themselves upon it, lost no time, when they found themselves at war with England, in carrying their war upon the element to which they were born. They won their first naval victory over England on the 5th of May, 1775, scarcely a fortnight after the battle of Lexington. The "Falcon," a British sloop of war, had, under some pretence, seized one or more prizes from the people of Buzzard's Bay. Inspired probably by the success at Lexington and Concord, the people of New Bedford and Dartmouth fitted out a vessel, with which they attacked and cut out one of the "Falcon's" prizes, with fifteen prisoners, from a harbor in Martha's Vineyard. On the 12th of June the people of Machias, in Maine, seized the "Margaretta," a king's sloop, and two other vessels. The captain and his crew resisted, but he was killed, with one of his men, and five were wounded.[3] Her armament was transferred to another vessel, which was placed under the command of Jeremiah O'Brien, who received from the government of Massachusetts a commission as marine captain. As early as the 2d of September, Washington, who was then in command at Cambridge, issued commissions, authorizing those who held them to cut off the supply-vessels of the English as they

[1] Yet in 1668–9 the colony of Massachusetts had sent a ship-load of masts to Charles II.; and at the end of the century, Bellomont, in one of his despatches home, says that from the port of Boston there sailed more vessels built in New England than belonged to all Scotland and Ireland. Bellomont urged on the home government the importance of making in America their own tar and pitch. New Hampshire was already sending masts, yards, and bowsprits to England, and Bellomont shows the government how they could save by carrying them for themselves. This was in 1700 and 1701.

[2] [Cf. "Ships of the Eighteenth Century," by Admiral Preble, in *United Service*, x. 95, 117. — ED.]

[3] [On the capture of the "Margaretta" at Machias, see Kidder's *Military Operations in Eastern Maine*, p. 39; *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 142; *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 251; Com. F. H. Parker in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 209; Drisko's *Life of Hannah Weston* (Machias, 1857), ch. vii. Cf. also *Journal of Mass. Prov. Cong.* (Boston, 1838), pp. 395–96. The account in Dawson's *Battles* (i. 47) is based on Goldsborough's *Naval Chronicle* and Cooper's *Naval History*. — ED.]

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entered the harbor.[1] The provincial congress at once legalized their capture, so far as its enactments could do so, and six vessels were commissioned by the province of Massachusetts Bay, — the "Lynch," the "Franklin," the "Lee," the "Washington," the "Harrison," and the "Warren."

On the 16th of October, Washington, acting under instructions from Congress,[2] directed Broughton and Selman, captains in the Marblehead regiment of Continentals, to take their companies on board the "Lynch" (six guns) and "Franklin" (four guns), and attempt to intercept in the river St. Lawrence two English transports bound for Quebec, with military stores. They did not find these two vessels; but they took ten other prizes, attacked and took a fort on the Island of St. John, and brought off as prisoners of war the governor and one of the judges of that island.[3] On their return in December to Massachusetts, both officers were reprimanded for exceeding their instructions, and both prisoners and prizes were released. The Congress and Washington were still maintaining a friendly attitude towards Canada and the other northern provinces, and gave up prizes and prisoners in hopes of conciliating them. Meanwhile, on the 29th of November, another Marblehead captain, John Manly, in command of the schooner "Lee," took the brigantine "Nancy" from London, as she entered Massachusetts Bay, laden with military stores for Howe.[4] We have the contemporary records of the joy of the Americans at Cambridge, and the dismay of the besieged in Boston. The extemporized camp of the besiegers read with delight from the invoice of her stores such phrases as "two thousand muskets," "one hundred and five thousand flints," "sixty reams of car-

[1] [The steps leading to this action of Washington, who felt authorized to take it by giving a liberal interpretation to his commission, were these: As early as June 7, 1775, the Massachusetts legislature had considered the question of creating a naval force, but moved cautiously (Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 111). Rhode Island moved first, June 12th, and put two vessels in commission under Abraham and Christopher Whipple, and in July they were cruising. (On this and other early movements in Rhode Island, see Arnold's *Rhode Island*, ii. 351, 363, 369, 386; Staples's *Annals of Providence*, pp. 265–270; *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi.; Gammell's *Life of Samuel Ward;* and Ward's journal in *Sparks MSS.*, lxviii. no. 7.) By July 1st Connecticut had begun to move. Washington's first commission was given to Capt. Nicholas Broughton, of Marblehead, accompanied by instructions, which are given in Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 517, when he took command of the "Hannah" (Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 260). John Adams says (*Works*, x. 27; *Letters of Washington to John Langdon*, 1880, p. 19) it was John Manly's application to Washington for authority to fit out a cruiser that led directly to this step, and that Manly was the first to fly a Continental flag, and to have a British flag struck to him.

For the early navy of Pennsylvania, see Wallace's *William Bradford*, p. 130, and in the Appendix of the same work we have an account of the first naval combat on the Delaware, and the first hostile guns heard by Congress, when the "Roebuck" and "Liverpool" were driven down the river by the American flotilla.

On the early movements in Virginia, see *Va. Hist. Reg.*, i. 185; *Southern Lit. Messenger*, xxiv. 1–273. — ED.]

[2] [Hancock's letter of instructions, October 5, 1775, is in Sparks's *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, i. 56. Cf. *John Adams's Works*, i. 187; x. 31. — ED.]

[3] [Selman's own account of this exploit has been printed in the *Salem Gazette*, July 22, 1856. Cf. Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, iii. 193. — ED.]

[4] "Lord Amherst laments the capture of the ordnance vessel, — says her cargo amounted to £10,500. The Board is censured for not putting her stores into a vessel of greater force." Hutchinson's *Diary* (July 10). [Manly continued to gain and deserve the commendation of Washington (Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 266, 271). For an account of Manly's being driven into Plymouth, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., ii. 158. — ED.]

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Navy Board Eastern department
Boston Decem^r. 27^th 1775

Sir

Whereas you have been appointed by the Hon.^ble Congress a Captain in the Navy These are to Impower and Direct you to take the Command of the Boston Frigate now in this harbour You are therefore to repair on board and Exert your self to Equip her for the Sea with all possible Expedition You are to employ your utmost Endeavours to Man her and to return us as soon as possible a List of such men as are Suitable for your Lieutenants and other officers having regard to such as have Served in the Navy and the Rank they have borne and to do all such Matters and things as shall promote the Service with the utmost dispatch and when the Ship is Equipped and manned apply to us for further orders. —

To Capt. Samuel Tucker

Wm Vernon
J Warren
John DeShon

COMMODORE TUCKER'S ORDERS.[1]

tridge paper," "thirty-one tons of musket shot," "three thousand round-shot for 12-pounders, four thousand for 6-pounders."

Before the end of 1775 the Continental Congress ordered that five ships

[1] [After original in the *Tucker Papers*, in Harvard College library, giving him, by direction of Congress, charge of the frigate "Boston." — ED.]

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of thirty-two guns should be built, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four. This order was carried out, and these vessels are the proper beginning of the navy of the United States.[1] Almost every one of them, before the war was over, had been captured, or burned to avoid capture. But the names of the little fleet will always be of interest to Americans, and some of those names have always been preserved on the calendar of the navy. They are the "Washington," "Raleigh," "Hancock," "Randolph," "Warren," "Virginia," "Trumbull," "Effingham," "Congress," "Providence," "Boston," "Delaware," "Montgomery." The State of Rhode Island, at the very outbreak of hostilities, commissioned Abraham Whipple, who went with his little vessel as far as Bermuda, and, from his experience in naval warfare earned in the French War, he was recognized as commodore of the little fleet of American cruisers. England had no force at Bermuda to resist him, and he found the inhabitants friendly. A raid, directed by Congress, had already brought from the island all the powder in their stores, and this was one of the first supplies which Washington received at Cambridge.[2] Meanwhile, every maritime State issued commissions to privateers, and established admiralty or prize courts, with power to condemn prizes when brought in. Legitimate commerce had been

[1] [Rhode Island, as she had put the first armed vessel afloat, was also the inciter of the movements in Congress which resulted in this fleet, her members, in Oct., 1775, having urged action (4 Force, iv. 1838). John Adams gives us the successive stages of the movement (*Works*, ii. 463; iii. 7. Cf. Gammell's *Ward*, 316, and the *Journal of Congress*, 1775). A naval committee was instituted Oct. 13th, and in December it was enlarged, to have a member for each colony. John Adams tells us his labors on this committee were the most agreeable he had in Congress; and he always took great credit to himself for being mainly instrumental in committing Congress to a naval policy (*Works*, ix. 363; *Familiar Letters*, 166), and it was he who drew up the Rules of the naval service (*Works*, iii. p. 11; *Journal of Congress*, 1775, p. 282). In tracing the official action of Congress towards the navy, beside the *Journals*, use the index of Ben: Perley Poore's *Descriptive Catal. of Government Publications;* the indexes to the *Amer. Archives*, under such heads as "armed vessels," "fleet," "Mass. armed vessels," "marine committee," "navy," "privateers," "prizes," "row galleys," "seamen," "vessels," and the names of naval characters. The incongruous character of Force's indexes increases the labor considerably in using the *Archives*.

The beginnings of the navy, beside being followed in Cooper, Clark, etc., can be traced in W. E. Foster's *Stephen Hopkins*, ii. App. M; in Bancroft, ix. 134, or final revision, v. 50; in Silas Deane's correspondence in *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. Washington ceased to exercise any supervision over the armed fleet after the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776. General Ward, who was then left in command in Boston, commissioned Captain Mugford to cruise, June, 1776, before he received any blank commissions from Congress. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 203.

In 1775 David Bushnell invented at Saybrook a machine for blowing up the enemy's vessels, called the "American Turtle." It is described in the *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 315, 322, 333, with references. — ED.]

[2] [Sparks's *Washington*, i. 36; iii. 77. There is a memoir of Whipple, with a portrait (cf. also E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 26), in Hildreth's *Pioneer Settlers of Ohio* (1852), pp. 120–164. There are letters of Whipple among the *Com. Tucker Papers* in Harvard College library. Few of the earlier captains made more captures than Samuel Tucker. Washington commissioned him in Jan., 1776. His reputation as a naval officer was mostly made during his command of the frigate "Boston," in one of whose voyages he took John Adams to France in 1778. The log of this voyage is preserved in Harvard College library, where are also a collection of Tucker's papers, embracing his instructions, correspondence, and logs. They have been used in John H. Sheppard's *Life of Samuel Tucker* (Boston, 1868), which is abridged by the author in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1872 (xxvi. 105). Cf. *New Eng. Mag.*, ii. 138; Niles's *Register*, xliv. 140; and Johnston's *History of Bristol and Bremen, Me.* — ED.]

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largely checked,[1] and, as has been said, the seamen of the country, who had formerly been employed in the fisheries,[2] or in our large foreign trade with the West India Islands and with Europe, gladly volunteered in the private service. Till the end of the war the seamen preferred the privateer service to that of the government. This fact, indeed, materially affected the somewhat bold proposals with which the Continental Congress began the war; and, at the time when the war virtually closed by Cornwallis's surrender, the national government, if it can be called such, had very few vessels in its service.

The larger maritime States had in commission one or more vessels from the beginning, but they found the same difficulty which the Congress found in enlisting seamen, when any bold privateer captain came into rivalry with them. The States of Massachusetts, of Rhode Island, of Connecticut, of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, and of South Carolina had, however, as we shall see, each nominally a naval force of its own, all through the war. The general disposition of all parties being the same, it was not difficult to unite Continental ships, state ships, and privateers, on occasion, in the same endeavor.

In March, 1776, the English fleet in Boston Bay, with a large number of transports, carried to Halifax the whole English army, and those inhabitants of Massachusetts who did not venture to remain.[3] Meanwhile, the English government at home was sending large reinforcements to Howe, and he was not as successful as he could have wished in meeting at sea the vessels which brought them, and turning them into Halifax. Among the first considerable successes of the privateers and the armed ships of Massachusetts Bay were the capture of several of these vessels as they came unsuspiciously toward the harbor of Boston. The Connecticut brig "Defence," of fourteen guns, the Massachusetts State schooner "Lee," of eight, and three privateer schooners attacked two armed English transports off Cape Cod, and captured them after a sharp action of an hour. The next day they took a third, and in this way five hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the Americans. This was on the 17th and 18th of June, 1776.[4]

As early as the 22d of December, in 1775,[5] Congress had appointed Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, commander-in-chief of its navy, and had named four captains beside, with several lieutenants, the first of whom was John Paul Jones. Hopkins and the rest fitted a squadron of eight small vessels, of which the "Alfred" (twenty-four guns) was his flag-ship.

[1] See note at the end of this chapter.

[2] [On the fisheries as a school for the navy of the Revolution, see Lorenzo Sabine's *Report on the Fisheries of the U. S.* (Washington, 1853), p. 198, and Babson's *Gloucester*. The histories of the maritime towns of Massachusetts touch this point, like Rich's *Truro*, Roads's *Marblehead*, E. V. Smith's *Newburyport*, etc. — ED.]

[3] Cf. *ante*, ch. ii.

[4] [Adams's *Familiar Letters*, 186. The continued naval exploits of Seth Harding and Samuel Smedley, of the Connecticut armed vessels, are recorded in sundry letters in the *Trumbull Papers* (MSS.), vol. v., etc. — ED.]

[5] *Journals of Congress*, i. 213.

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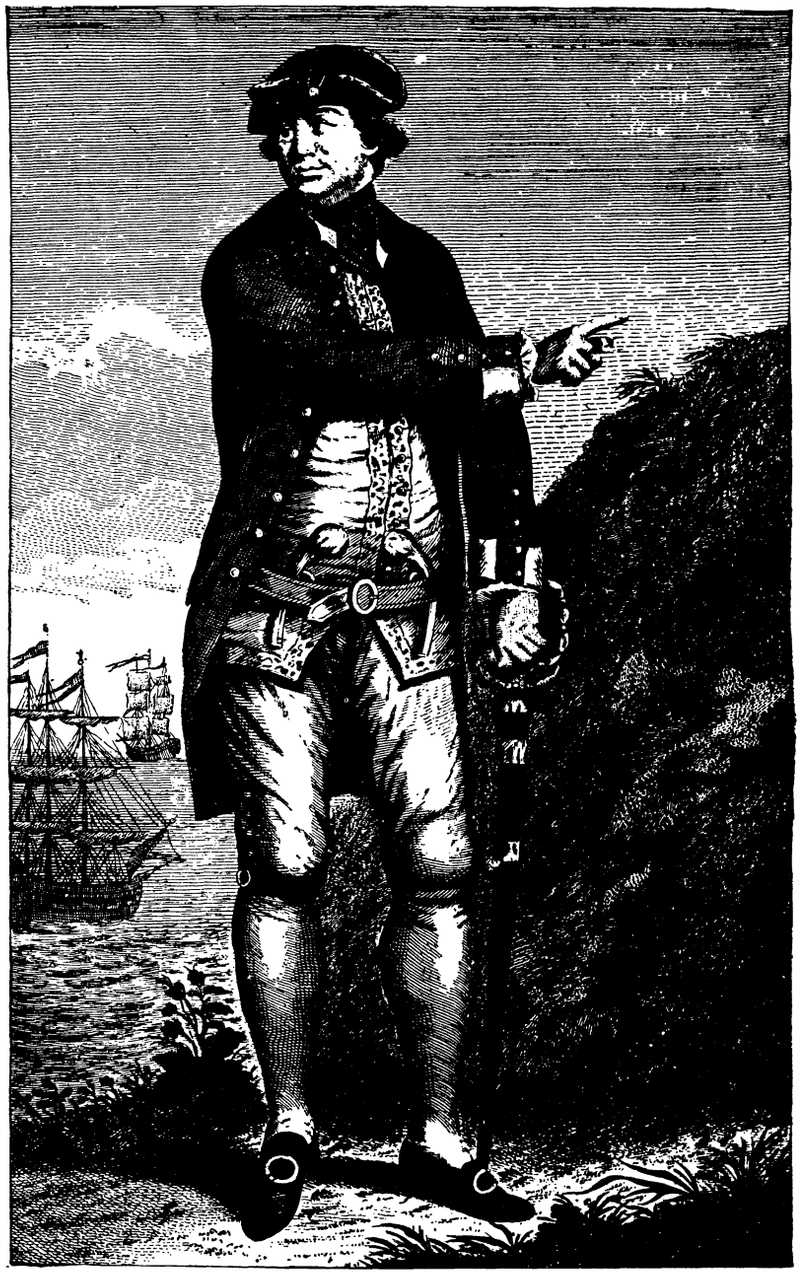

ESEK HOPKINS.[1]

[1] [From an engraving in *An Impartial History of the War in America*, London, 1780, p. 310, where he is called "Robert Hopkins, Commodore of the American Sea-forces," in a sketch of his life which is far from accurate, and which is cited in the *United Service*, Feb., 1885, etc. A more common picture is given in Murray's *Impartial History* (vol. ii.), which has been fre-

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Jones was with him as his lieutenant. With this force they made a descent upon New Providence in the Bahamas, and although they failed in obtaining a stock of powder, which they had hoped for, they did capture a hundred cannon and a large quantity of other military stores.

On his way home, Hopkins took a tender of six guns and a bomb brig off Long Island, and on the 6th of April, with a part of his squadron, engaged the English ship-of-war "Glasgow," of twenty guns. He did not take her, but the audacity of the attack, made by vessels each of which was her inferior, pleased the country, and it was at first represented as a great victory. When it was learned that Hopkins had five vessels, however small, to the Englishman's one, a reaction of public feeling took place, from which he never recovered. He was honorably acquitted by a court-martial, but never regained full public confidence, and he does not appear in the public naval service afterwards. This hasty public condemnation seems to have been unjust, and to have cost the country the service, in its national navy, of a skilful and brave commander.[1]

While Hopkins was undergoing his trial, on the 10th of May, 1776, Paul Jones was appointed to the command of the "Providence," in place of Hazard, who did or did not fight her as he should have done in the engagement with the "Glasgow." Through the summer, Jones was engaged in cruising. At one time he ran as far as Bermuda, and afterwards to the eastward as far as Canso. In this summer cruise he made sixteen prizes, and his reputation as a favorite dates from this time.

On the 10th of October a resolution of Congress fixed the rank of captains in the navy. James Nicholson[2] was first, Manly second, McNiel third, Saltonstall fourth, Lambert Wickes eleventh, John B. Hopkins fourteenth, and Paul Jones eighteenth on a list of twenty-four.[3]

Jones was not pleased that his rank was not higher, but eventually his achievements were such that his reputation probably now stands higher as a successful officer than that of any of the number.

While he was cruising at the East, Nicholas Biddle,[4] in the "Andrea Doria," a little brig carrying fourteen 4-pounders, took two armed trans-

quently reëngraved. (Cf. *The Providence Plantation for 250 Years*, Prov., 1886, p. 61; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 844; *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, i. 844; *Harper's Mag.*, xxiv. 160.) There is a German print in the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa* (1778), and a Dutch one in *Nederlandsche Mercurius*, xxiii. p. 128.

The best known picture is one published in London, Aug. 22, 1776, by Thomas Hart, of which a reproduction is given in Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, and in the *United Service* (xii. 137, 300), Feb., 1885, accompanying a memoir by Admiral Geo. H. Preble. (Cf. Preble's *Hist. of the U. S. Flag.*) It represents "Commodore Hopkins" standing on his deck, sword in hand, with two ships in the background, one bearing a Liberty Tree flag with the motto "An appeal to God;" the other having a striped flag with a serpent across the stripes, and the motto "Don't tread on me." (Cf. E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 12, and Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. p. 844.) — ED.]

[1] [Cf. Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 353; *John Adams's Works*, iii. 65. Bancroft, in his orig. ed., ix. 134, charges Hopkins with incompetency, but omits the accusation in his final revision, v. 50. — ED.]

[2] Cf. *United Service*, xii. 411.

[3] *American Archives*, ii. 1394.

[4] There is a portrait of Biddle in the Pennsylvania Hist. Soc. gallery. *Catal. of Paintings*, no. 138.

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ports filled with soldiers, and captured many merchantmen. On returning from his cruise he was appointed to the "Randolph" (thirty-two guns), which had been built that summer in Philadelphia and was launched in the autumn. Biddle's reputation was high in consequence of his success, and early in 1777 he sailed on the "Randolph's" first cruise. He captured four Jamaica-men when he was three days out, one of which had an armament of twenty guns, but he was then blockaded in Charleston by an English force through the summer.[1]

In the autumn of 1776, Jones, at Newport, took command of the "Alfred" (twenty-four guns) and "Providence" (twelve guns), and in the month of November went to sea. He was fortunate enough to take the armed ship "Mellish," with stores for Burgoyne's army. But while returning to Boston with her, he met the "Milford" (thirty-two), an English frigate. He succeeded in turning her away from his prize and brought it into Boston harbor. The "Mellish" had ten thousand suits of uniform on board, in charge of a company of soldiers. It was when he arrived that Jones found that he was only eighteenth on the list of captains, and this really meant that there was hardly a ship which he could expect in the service, and that if he found any it would be even inferior to the "Alfred."

On this occasion he first used Poor Richard's rule, "If you want a thing done, do it yourself." He went to Philadelphia to urge his own claims on Congress or its naval committee. But they could not work impossibilities, and it was not till some months later that he was appointed to the "Ranger." He believed that she was the first armed vessel to display the national American flag. It was not till November, 1777, that he got to sea with her. He hoped to carry out the great news of Burgoyne's surrender. But the government of Massachusetts had been too quick for him. They had commissioned the brigantine "Perch," with a special messenger, Jonathan Loring Austin, and he had arrived in France with the news some days before Jones appeared.

Lambert Wickes, the eleventh on the list of captains, had been the first officer to carry a national cruiser across the ocean. He was directed to take Dr. Franklin to France in the "Reprisal," and did so, — in a voyage which gave Franklin a high opinion of his ability. Several times he beat to quarters when an attack from a hostile force seemed possible, but with such a passenger he did not, of course, court an action. When near the coast of France he made two or three prizes and brought them in with him.

His arrival and theirs, and the arrival of some other prizes which had been taken early in the year by other privateers, opened all the questions

[1] The government of South Carolina gave him four war-vessels of their own, and early in 1778 he went out to meet the English blockading squadron of four vessels, hoping to find himself of superior force to them. He did not meet the squadron, but east of the Barbadoes, on the 7th of March, he did meet the "Yarmouth," sixty-four guns, and, apparently relying on the four small vessels he had with him, he bravely engaged her. But after an action of twenty minutes the "Randolph" blew up, nor was it until five days after that a part of her crew were picked up by the "Yarmouth" on a piece of the wreck. The other vessels of Biddle's squadron escaped.

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regarding neutrality, which recently, in our civil war and afterwards, made the history of the cruiser "Alabama" so important a feature in modern international law. France made no treaty with America until the end of 1777. Till that time — indeed, until the formal rupture with England — she was under very strict treaty obligations with that power. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) provided that "it shall not be lawful for any foreign Privateers to fit their ships in the Ports of one or the other of the aforesaid Partys, to sell what they have taken, or in any manner whatever to exchange either Ships, Merchandises, or any other Ladings." Wickes was annoyed and provoked at the treatment he received from French officials, who pretended to observe the obligations by which the French king was thus bound. But he succeeded in going to sea again, and made a successful cruise around Ireland, taking several prizes.[1]

The French people looked with great satisfaction on such captures. But war was not yet declared with England by France, and the French cabinet knew perfectly well that the act of Wickes involved a flagrant violation of French neutrality. The fitting out war-vessels in French ports was not only wrong, under a fair construction of international law, but the king of France had specially waived all right to harbor privateers of foreign powers — unless they were in actual distress — by these special articles in this treaty. Wickes could never understand this. He knew that France was sending munitions of war to his countrymen. Why should France not permit him to bring his prizes into French ports to sell? And the temptation was great. Once and again he slipped out to sea; and he sent in one and another prize. But at last Vergennes, the French minister, could bear it no longer. Poor Wickes's last letters show how strong the hand of France was, even upon her friends.[2]

[1] The reader will be interested in his own simple account of the voyage, as contained in his report to Franklin and the other commissioners. We print it from his manuscript as a good illustration of the straightforward loyalty of the man.

PORT LEWIS, *Feb'y 14th, 1777.*

GENTLEMEN, — This will inform you of my safe arrival after a tolerable successful cruise, having captured 3 sail of Brigs, one snow, and one ship. The Snow is a Falmouth Packet bound from thence to Lisbon. She is mounted with 16 guns and had near 50 men on board. She engaged near an hour before she struck. I had one man killed. My first Lieut. had his left arm shot off above the elbow, and the Lieut. of Marines had a musquet ball lodged in his wrist. They had several men wounded, but none killed. I am in great hopes that both my wounded officers will do well, as there are no unfavorable symptoms at present. Three of our Prizes are arrived, and I expect the other two in to-morrow. As I am informed that there has been two American Private ships of war lately taken and carried into England, I think it would be a good opportunity to negociate and exchange prisoners, if it could be done; but I submit to your better judgment to act as you think proper. I should be very glad to hear from you as soon as possible, and should be much obliged if you would point out some line or mode to proceed by in disposing of prisoners and prizes, as nothing will be done before I receive your answer to this. I hope you 'll excuse my being more particular at present.

From, Gentlemen,
Your most obliged h'ble serv't,
LAMB'T WICKES.

[2] "This will inform you," he writes on the 12th of August, "of my present unhappy situation. The Judges of the Admiralty have received orders of the 6th inst. from the Minister at Paris, ordering them not to suffer me to take any cannon, powder, or other military stores on board, or to depart from this port on any con-

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All the diplomacy of Franklin, the good-nature of Vergennes, and the real sympathy of the French people could not forever prevail. Wickes was at last ordered squarely to make ready for America, and did so. But, alas! the refitting seems to have been incomplete, and he never reached the United States. His vessel was lost off Newfoundland, and only one man was saved.

The other name which should rank with those of Jones and Wickes as one of those early naval heroes who in a courageous though fitful manner kept the stars and stripes afloat in European waters, and infested the English shores to the annoyance of their merchant marine and the terror of the maritime towns, is that of Gustavus Conyngham. In the spring of 1777, before Wickes had rendered himself so utterly obnoxious to the French ministry as he afterwards did — before the complaints of Lord Stormont had received much attention, Silas Deane, ever on the lookout for the accomplishment of some successful naval enterprise, took thought with William Hodge, a Philadelphia merchant, and planned what was to be the boldest raid yet made upon the English shipping. A lugger was purchased at Dover and sent around to Dunkirk, that old nest of smugglers and privateersmen. She was fitted out with an armament and crew, and given, with the name of the "Surprise," to Gustavus Conyngham, for a raid on the English marine. The expedition was partly public and partly private in its nature. Conyngham was, however, an officer in the navy, for he was furnished with one of the blank commissions given the commissioners for that very purpose, signed by John Hancock, president of Congress. This point was of some importance to him afterwards, when he was accused by the English of piracy. The charge was groundless. The commissioners had received power to create officers in the navy of the United States, by virtue of these blank commissions, which were to be filled out to suit the circumstances. Conyngham sailed from Dunkirk with instructions to cruise in the British Channel for merchant vessels, and to look particularly for the "Prince of Orange" packet from Harwich. He was fortunate. On one of the very first days of the cruise he came across the packet, captured her without a blow, and then made sail with his prizes for Dunkirk. He had also taken a brig.

But this breach of French neutrality was too shameless. A storm of English complaint compelled the French court to take firmer measures than they may have desired. Conyngham and his crew were put in prison, the lugger was confiscated, the prizes were returned. The French, indeed, went so far that the English government, quite deceived by their great zeal, sent

sideration whatever, without further orders from Paris. In consequence of these orders, they came on board on Saturday to take all my cannon out and to unhang my rudder. I have prevented this for the present by refusing to let them take rudder or cannon without producing an order from the minister for so doing. As I told them, my orders corresponded with theirs in regard to continuing in port, but I had no order to deliver anything belonging to the ship to them, which I would not do without orders, and if the ministers insisted on it, made no doubt but you would give your orders accordingly, which would be readily complied with on my part when such orders were received. My powder is stopped, and they have been contented with taking my written parole not to depart until I receive their permission."

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over vessels to bring to England Conyngham and his crew to be tried for piracy. But to this point the French could not quite go.

The affair caused great excitement in England. It was so unexpected, so bold, so audacious, that no one could tell what would come next. As a consequence, insurance rose quickly. British ships were no longer considered safe, even in the English Channel. There were at one time in the Thames as many as forty French vessels loading with English merchandise, while it is said that ten per cent. was sometimes paid as insurance for the short passage between Dover and Calais. Although the measures of the French government tended to quiet apprehension, it was some little time before confidence was restored.

Meanwhile, the planners of the first scheme had resolved to repeat the outrage. Another cutter was bought, again at Dover, and equipped with fourteen sixes and twenty-four swivels. Conyngham's release was obtained through the courtesy of the French ministry, and that of his crew, by the representation that they were to sail upon a trading voyage. Mr. Hodge himself went surety for the truth of this statement. The French court did not like the business; they would have preferred that the expedition should be abandoned, and they offered to purchase the cutter of its owners. But it was declared to the ministers that the voyage was for trading purposes only, and that the owners would suffer serious loss if it were not allowed to proceed, and they gave way. The business is not a clear one. It seems evident that the French suspected that all was not as it should have been, but that they were deceived as to the real object of the expedition. It is not probable that they desired to blind themselves to the truth, for they were at this time in a delicate position with England through the operations of Wickes, Johnston, and Nicholson, and there was but little in the aspect of American affairs that would have tended to make them consider an alliance with the United States with such seriousness as to be willing to allow the English ministry to have more cause for complaint than could be helped. However this was, Conyngham sailed in the "Revenge" on the 18th of July for another cruise, by no means a trading voyage. In this case, also, although the ship was undoubtedly fitted out in a measure by private parties, Conyngham himself sailed with a regular commission. His former one had been taken from him when he was imprisoned, and sent to Versailles, and was never heard of again. This second commission was drawn on one of the blanks with which the commissioners were furnished.

This cruise was even more successful than the former, although no such capture was made as that of the Harwich packet. Conyngham made prize of several ships, alarmed the English merchant marine again, threatened the English coast, actually refitted his vessel in an English port, having made his way thither in disguise, and escaped with safety to Spain in course of time. Most of his prizes were disposed of to the benefit of the United States government as well as of the private parties concerned. There was more English complaint in Paris, but nothing actually came of it beyond the

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imprisonment of Mr. Hodge in the Bastille. But he was shortly released on such representations by the commissioners as seem to have satisfied the French court.

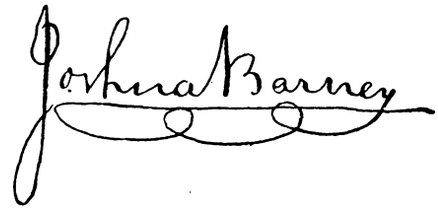
Captain Johnston does not appear among the twenty-four captains first commissioned by Congress; but in the spring of 1777 he took the "Lexington" across to Europe, and arrived there in April. With the "Dolphin," under Lieutenant Nicholson, a brother of Nicholson who was senior captain, he went to sea under Wickes's command in the cruise which has been described. But in a second cruise fortune failed him. He engaged the "Alert," an English man-of-war cutter of force somewhat less than his own; but after a long action, having expended all his ammunition, he was obliged to surrender. It is said that his little vessel was the first to bear the American flag in an ocean victory. She had already been taken once, and once recaptured by her own crew, after they had been placed under an English prize crew. She had taken many prizes, and had won for herself a reputation in both hemispheres in only one year and eight months, which comprise all her American service.

As a consequence of her capture, Johnston and his crew were made prisoners. At one time the English had nearly one thousand American seamen imprisoned in Forton, near Portsmouth. But the successes of Jones and other cruisers, after the French alliance enabled the Americans to keep their prisoners, compelled the English administration to assent to an exchange; and in the winter of 1779–80, most of the Americans were released by such exchanges.[1]

It is impossible, within the space at our command, to give any detail of the successes of the various armed vessels, whether fitted out by individuals, by States, or by the Congress on the shores of the United States.

[1] [On the questions arising from the carrying of prisoners by the American cruisers into European ports, see Hale's *Franklin in France*, ch. xi. and xviii. On American prisoners in England, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, June, '82, p. 428; *Memoirs of Andrew Sherburne*, p. 81; occupants of Old Mill prison, near Plymouth, *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1865, pp. 74, 136, 209; occupants of Forton, and journal of Timothy Connor in *Ibid.*, xxx. 3, 175, 343; xxxi. 18, 212, 288; xxxii. 70, 165, 280; xxxiii. 36; journal of Samuel Custer, etc., *Ibid.*, Jan., 1878; Charles Herbert's *Relics of the Rev., Amer. prisoners in England* (Boston, 1847), with lists of names and the edition of 1854, called *The Prisoners of 1776, compiled from Herbert's Journal by R. Livesey;* narratives in Moore's *Diary*, ii. 344, 437. In 1780 there was reprinted in London, to be sold for the benefit of the American prisoners then in England, a *Poetical Epistle to George Washington*, by the Rev. Charles Perry Wharton of Maryland, which had been originally printed in Annapolis in 1779. There was prefixed to it an unusual portrait of Washington, "engraved by W. Sharp from an original picture."

Perhaps the most distinguished of the Americans confined in the English prisons was Joshua Barney, and the story of his several confinements and escapes is told in *A Biographical Memoir of the late Commodore Joshua Barney, from autobiographical notes and journals in the possession of his family*, by Mary Barney (Boston, 1832). Cf. Lossing in *Field-Book*, ii. 850; *Harper's Monthly*, xxiv. 161; *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, i. 105. — ED.]



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A good authority [1] says that, in 1776, 342 sail of English vessels were captured by the Americans. Of these, forty-four were recaptured, eighteen released, and the rest carried into port. The same authority tells us that in the year 1777 the commerce of England suffered a loss of 467 sail, though the government kept seventy cruisers on the American coast alone. Such successes were not of course without their compensations. In March the English captured the brig "Cabot," of sixteen guns, one of the first American cruisers. When Gen. Howe took Philadelphia the Americans were obliged to destroy the "Andrea Doria," the "Wasp," and the "Hornet." The "Raleigh," one of the Continental frigates, got to sea from New Hampshire. She engaged the "Druid," an English vessel in convoy of the Windward Island fleet, and disabled her, so that she returned to England.

When 1778 began, of the new frigates ordered in 1775, the "Congress" and "Montgomery" had been burned in the Hudson that they might not be taken; the "Delaware" had been captured in the bay whose name she bore, and the "Hancock" taken off Halifax. At about the same time the "Randolph" blew up, as has been told. In 1778 the "Washington" and "Effingham" were burned in the Delaware by the enemy, and the "Virginia" was captured by a squadron of theirs on her first voyage. To supply the places of the unfortunate ships which were lost so soon after they were built, the government had commissioned the "Alliance," the "Confederacy," the "Deane," afterwards called "The Hague," and the "Queen of France." Of these, the three first carried thirty-two guns each, and the last twenty-eight. The "Alliance" and "The Hague" were the only two, of all the seventeen, which remained in the service when the war was over. While the American naval force, so far as it was under Continental orders, was thus insignificant for any action against an English fleet of more than seventy vessels, the arrival of D'Estaing with a large French fleet off the capes of the Delaware, in July, did much to hold that force in check and to compel it to act on the defensive. Before describing the movements of D'Estaing's fleet, we must return to the eastern side of the Atlantic, and continue the history of naval warfare on the coast of England.

Such captures as those made by Wickes and Conyngham, under the very eye of the English nation, naturally attracted more attention among those who led the public opinion of England than did any captures made by the navy of America on her own coast, and there were bolder movements yet to claim their attention than any we have chronicled.

John Paul Jones was a native of Scotland, but at an early age he removed to America, and he had been engaged there in commerce many years before the breaking out of the war. As the reader has seen, he crossed the Atlantic in hopes of obtaining a better vessel than Congress could give to him on this side of the water. But he found on his arrival that no such vessel was to be had at once. He therefore refitted the "Ranger," the

[1] *Almon's Remembrancer.*

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vessel in which he had crossed the ocean, and in the month of April, 1778, he made a bold descent on the coast of Scotland and England. In this expedition he took the English ship "Drake," of a force quite equal to his own, and he brought her with him as a prize into the harbor of Brest. In this voyage he made a landing on the Scotch coast, and his men carried off the family plate from the mansion of the Earl of Selkirk. Jones himself had been in the service of this nobleman, and he made it a point of honor to buy back the plate from his men and send it to the Countess of Selkirk.

The news of his exploit was of no little importance for the American name in France. It seemed to open an opportunity for giving to Jones the command of the "Indian," a fine vessel then upon the stocks, and through the summer he was amused by this hope and by various enterprises which were proposed for so energetic a leader. Of his disappointments and of his renewed expectation full record has been left in his letter-books. One of the plans was that of a descent on the English coast, to be made by a French force under the command of La Fayette. Jones was to be the naval leader of this expedition. But as the alliance of France with America was now determined on, the French government enlarged their plans. D'Estaing was sent to the American coast, and La Fayette and Jones were told that their services would not be needed. In the midst of these disappointments, Jones had given up the command of the "Ranger," which he would have thought better than nothing. It is at this moment that he says he adopted "Poor Richard's" motto, which, as our reader knows, he had tried before in America, — "If you want a thing done, do it yourself," — and went to Paris himself to urge his claims for employment. The result of his visit was that an old Indiaman was bought for him, which he transformed into a two-decked frigate, and to this ship, in compliment to Franklin, his fast friend, he gave the name of "Bonhomme Richard," that being the French translation of "Poor Richard." She was armed and equipped in haste, which, as it proved, was almost ruinous. The "Alliance," under Landais, the "Pallas," hired for the expedition, and two smaller vessels, joined the squadron. These two vessels were privateers, and the cost of the whole expedition seems to have been borne, in part at least, by private adventurers. The seamen were persons of all nationalities. But Jones and his own officers on the "Richard" were Americans serving under the American commission. With this heterogeneous squadron Jones sailed, and the several vessels made a good many rather insignificant prizes. They passed around the north of Scotland, and came down on the east side of the island into the Northern Ocean. On the 23d of September he discovered the Baltic squadron of merchantmen in the convoy of the frigate "Serapis," and the "Countess of Scarborough." Jones's squadron at this time consisted of the "Richard," the "Alliance," and the "Pallas." The English squadron was commanded by Richard Pearson.

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Pearson signalled to his convoy to take care of themselves, and at once engaged the American squadron, unless we say that they engaged him. The "Pallas" took the "Countess of Scarborough" in an action of which we have not any such account as could be wished for. The fight between the "Richard" and the "Serapis" was long and close, and proved indeed to be one of the most remarkable naval duels in history. The two vessels were of about the same force in respect to the number of guns. But on the first discharge of the lower-deck guns of the "Richard," two of them burst, so inferior was their metal, and the men at the other guns on that deck refused to fight their batteries, probably not unwisely. They repaired to the upper deck, and through the rest of this remarkable action the lower-deck guns of the "Serapis" were served against the main deck of the "Richard" without receiving any reply. Jones fastened the ships together, it is said, with his own hand, as soon as they first touched each other. Through the action their sides were so close that not only at the moment when one party attempted to board the other, but for most of the battle, it was easy to pass from ship to ship. They had been for some time engaged when the firing of the "Richard" slacked, and Pearson called to know if she had struck. It was then that Jones made the ominous reply which has become almost proverbial: "I have not begun to fight." When he did begin to fight he showed all the remarkable qualities which certainly made him a great naval commander. He was willing to serve guns with his own hands, but he kept an eye on everything which was passing on both ships. He succeeded in so placing one or two of his guns that he nearly raked the enemy's deck fore and aft, and it was almost impossible for any man to stand against his fire. This terrible action raged through several hours of the night. The anxieties attending it for the Americans were the more acute, because Landais, in the "Alliance," rendered no direct assistance, but hovered around, firing occasional shots, which the American seamen always declared were aimed at their vessel and not at their enemies. The crisis came at last, when some sailors on the main-yard of the "Richard" succeeded in dropping hand-grenades through the open hatchways of the "Serapis" upon the men at work there. One of these grenades fired some loose powder, which was followed by the explosion of a powder-chest, which demoralized all the crew in that part of the vessel. Pearson was obliged to surrender. But so close and so confused had been the action that it is said that his first-officer, when he heard the cry "She has struck!" believed that it was their antagonist that had surrendered, so confident was he still of victory.

Jones carried the prizes, the "Serapis" and the "Scarborough," into the Texel, in Holland. The "Richard" was so damaged that she sank the day after the battle.

It may readily be imagined that this exploit, by which two English men-of-war were carried away in triumph under the very eyes of the people of Scarborough, excited immense attention in all Europe. Jones

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was the hero of the hour. He was literally crowned with laurel at the theatre, and the French government made him the most flattering proposals with a view to his taking command in their service. Jones himself and all his officers were mad with rage at the conduct of Landais. Nothing but the enthusiasm of the alliance between the two nations had made him the commander of an American frigate. Franklin and Jones would have been glad to try him by court-martial, but this proved impossible. He was sent home in the "Alliance," and on the way became evidently insane. All necessities of a court-martial were thus avoided.[1]

This ill-success of Landais was a good enough illustration of the danger of entrusting seamen of one nation to a commander from another. Either this danger or some other consideration prevented the French government from employing Jones. But the hope of such service was so constant with him that he took no command from the government of the United States for some time. And thus his service, which might have been of great importance, was lost, while he was dangling in antechambers.

These conflicts on the coast of Europe attracted, as has been said, more of the attention of Europe than the naval battles between England and America in other seas. But the years 1777 and 1778 had not passed without frequent naval engagements on the American coast, some of them of considerable importance. In May, 1777, Manly took the "Hancock" and "Boston," frigates from the port of Boston, with which he captured the English frigate "Fox." The three vessels looked into the harbor of Halifax, and drew into action the "Rainbow," the "Flora," and the "Victor," a superior force. The two smaller American vessels escaped, but the "Hancock" was sacrificed.

The "Raleigh," one of the thirteen frigates built for the Continent, had, as the reader knows, made a successful cruise in the end of 1777. The next year, with the "Alfred," one of the little favorites in the beginning of the war, she sailed from France. Both vessels were overtaken by a superior English force, and the "Alfred" was lost, though the "Raleigh" succeeded in reaching Boston. At that time most of the naval force of the Congress was in Boston harbor. It consisted of but three vessels, the "Warren," the "Raleigh," and the "Deane," each of thirty-two guns. The State of Massachusetts had in the same harbor the "Tyrannicide," the "Independent," the "Sampson," and the "Hancock," of fourteen guns and of twenty. But besides this little fleet, so insignificant in itself, hundreds of privateers were afloat, many of them of force nearly equal to the largest of the vessels which have been named.

It had been the hope of Franklin in Paris, of Paul Jones, his naval adviser, and of the court to which they both gave counsel, that D'Estaing's fleet might arrive off Delaware Bay in time to shut up the English fleet there. The same issue was feared in England.[2] But D'Estaing was just too late.

[1] Landais survived until the year 1818, when he died at the age of eighty-seven years, in the city of New York.

[2] See Hutchinson's *Diary*, at the date of D'Estaing's sailing.

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He arrived on the 7th of July off the capes; he only landed his passengers, Deane, and Gérard, the new French minister, and without even watering his fleet followed the English fleet to New York. Had he entrapped them in the Delaware, a crisis like that of Yorktown might have come three years earlier.

But the harbor of New York was too well protected by the intricacies of its channels to make an attack possible. D'Estaing remained in the offing off Sandy Hook for some days, and then bore away for Newport. His co-operation with the army of Sullivan is described in another place.[1]

A full letter from Cooper to Franklin exists among the Franklin papers,[2] which gives D'Estaing's own view of the transactions which followed, and that view is probably substantially correct. When he threatened the English fleet in New York Bay, it consisted of six ships of the line, six fifty-gun ships, two of forty-four guns, with smaller vessels. When he entered Newport Bay the English burned the "Orpheus," the "Lark," the "Cerberus," and the "King-Fisher," — of various force, from thirty-two guns to twenty, — and several smaller vessels. When, in conjunction with Sullivan, D'Estaing attacked the town, the English burned the "Grand Duke" and the "Flora," of thirty-two guns, with fifteen transports. While he was in Newport Bay, Byron's English fleet reinforced the fleet in New York, and they were now strong enough to retaliate on D'Estaing and give to him the challenge which he had so lately given to them. With a fleet of thirty-six sail, fourteen of which were double-deckers, they appeared off Newport.

D'Estaing was not averse to a contest. On the 10th of August, with the advantage of a fresh north wind, he took his squadron to sea. The English admiral, Howe, slipped his cables and went to sea also. D'Estaing did not avoid a battle, and, in the gale which followed, engaged the rear of the English fleet. But his own flag-ship, the "Languedoc," was dismasted in the gale, and, after communicating with Sullivan again, he went round to Boston to refit.

Samuel Cooper, in writing the letter to which we have alluded, is well aware that there was some popular disappointment because the Count D'Estaing had not done more. But he resumes the whole by saying: "The very sound of his aid occasioned the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army; his presence suspended the operation of a vast British force in these States, by sea and land; it animated our own efforts; it protected our coast and navigation, obliging the enemy to keep their men-of-war and cruisers collected, and facilitated our necessary supplies from abroad. By drawing the powerful squadron of Admiral Byron to these seas, it gave security to the islands of France in the West Indies, an equilibrium to her naval power in the Channel, and a decided superiority in the Mediterranean."

When it is remembered that, in the events of the summer and autumn,

[1] See Notes, following this chapter.

[2] It is printed in *Franklin in France*.

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the English lost twenty vessels in their collisions with D'Estaing's fleet, it must be granted that its exploits were by no means inconsiderable.

Of the American ships which have been spoken of, the "Raleigh" was the only one which was seriously engaged in this year. She put to sea on the 25th of September, with a small convoy. Before night she was pursued by two cruisers of the enemy. Barry, the commander, ran his ship on shore and saved his officers and men; but the "Raleigh" was floated by the English and taken into their service.[1]

Meanwhile, in adventures which separately do not claim the dignity of historical narrative, the public and private cruisers from New England so swept the ocean that they sent into Boston most of the provision ships intended for the English army in New York. D'Estaing was able to leave Boston on the 3d of November for an expedition to the West Indies, with a fleet provisioned with the very stores which had been provided for his enemies. His vessels had been thoroughly repaired, cleaned, and sailed in good condition, and well fitted for the important duty assigned to them.

Early in 1779 the "Alliance" was fitted out for France, from Boston, to take General Lafayette on an important mission home. She was under the command of Pierre Landais, of whose misbehavior afterwards, in the battle of the "Serapis," the reader has been informed. Landais was already so unpopular that American sailors would not enlist under him, although the "Alliance" herself was a favorite vessel. Lafayette was, however, eager to be on his way, and at his urgent instance a crew was made up by accepting the services of English seamen, prisoners of war, who had been taken when the "Somerset" was shipwrecked on Cape Cod. As might have been expected, a mutiny was planned before she reached France; but it was fortunately revealed by an Irish seaman who was loyal to his new country. Passengers and officers united in confining the mutineers, and the ship was safely brought to France. She was a fine, new, swift vessel. Seamen liked her, though they disliked Landais. Another crew was obtained for her, and it was thus that she sailed with Paul Jones. It has been more convenient to speak of her after-history as we described transactions in the European waters.

In April, a squadron of three vessels, commanded by Hopkins in the "Warren," sailed from Boston and overtook a fleet of transports and storeships which Clinton had sent from New York to Georgia. Hopkins captured eight out of ten vessels, of which three were armed. By this brilliant success the Americans took as prisoners twenty-four officers and a large number of private soldiers.

[1] [For accounts of Barry, see Dennie's *Portfolio*, x.; *United Service Mag.* (xii. 578), May, 1885, by Admiral Preble; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 847; Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 304. The narrative of Luke Matthewman, one of Barry's lieutenants, is in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 175, copied from the *N. Y. Packet*, 1783. — ED.]

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In the same summer, Whipple, one of the old commanders, in the "Providence," fell in with a large convoy of English merchantmen bound from the West Indies to England. The American officer disguised his vessel, or concealed her character, so that he boldly entered the fleet as one of their number. As night fell, on each of ten successive days he boarded and captured some vessel from the convoy, and eight of the prizes thus taken arrived in Boston. Their cargoes were sold for more than a million dollars, and the bold venture is spoken of as the most successful pecuniary enterprise of the war.

Early in the same year, Hallett, in the "Tyrannicide," a cruiser of the State of Massachusetts, took the "Revenge," a privateer cruiser from Jamaica.[1] In the same summer, John Foster Williams, in the Massachusetts cruiser "Hazard," engaged the "Active," an English vessel with a larger force, with success. He was then transferred to the "Protector," a ship of twenty guns, in which he engaged the "Duff," an English privateer, which blew up after an action of an hour.[2]

These successes, perhaps, stimulated the State of Massachusetts to attempt an enterprise which proved the most unfortunate in her military history, and was the end of her separate state naval force. John Foster Williams, who had commanded the "Protector," was very popular, and he was placed at the head of the state squadron, consisting of the "Tyrannicide," the "Hazard," and the "Protector," fitted out by the State against the English post at Penobscot, which was then within her own borders. The state authorities obtained from Congress, as an accession to their own force, the "Warren," the "Diligent," and the "Providence," which were nearly all that were left of the Continental navy. Some privateersmen joined the expedition. The whole naval force was placed under Saltonstall, who had a Continental commission. The land force consisted of 1,500 militiamen. This little force landed near the end of July; but Lovell, the land commander, thought his force insufficient, and sent for reinforcements. While they were waiting, Sir George Collier appeared with five English vessels. Saltonstall did not dare engage them, and ran his own ship, the "Warren," on shore and burnt her. Most of the other vessels followed his example, and the rest were captured by the English. The crews, with the land forces, abandoned the expedition, and returned to Boston by land.

The national navy of the United States was thus reduced to the very lowest terms. Of the few vessels left, four were taken by the English when they captured Charleston, namely, the "Providence," the "Queen of France," the "Ranger," and the "Boston." Nor had Congress much enthusiasm for replacing them. In the first place, Congress had no money

[1] [A MS. journal of a cruise on board the brigantine of war "Tyrannicide," in the service of the State of Massachusetts Bay, John Allen Hallet commander, in 1778, is in the Boston Public Library. — Ed.]

[2] [The log of the "Protector" is in the library of the N. E. Hist. Geneal. Society. Cf. Ebenezer Fox's *Revolutionary Adventures* (Boston, 1838); *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 187. — Ed.]

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with which to build ships; and in the second place, the alliance with France gave it the use of a navy much more powerful than it could itself create.[1] It was also clear enough that the great prizes to be hoped for in privateering gave a sufficient inducement to call out all the force the country had for naval warfare. The history of such warfare can never be written, but the

I The Subſcriber *Samuel Tucker, Commander of the Continental Ship of War Boston*

do hereby acknowledge myſelf a Priſoner of War to His Majeſty, and moſt ſolemnly and ſtrictly bind myſelf by all the full, implicit and extenſive Faith and Meaning of a Parole of Honour, which I hereby give to His Excellency Vice-Admiral ARBUTHNOT; and that I will not directly, or indirectly, either by Word or Deed, take any further Part in the Di pute between Great-Britain and the Britiſh Colonies in North-America, until regularly exchanged for an Officer of equal Rank in His Majeſty's Service.

May 20th 1780 *Sam'l Tucker*

TUCKER'S PAROLE, MAY 20, 1780.[2]

[1] The following is an official list, sent to Franklin in March, 1780, of the navy of the United States at that time: —

"America" (74 guns), Captain John Barry, on the stocks at Portsmouth, N. H.

"Confederacy" (36 guns), Seth Harding, refitting at Martinico.

"Alliance" (36 guns), Paul Jones, in France.

"Bourbon" (36 guns), Thomas Read, on the stocks in Connecticut.

"Trumbull" (28 guns), James Nicholson, ready for sea in Connecticut.

"Deane" (28 guns), Sam'l Nicholson, on a cruise.

"Providence" (28 guns), Ab'm Whipple; "Boston" (28 guns), Sam'l Tucker; "Queen of France" (20 guns), I. Rathbourne; "Ranger" (18 guns), S. Sampson, — within the Bar at Charleston, S. C., to defend that harbor.

"Saratoga" (18 guns), J. Young, on the stocks at Philadelphia.

Cf. *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. iii.

[2] From the *Tucker Papers*, in Harvard College library. He commanded the "Boston" when surrendered.

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damage which the privateers inflicted upon the enemy's commerce was such that the mercantile classes of England became bitterly opposed to the war. On the other hand, it has been said, and probably truly, that New England, the home of the privateers, was never more prosperous than in the last years of the Revolution, so large were the profits made in privateering enterprises.

After the fall of Charleston, the principal vessels left in the national navy were the "Alliance," the "Hague," formerly the "Deane," the "Confederacy," the "Trumbull," the "Saratoga," and the "Ariel." In February, 1781, the "Alliance" crossed to France, and started to return with the "Marquis de Lafayette," a ship of forty guns, laden with a very valuable cargo of stores for the government. A few days after, she took the "Mars" and the "Minerva," heavily armed privateers, and then parted from her consort. The "Lafayette" was captured soon after, to the great distress of the American army, which needed her stores; but the "Alliance" completed her cruise, and, on the 28th of May, captured the "Atalanta" and the "Trepasy," two English cruisers. The "Atalanta," however, was subsequently taken by an English squadron. The "Confederacy," which was launched in 1778, was captured by the English in the West Indies, on the 22d of June. Captain Nicholson, in the "Trumbull," after a romantic series of adventures, surrendered to the "Iris" and the "Monk" in August of the same year. The "Congress" in September captured the sloop-of-war "Savage." In the next year, which was the last of the war, the "Alliance" made a cruise in which she maintained her reputation. The "Hague," the only frigate which remained to the nation, having been given to Manly, whose success in the beginning of the war gave such joy to Washington and his army, "this officer in a manner closed it," as Fenimore Cooper says, "with a very brilliant cruise in the West Indies."

The signal success of Count de Grasse in blocking up Lord Cornwallis in the Chesapeake, and the history of his engagements with Rodney and others, belong more properly to another chapter of this history.[1]

It is a misfortune for the history of this country that no intelligent man in New England interested himself in the systematic history of the privateer enterprises of the United States in the Revolution while the seamen lived who engaged in them. But no such person undertook this historical work, and the materials do not now exist from which it could be thoroughly done. Some details noticed by authors of the time excite attention and surprise as they reveal the magnitude and number of the prizes made by the privateers. Such is the statement, cited above, that the prizes sent in by Whipple in one cruise exceeded one million dollars in value. Hutchinson, in his diary, reports the belief that seventy thousand New Englanders were engaged in privateering at one time. This was probably an overestimate at that moment. But it is certain that, as the war went on, many more than seventy thousand Americans fought their enemy upon the sea.

[1] See chap. vi.

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On the other hand, the reader knows that there was no time when seventy thousand men were enrolled in the armies of the United States on shore.[1]

In the year 1781 the privateer fleet of the port of Salem alone consisted of fifty-nine vessels, which carried nearly four thousand men, and mounted seven hundred and forty-six guns. In 1780 the Admiralty Court of the Essex district of Massachusetts, which was the largest of the three admiralty districts, had condemned 818 prizes. It must not be supposed that other districts were insignificant. In the single month of May, 1779, eighteen prizes were brought into New London.

As has been said, there seems to be no method of making any complete computation of the magnitude of the privateer fleet at any one time. But an incomplete list in the *Massachusetts Archives* of those commissioned in that State gives us the names of two hundred and seventy-six vessels. As the reader has seen, the fleets from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Philadelphia were also large. It would probably be fair to say that between the beginning and end of the war more than five hundred privateers were commissioned by different States. The magnitude of the injury inflicted upon the English trade by these vessels may be judged by such a comparison as is in our power of the respective forces. In the year 1777 the whole number of officers and men in the English navy was eighty-seven thousand. Although Hutchinson's estimate is probably an overestimate, it is to be remembered that, as the reader has seen, there were at the same time very considerable naval forces in the employ of the several States and of the United States government. This would seem to show that, man for man, the numerical forces engaged by the two parties were not very much unlike. In the Atlantic Ocean, the Americans seem to have outnumbered the English.

After the navy of the United States, which was officered and built or purchased by Congress, the largest separate force was that of the State of Massachusetts. So soon as O'Brien and his friends seized the "Margaretta," as has been told, the provincial government took her into its service, and christened her the "Liberty," keeping her at first under the care of O'Brien.

For the first five years of the war, Massachusetts was governed by a committee of the Council. Many of the members of this committee, from time to time, were Boston merchants, of large experience in maritime affairs. The State was acting as an independent sovereignty. It contributed to the resources of its allies, the other States in the confederation, but none the less did it carry on war against the common enemy. It would sometimes happen that the State needed to make a remittance to France in its purchase of military stores. If the market were favorable, the merchants on the council boards would arrange for the purchase or

[1] [The table on a later page shows that there were nearly 90,000 Continentals and militia on the rolls at different times during 1776; but it is not probable that 70,000 were in service at any single time, and the terms of service were short. — Ed.]

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charter of a vessel on State account, and the State bought and sent to Europe the freight by which it made its payments to its agents. The naval archives of the commonwealth are therefore a curious mixture of warlike operations and of commercial adventure. It will sometimes happen that the vessel which appears in one month as a cruiser, officered and manned for war by the authority of the State, shall appear in another month as a merchantman, freighted for a foreign port and intended to bring home a cargo to be sold to the credit of the State. An interesting instance of the promptness of the government was its readiness in taking up and fitting for use a little brigantine which carried to Franklin, in Paris, the first news of Burgoyne's surrender. Paul Jones hoped, as has been seen, to carry out the same news in the "Ranger" from Philadelphia; but although his passage was but twenty days in length, he did not arrive at Bordeaux till the same day on which Austin, the messenger of Massachusetts, was telling the great news to Franklin and the commissioners at Passy.[1]

The navy of Massachusetts, between the beginning and end of the war, numbered at least thirty-four vessels. One or two of these were vessels which ranked in the language of that day as frigates. The finest and largest of them was the "Protector," built on state account at Salisbury, Mass., where the fine frigate "Alliance," which proved so successful and popular, was also built, almost at the same time. It may be said, in passing, that the names of the New England vessels showed very distinctly that men had not yet lost the traditions of their ancestry. The "Tyrannicide" was a favorite cruiser in the state navy, and the action which has been spoken of, in which she took the "Revenge," was one of the best fought battles of the war. The "Oliver Cromwell" was a Massachusetts privateer, and the name of the "Hampden" appears twice on the lists of those days. The keel of the "Protector" was laid in 1778, and she sailed first in 1780. But she was also one of the unfortunate squadron destroyed in the Penobscot. The failure of the well-planned but disastrous expedition to that river resulted in the destruction of all the important vessels belonging to the State.

We have only a partial catalogue of the privateers commissioned by the State between 1775 and 1783. It is sometimes difficult to draw the line between state cruisers and privateers, and it will sometimes happen that a vessel which has one year been chartered by the State, and officered in her commission, falls back the next year into the hands of her owners, and is equipped and fought by them under a privateer's commission. In this list there are rather more than three hundred names of separate vessels. Of the privateersmen sent out from Salem there is a separate list. Between

[1] There is a curious difficulty as to the name of this little vessel. In printed histories she is sometimes called the "Penet" and sometimes the "Perch." There is no question that the State owned a vessel called the "Penet," which was named from one of the mercantile agents in Nantes. But, after a careful examination of the manuscript of the journals of Mr. Austin, who carried the news, we are satisfied that the vessel was the "Perch," and that she is called the "Penet" in some of the manuscripts only from an error of the early copyists.

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the beginning and end of the war, the Salem vessels alone numbered nearly one hundred and fifty. The *Massachusetts Archives* give a list of three hundred and sixty-five, as commissioned and belonging in Boston. If we had lists, equally full, of the privateers which sailed from Falmouth (Portland), from the Merrimac, from Marblehead, from Falmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Barnstable, and the other towns on Cape Cod, it is probable that we should enlarge the list of Massachusetts privateers so that it should include more than six hundred vessels. It is to be remembered that all the regular operations of the fishing fleet were stopped, and that therefore, in every town on the coast, there were vessels and men ready for service, and very easily commissioned if a spirited commander appeared. To this number must be added the considerable list of what were virtually New England privateers among the vessels commissioned in France by Deane and Franklin.

The largest of these privateers, at starting, carried one hundred and fifty men. Such an exploit as Whipple's, which has been already recorded, would have been impossible unless he had as many as ten prize crews on his vessel, of fifteen men each. With each prize sent in, the fighting force of the captor was reduced, and in such reduction is the reason to be found why we often find that at the last a privateer captain was not able to fight his own ship, and, after he had sent in many prizes, was himself taken. On the other hand, the smallest of these vessels, equipped for short cruises, carried but few guns and few men.

Mr. Felt's statement of the privateer force of Salem and Beverly at the end of the war gives a total force of fifty-nine ships, carrying four thousand men. This would give an average of about sixty-six men to a vessel. The general estimate is higher, and we suppose that the average crew of a Massachusetts privateer, when she sailed, was about one hundred men.

If this estimate is correct, we must modify Hutchinson's statement so far as to say that, sooner or later, Massachusetts alone probably sent sixty thousand men out in warfare upon the seas. Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut probably sent twenty thousand more. Next to this fleet was that of the Delaware; next to that, the privateers commissioned in France; and to these must be added those from the Chesapeake and more southern waters.

The number of seamen and officers employed by the Continental Congress was probably largest in the earlier years of the war. No papers now exist which give full returns of this force. But it would probably be fair to estimate it as varying in different years from five thousand to ten thousand men. The several state navies represented, perhaps, as many more.

When one considers these forces in the privateer fleet and the national and state navies, the English force opposed seems surprisingly small. We have the official returns of the officers and men in the whole English navy for every year of the contest. The number comes up to 87,000, after England was well engaged with America, France, and Spain. But of this fleet

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a very considerable part was in the East Indies and on other stations. Almon's *Remembrancer* says distinctly that the number of men engaged against the colonies at sea in 1776 was 26,000. It is very sure that in that year the colonies had many more men at sea engaged against England. There were some English privateers; but their number was not considerable.

A comparison between the military and naval forces of America in the Revolution shows that the navy, in its various forms, embodied almost as many men as the army, and sometimes, indeed, more.

In a report sent by General Knox to Congress on the 11th of May, 1790, he gives the number of men actually in the Continental army year by year, the number of militia called out from time to time, and the number of men demanded in the quotas fixed by Congress. The last figures are of no great importance now, though they have some historical curiosity. The others exhibit the forces for seven years, thus: —

	Continentals.	*Militia.*
1775	27,443	37,623
1776	46,891	42,760
1777	34,820	33,900
1778	32,899	18,153
1779	27,699	17,485
1780	21,015	21,811
1781	33,408	16,048
1782	14,256	3,750
1783	13,476	*No militia.*[1]

It is to be observed that the number of militia stated here is largely conjectural; and in no instance were the men called out in service for any considerable time. A comparison of these figures with figures quite as authentic, which give the number of men who were afloat year by year for purposes of offence, either in the national or state navies, or in larger numbers in privateers, will show that, in some of the later years of the war, this naval service enlisted a larger number of men than were serving in the army. Indeed, as has been shown, Great Britain appears to have often had more American enemies afloat on the Atlantic than she had seamen and officers of her own upon that ocean.

Edward E. Hale

[1] [A curiously extravagant estimate of the extent of the continental forces engaged has been commonly set forth by adding these yearly figures, a process which takes no recognition of the fact that a man serving through three years, for instance, is counted in each year. The history of this confusion is traced in a paper by Justin Winsor in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1886. — ED.]

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GENERAL EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE earliest account of the Revolutionary navy was in Thomas Clark's *Naval History of the United States from the Commencement of the Revolution* (Philad., 1813; second ed., 1814), in two volumes.

Chas. W. Goldsborough's *United States Naval Chronicle*, bringing the story down to 1822, was printed in Washington in 1824.

In 1828 there appeared at Brooklyn, N. Y., a *General View of the rise, etc., of the American Navy*, — a book of little importance.

The most important of all the accounts is the *Naval Hist. of the United States*, by James Fenimore Cooper, first published in Philadelphia in 1839, and in a second edition in 1840. In some respects, relating to the war of 1812, Cooper's views have been called in question; but his story of the Revolutionary navy is the result of investigations that have not, on the whole, been improved upon.[1] Cooper gives a list of the Continental cruisers, with the fate of each; and Lossing, in the summary of the Revolutionary naval history in his *Field-Book*, ii. 851, copies this list. An official and authentic record, with no attempt at a readable narrative, is found in G. F. Emmons's *Navy of the United States, 1775–1853, with a brief history of each vessel's service, to which is added a list of private armed vessels, previous and subsequent to the Revolutionary War* (Washington, 1853, published under authority of the Navy Department). The book contains a list of captures during the Revolution, both by public and private armed vessels.

On the British side, the earliest connected narrative is that in the fourth and fifth volumes of Robert Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, 1727–1783* (London, 1804). Among the later books are C. D. Yonge's *Hist. of the British Navy*,[2] and Allen's *Battles of the British Navy*.[3]

SPECIAL EDITORIAL NOTES.

I. PAUL JONES. — In respect to the lives of Paul Jones, Sabin's (ix. nos. 36,546, etc.) enumeration includes many anonymous and unimportant ones not now to be mentioned. The earliest biography of any original authority was one issued at Washington in 1825 (second ed. 1851), *Life and Character of John Paul Jones*, by John Henry Sherburne, register of the U. S. navy, and this was reprinted in an abridged form at London, the same year as *The life of Paul Jones from original documents in the possession of John Henry Sherburne, register of the Navy of the U. S.* This life was based upon documents in the naval archives of the government, upon some letters contributed by Thomas Jefferson, and upon some papers brought to light in a baker's shop in New York (*No. Amer. Rev.*, Oct., 1826, p. 292). These papers had been left by Jones, when he went to Europe, in the hands of his friend Ross, of Philadelphia. At Jones's death, and on his heirs' orders, these papers were handed over to Robert Hyslop, and, upon

[1] A third edition was printed at Cooperstown in 1848. Editions with revisions and additions were issued at New York in 1853 and 1856, use being made in part of matter collected by Cooper himself. An abridged edition was published in New York in 1856. There were other editions in London, Paris, and Brussels. Cooper's *Lives of distinguished Naval Officers* (Philad., 1846) includes only Paul Jones of the Revolutionary period.

[2] Second ed., London, 1866. The first ed. was in 1863.

[3] There are a few accessory books: J. Rolfe's *Naval Biography during the Reign of George III.* (London, 1828, in two volumes, — Sabin, xvi. 67,601). The *Detail of some particular services performed in America during the years 1776–1779* (printed for Ithiel Town, N. Y., 1835, — Sabin, v. 19,775) had previously appeared in *The Naval Chronicle*, and consists, in the main, of a journal supposed to be kept on board his Majesty's ship "Rainbow," while under the command of Sir George Collier, on the American coast. Town says that the book was privately printed from a manuscript obtained by him in London in 1830, and it is said that all but seventy copies were destroyed by fire. There is a copy in Harvard College library, and others are noted in the Brinley (no. 4,002) and Cooke (no. 708) sales.

John Adams sent to Congress in 1780 an account of the naval losses of Great Britain from the beginning of the war (*Diplom. Corresp.*, iv. 483, v. 234). A similar statement (1776–1781) on the British side is in the *Political Magazine*, ii. 452.

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this gentleman's death, came into the charge of his cousin, John Hyslop, the baker, in whose shop they were found by Mr. George A. Ward, of New York, by whom they were put at Sherburne's disposal. This biographer, hearing of other papers in Scotland, applied for them, but was refused, as it was intended to use them in another memoir. This other narrative appeared as *Memoirs of Rear Admiral Paul Jones, now first compiled from his original journals and correspondence* (Edinburgh, 1830, in 2 vols.; London, 1843, in 2 vols.). The author of it referred rather slightingly to the New York MSS. as "a few fragments," and claimed that Jones took to Europe the essential part of his papers, which by his will passed to his sisters in Scotland, and eventually to his niece, Miss Janette Taylor, of Dumfries, who possessed several bound volumes of them, beside other loose papers. Some of Jones's papers are in the possession of J. C. Brevoort, of Brooklyn; others are among the Force Papers in the library of Congress; and others in the Lee Papers in the libraries of Harvard College and of the University of Virginia. Franklin's letters to him are in Sparks's ed., vol. viii. The Taylor MSS. were the original material mentioned in the title of this Edinburgh edition, which was reprinted, under the editing of Robert Sands, in New York (1830) as *The life and Correspondence of Paul Jones from original letters and manuscripts in the possession of Miss Janette Taylor*. The Sparks Library has a copy of this book, with Miss Taylor's MS. annotations. Based upon the same material, but with some alterations and additions, was the *Life of Rear Admiral John Paul Jones, compiled from his original Journals and Correspondence* (Philad., 1845, 1847, 1853, 1858, 1869), which appeared under the editing of B. Walker. The *Life of Paul Jones by Alexander Slidell Mackenzie* (Boston, 1841, in two vols.) was written at the instance of Jared Sparks, and its merit is that it has sifted all the existing material, making a more readable and better constructed narrative than the others. Mackenzie acknowledges his use of the preceding lives, but says he has used guardedly a *Memoir of the Life of Capt. Nathaniel Fanning, an American naval officer, who served during part of the American Revolution under Commodore John Paul Jones* (New York, 1808), which is known in another edition as *A narrative of the Adventures of an American Naval Officer* (New York, 1806). Fanning is said to have been Jones's private secretary, though he is also spoken of as a midshipman on the "Bon Homme Richard." Thomas Chase, of Chesterfield, Va., published *Sketches of the life, character, and times of Paul Jones* (Richmond, 1850), which is of small extent, and in part derived from stories told by the author's grandfather, who had served with Jones.

A French *Mémoire de Paul Jones* (Paris, 1798) purports to be a translation under his own eyes, by "Citoyen André," of a narrative written by Jones himself. *Poole's Index*, p. 695, gives various periodical references to articles on Jones; and his career is the subject of J. F. Cooper's novel of *The Pilot*, and of its sequel, Dumas' *Capitaine Paul*. Cf. Herman Melville's *Israel Potter*. The Rev. E. E. Hale gives a chapter (no. xiv.) to his career in his *Franklin in France*.

For Jones's services in the "Ranger," see, beside the lives of Jones, the *Annual Register* (xxi. 176); Parton's *Franklin* (vol. ii.); a journal of Dr. Ezra Green in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1875, edited by Admiral Preble (whose own copy with additions is in the Mass. Hist. Soc.). A log of the "Ranger" is cited as belonging to a gentleman in Greenock in 1830; and one, Aug. 24, 1778, to May 10, 1780, is printed in the *Granite Monthly*, v. 64. The *Memoirs of Andrew Sherburne, a pensioner of the navy of the Revolution* (Utica, 1828; Providence, 1831) covers the service of a lad on the ship.

Of the remarkable fight of the "Bon Homme Richard" and the "Serapis" we have Jones's account in his letter from Texel to Franklin, also transmitted to Congress; the narrative of Dale, his lieutenant; and the letter sent to the admiralty by Capt. Pearson, of the English ship. These are given by Sherburne, the Edinburgh editor, and others. The account in Cooper's *Naval History* passed under the eye of Dale. The log-book of the "Richard" was in 1830 in the possession of George Napier, of Edinburgh. The statements about the progress of the fight are somewhat contradictory, and Dawson (*Battles*, 554) collates them. A letter of Jones to Robert Morris, Oct. 13, 1779, is in the *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1878, p. 442. Beside the accounts in the lives of Jones and the general histories, see Parton's *Franklin* (ii. 335); *Analectic Mag.* (vol. viii.); Allen's *Battles of the British Navy;* J. T. Headley's *Miscellanies*. The effect in England is depicted in Albemarle's *Rockingham and his Contemporaries* (ii. 381). The story of the flag of the "Bon Homme Richard" is told by Admiral G. H. Preble in his *Three Historic Flags* (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1874, and separately with additions, Boston, 1874, — the author's annotated copy being in the Mass. Hist. Soc.). There is a contemporary print of the fight by Peltro, after a painting by Robert Dodd (London, 1781). Cf. Barnard's *Hist. of England*, p. 693.

Jones accused Landais, who commanded the "Alliance," of failure to afford assistance, and of even firing into the "Bon Homme Richard." Landais published a *Memorial to justify Peter Landais' conduct during the late war* (Boston, 1784), and a *Second Part* (New York, 1787 ?),

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being his defence against the specifications of *Charges and proofs respecting the conduct of Peter Landais* (New York [1787]). Landais' quarrel with Jones and his subsequent career are traced in Hale's *Franklin in France*, ch. xvii. For Landais' claims on government, see B. P. Poore's *Descriptive Catal. of govt. publications*, pp. 61, 67, 82, 94; and Jones's claims can be traced in *Ibid.* Cf. *Journals of Congress*, iv. 796.

The *Diplomatic Correspondence* (vol. i.) shows the complications which the harboring of Jones and his prizes in Holland caused. For titles on this point, see Sabin (ix. 36,562, etc.) and Muller, *Books on America* (1872), p. 187, and nos. 1,181–1,187. The difficulty occasioned by the captures of Wickes and Conyngham, and their efforts to refit in French ports, as well as those of Jones, are set forth in Hale's *Franklin in France.*

II. PRIVATEERING. — The Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts, Nov. 13, 1775, authorized private-armed vessels to cruise, and established a court for condemning their prizes, — the law being drawn by Elbridge Gerry (Austin's *Gerry*, i. 92, 505; Barry's *Mass.*, iii. 58, and references; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 155; Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 261; *Gent. Mag.*, Jan., 1776; Almon's *Remembrancer*, ii. 149). For the provincial legislation, see Goodell's *Provincial Laws*, vol. v., under "Admiralty," "Letters of Marque," "Armed Vessels," and "Privateers," in the index.

For the early captures, see *Siege of Boston*, 269, 272, 289, 308; Adams's *Familiar Letters*, 208, 220, 230. Abigail Adams wrote, Sept. 9, 1776, "The rage for privateering is as great here as anywhere, and I believe the success has been as great" (*Familiar Letters*, 226). The *Massachusetts Archives* show how large the number of privateers was that hailed from that State. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 118, with references; and the *Report on the Mass. Archives* (1885), pp. 25, 27–29, 31, 34. Cf. a letter of Thomas Cushing on the building of armed vessels in Mass., in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Oct., 1886, p. 355; and a list by Admiral Preble of those fitted out in Massachusetts, 1776–1783, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1871. After Boston, the most activity was in Salem. Cf. extracts from *Salem Gazette*, quoted in A. B. Ellis's *Amer. Patriotism on the Sea* (Cambridge, 1884, and *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1884); *Annals of Salem*, by J. B. Felt; *Curwen's Journal*, 589; W. P. Upham's *General Glover;* life of E. H. Derby in Hunt's *Amer. Merchants*, vol. ii.; T. W. Higginson, in *Harper's Monthly*, Sept., 1886.

The records of the proprietors of the New Hampshire privateer "Gen. Sullivan" (1777–1780), showing how the business part of such enterprises was conducted, and the instructions given to commanders, have been printed by Charles H. Bell in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1869, pp. 47, 181, 289. Correspondence of Josiah Bartlett and William Whipple on privateering is in *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 73.

Concerning the Rhode Island privateers, we have William Paine Sheffield's *Rhode Island privateers and privateersmen* (an address, Newport, 1883); and an account of the privateer "Gen. Washington," in E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 275. (Cf. Arnold's *Rhode Island*, etc.) Newport is thought to have furnished more seamen than any port except Boston.

For those of Connecticut, see *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1873, p. 101; and on the whale-boat warfare, of which a large part was on Long Island Sound, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, March, 1882, p. 168; *N. Y. Evening Post*, July 18, 1853 (quoted by Ellis); Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 851; Onderdonk's *Rev. Incidents of Long Island*, i. 170–234. Cf. also F. M. Caulkins's *New London*, ch. 31; Hinman's *Conn. during the Rev.*, 592. The British expedition to Danbury was offset by the incursion of Connecticut whale-boats (May, 1777), under Return Jonathan Meigs, to Sag Harbor, where captures were made and shipping burned. Cf. Hildreth's *Pioneer Settlers of Ohio*, 532; Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 440; *Mag. of American History*, April, 1880. Judge Jones (*N. Y. during the Rev.*) asperses Meigs's character, and Johnston (*Observations*, etc., 23) defends him.

For those of New York, see *N. Y. City Manual*, 1870, p. 867. We know less about the privateers fitted out south of New York; but Robert Morris is said to have grown rich on the profits of such enterprises (Chastellux's *Voyages*, Eng. tr., i. 199, etc.). These ventures were far from uniformly successful, and the losses were many (cf. such instances as are detailed in Moore's *Diary*, i. 284, 316, etc.), but the losses inflicted by privateers on the British were vastly greater. Lecky (iv. 17) thinks that, though the allurements of such service helped to stay enlistments in the army, it was quite worth such a cost in the damage which the British suffered.

Congress first authorized privateers under Continental commissions March 23, 1776, and regulations were adopted April 2d and 3d, — Washington having made suggestions (*Journals*, i. 183, 296, 305; John Adams's *Works*, iii. 37). A collection of *Extracts from the Journals of Congress relative to prizes and privateers* was printed at Philad. in 1777 (Brinley, no. 4,112). For prize claims, see Poore's *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 1347; and for lists of prize cases, cf. *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., ii. 120.

We have various journals and narratives of cruises in privateers: the MS. *Journal* of Capt. J. Fish in the Amer. Antiq. Soc. (1776–77); Timothy Boardman's *Log-book, kept on board the*

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privateer Oliver Cromwell, during a cruise from New London, Ct., to Charleston, S. C., and return, in 1778; also, a biographical sketch of the author, by S. W. Boardman, issued under the auspices of the Rutland County Historical Society (Albany, N. Y., 1885); Solomon Drowne's *Journal of a cruise in the fall of 1780, in the private sloop of war Hope, with notes by H. T. Drowne* (New York, 1872), and reprinted in *The R. I. Hist. Mag.*, July, 1884; narrative of Capt. Philip Besom, of Marblehead, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, v. 357.

Respecting the international complications occasioned by the privateers, see the *Diplom. Corresp. of the Rev.* Capt. John Lee, of Marblehead, carried some prisoners taken from prizes, which he had sent home, into Bilbao in 1776, where he was put under arrest; but the news of the Declaration of Independence arriving at Madrid, he was discharged (George Sumner's *Oration at Boston*, July 4, 1859, p. 12; *Dipl. Corresp.*, i. 53). The Grantham correspondence, copied in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxiii.), shows much on these complications. The histories of American diplomacy in Europe at this time necessarily cover these points; and the copies of the Lord Stormont and Sir Joseph Yorke Papers, among the *Sparks MSS.*, show the complications which the ministers of England had to encounter in France and Holland. E. E. Hale's *Franklin in France* has a chapter on the American privateers sailing from Dunkirk. On the participancy of Franklin and Deane in the movements of the privateers, see Parton's *Franklin*, ii. 239. There were instances of privateers being retaken by their prisoners and carried into England (P. O. Hutchinson's *Gov. Hutchinson*, ii. 86).

PAUL JONES.[1]

III. THE RHODE ISLAND CAMPAIGN OF 1778. — In 1776 all the entrances to Narragansett

[1] After the medal struck in his honor by Congress, to commemorate his victory over the "Serapis." Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 299; Loubat's *Medallic Hist. U. S.;* Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 845; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 622; Thomas Wyatt's *Memoirs of the Generals, Commodores*, etc. (Phil., 1848, no. 23); John Frost's *Pictorial Book of the Commodores* (New York, 1845). Madison called Houdon's bust of Jones "an exact likeness." The familiar portrait by C. W. Peale represents him full face, with chapeau, has been engraved by J. B. Longacre, and is in Sherburne's *Life of Jones*. For a contemporary English print, see J. C. Smith's *British Mezzotint Portraits*, v. 1735.

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Bay had been fortified, except the westerly, or that one lying between Conanicut Island and the western shore of the bay; and accordingly, in December of that year, Sir Peter Parker with a British fleet entered by this passage, and, passing round the northern end of Conanicut, landed Sir Henry Clinton and a force of British and Hessians on Rhode Island, and occupied Newport (*New Hampshire State Papers*, viii. 411, 431; Bancroft, ix. 200, 357. Cf. G. C. Mason on the English fleet in R. I. in the *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. 301). The *Journals* of Congress, ii. 233, show a proposition to send fire-ships against the British in August, 1777. The Americans, under the direction of a French engineer, Malmedy, completed at once the defences of all vulnerable points round the bay, and the chart of the bay, made by the English engineer Blaskowitz in 1777, shows what some of these points were. The American as well as the British defences are enumerated in Gen. George W. Cullum's *Historical sketch of the fortification defences of Narragansett Bay* (Washington, 1884). Cf. also his paper in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, June, 1884. A section of Blaskowitz's map of the bay, 1777, given in E. M. Stone's *French Allies*, shows the defences of Providence.

D'Estaing, by reason of the draft of his heavier ships, had declined to risk entering New York harbor (Sparks, *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 155; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 387). A sketch in the Montresor Papers (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1881*, p. 505) gives the positions of the English and French fleets, July 22, 1778, respectively, within and without Sandy Hook. When D'Estaing sailed to Newport, it was in pursuance of a plan contrived with Washington for the capture of that place and the British forces there. On July 29, 1778, D'Estaing anchored near Point Judith. Sullivan was now in command of about ten thousand men, largely militia, and under him were Greene and Lafayette commanding divisions, and they all were gathered about the head of the bay.

CAPTAIN PEARSON.

Copies of Lafayette's letters during this campaign, made by him for Sparks, are in the *Sparks MSS.* no. lxxxiv. There were about 6,000 men under Maj.-Gen. Pigot in the Newport defences. On Newport in the hands of the British, see *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 1, 34, 69, 105, 133, 172, and the Journal in *Narragansett Hist. Reg.*, i. 28, 91, 167, 277. There was a small British fleet, mostly of thirty-two guns each, protecting their water-front. When on August 5 D'Estaing began to send his ships in, the British burned or sunk their ships. The plan agreed upon by the joint forces was to attack the British on August 10; but Sullivan had crossed his troops over to the island earlier than D'Estaing expected, since he found that

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Pigot was drawing in his troops from the northern end of the island, and massing them nearer Newport, while the French troops had not yet landed so as to be ready to act in concert. This was the condition, when one morning, as the fog lifted, the English fleet of Howe was seen off the entrance of the bay. Some of the French chanced to come together. The storm damaged both fleets equally, and each commander sought a harbor as best he could; Howe at New York, and D'Estaing at Newport.

The movements of the British fleet are followed in a *Candid and impartial narrative of the transactions of the fleet under Lord Howe* (London,

COUNT D'ESTAING.[1]

ships were outside and exposed, and so D'Estaing promptly passed out to keep his fleet together and present his strongest front. Howe declined battle, because the French had the weather-gauge. A gale coming on, both fleets sought sea-room and were widely scattered, so that little fighting took place except as opposing vessels

1779). Cf. also Sir John Barrow's *Life of Richard, Earl Howe* (London, 1838). In the *Third report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, p. 124, there is noted a diary on the fleet, July 29–Aug. 31, 1778. There is an account of a participant on the French fleet, given in Moore's *Diary*, ii. 85. Paul Revere speaks of the storm as being

[1] After a copperplate engraving of a picture by Bonneville.

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of unexampled severity (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 251).

Meanwhile, on August 15, Sullivan began a movement down the island, and the British retired behind their two lines of defences. When D'Estaing reëntered the bay on the 20th, Sullivan had begun his approaches against the British works, but not wisely in plan, as General Cullum says. Sullivan urged D'Estaing to join in the attack; but that officer thought that his first duty, under his instructions, was to make the safety of his fleet sure, and accordingly did not dare risk, in his shattered condition, an attack from Howe, should the English admiral chance general, in an order which he found he must in part recall after the mischief had been done (Lodge's *Hamilton's Works*, vii. 557. Cf. Lafayette's letter to Washington in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii., Aug. 25; and a letter of Greene, in *Ibid.*, Aug. 28; also Greene's *Greene*, iii. 148). Sullivan thus gave the militia an excuse for deserting him. While in front of the British works and in this condition, Sullivan got intelligence from Washington that Clinton had sailed from New York with reinforcements for Pigot. Beginning a retrograde movement on the 26th, Sullivan stopped at the northern end of the island and strengthened his position, while Lafayette

D'ESTAING.[1]

to have fared better in the gale, and have made ready to fall upon him. So D'Estaing told Sullivan he must go to Boston to refit, and on the 22d he set sail, expressing regret that Sullivan had been so precipitate in passing over from the main. He declared that he could not help the American general, and this purpose he insisted upon, despite the protests of Sullivan and his officers. The predicament of the American commander was certainly an unfortunate one, but he was not steady enough of head to refrain from publicly casting reproach on the French made a fruitless visit to Boston to induce D'Estaing to return. That officer was not yet ready; his ships not yet repaired.

Meanwhile, on the 29th, the British, who had followed Sullivan, began to press him, and some fighting took place. The centennial of this action was celebrated August 29, 1878, and S. S. Rider includes an account of it in his *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, vi. S. G. Arnold delivered the historical address. This book has also Sullivan's Report, Aug. 31st; Pigot to Clinton; and the German account from Eelking's *Hülfstruppen*, translated

[1] From Andrews' *Hist. of the War*, London, 1785, vol. i. It is also engraved in *Extrait du Journal d'un officier de la marine* [Paris?], 1782 (two editions, but with different engravings). Cf. the portrait in Hennequin's *Biographie Maritime* (ii. 221); an engraving by Porreau in Jones's *Georgia*, vol. ii.; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 78, etc.

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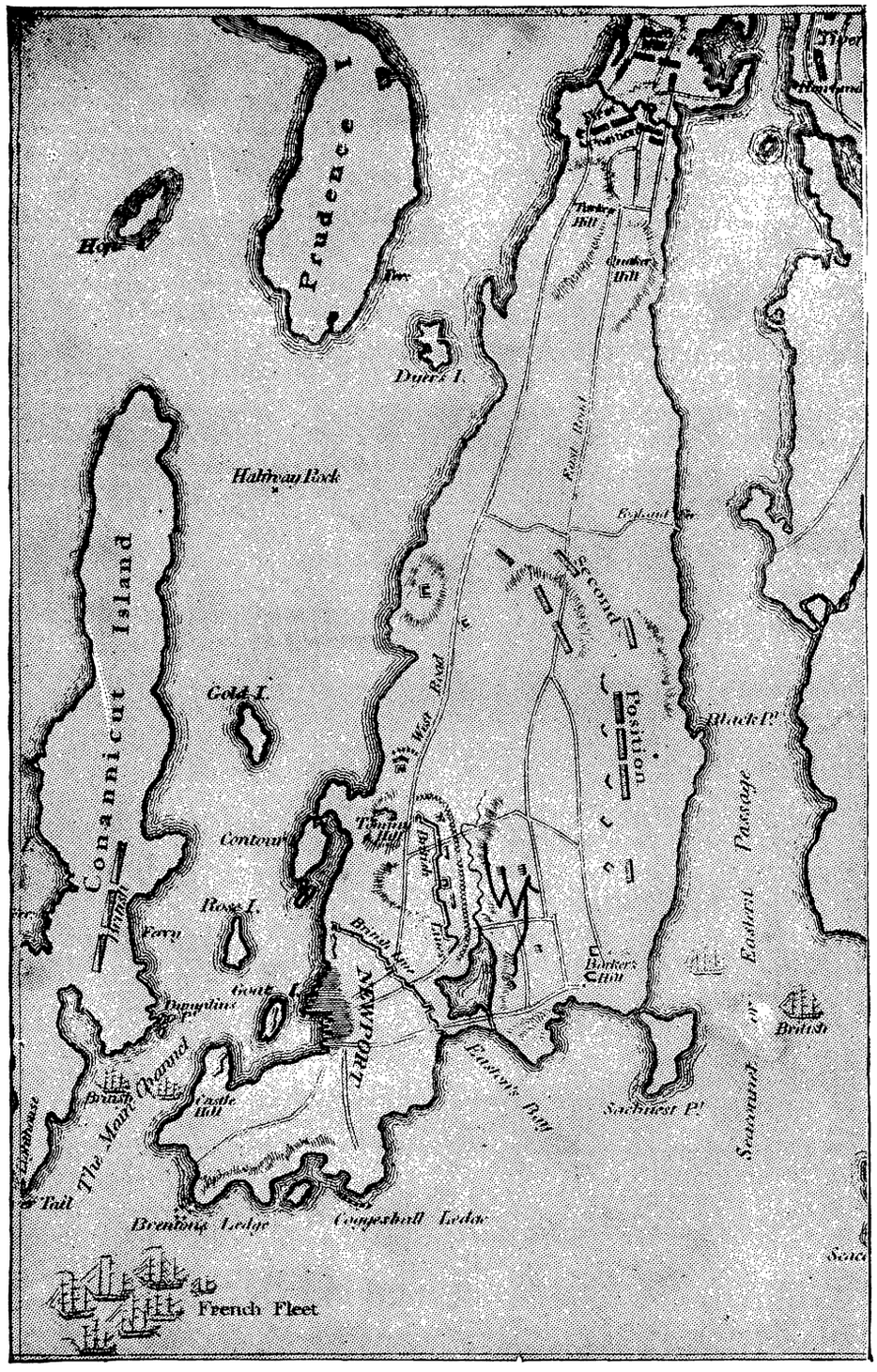

SIEGE OF NEWPORT, 1778.[1]

[1] From the map in the atlas of Marshall's *Washington*. Cf. E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 68; and the map given in Diman's address on the capture of Prescott. A MS. plan of the attack on Rhode Island, Aug., 1778, is among the Faden maps (no. 88) in the library of Congress.

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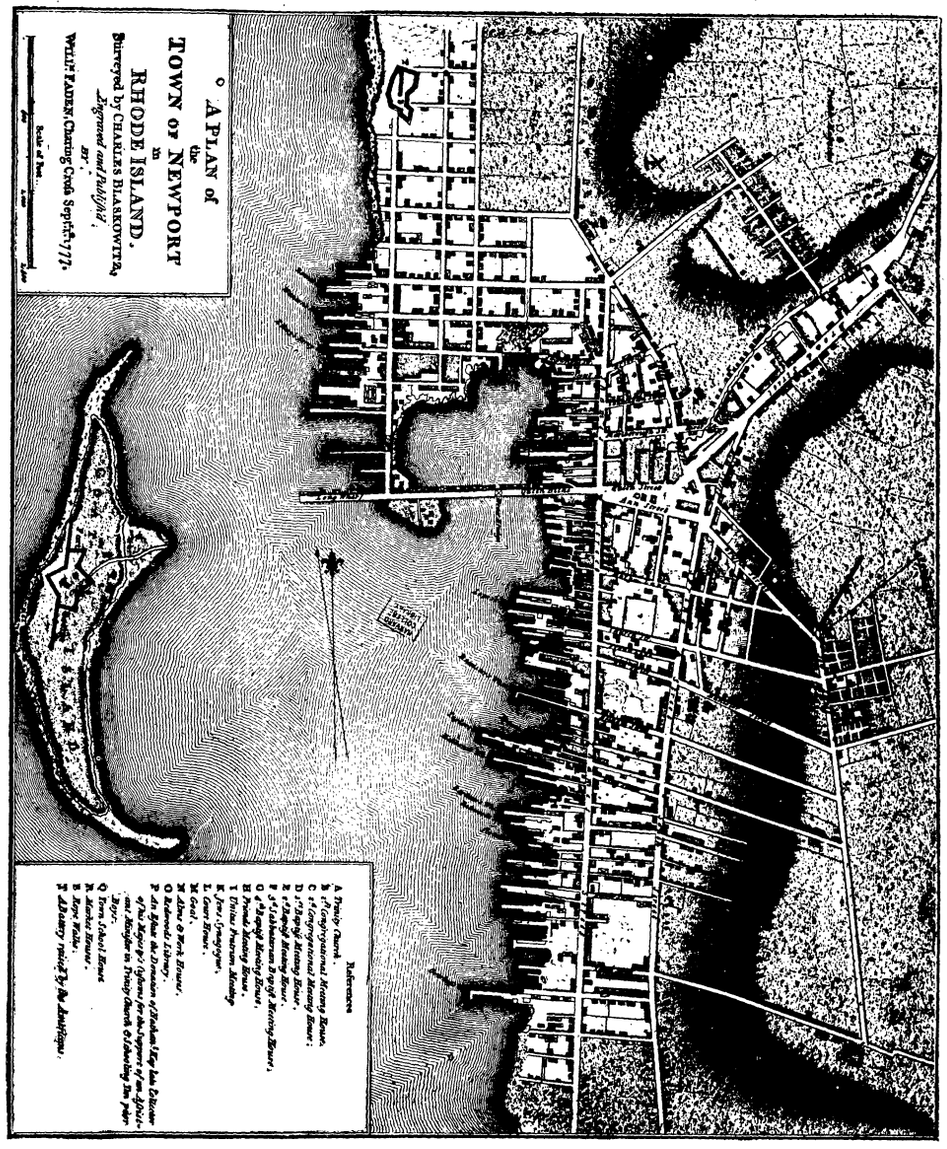

NEWPORT.[1]

by J. W. De Peyster. Cf. also *R. I. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1877–78), p. 88. A letter of Col. Trumbull, Aug. 20th, is in the *Trumbull MSS.*, and the fight is described in his *Autobiography*. A letter of James Lanman, Sept. 16th, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (xlvii. p. 29). Cf. Lossing's *Field-*

[1] This plan, by Charles Blaskowitz, was published by Faden in 1777, and is here somewhat reduced. Cf. fac-simile in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1879. A MS. map of the mouth of Taunton River and Newport harbor, by Charles Blaskowitz, is among the Faden maps (no. 89) in the library of Congress. There is another plan by Des Barres, published April 24, 1776, and making part of the *Atlantic Neptune*. A plan of Newport and the bay is in the *American Atlas*, nos. 17 and 18. The British had contemplated founding a navy yard at Newport in 1764 (*Rhode Island Hist. Mag.*, July, 1885, p. 42). Rider (*Hist. Tracts*, no. 6) gives a fac-simile of an old map.

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Book, ii. 89, and Arnold's *Rhode Island* and other histories of the State, and of Newport.

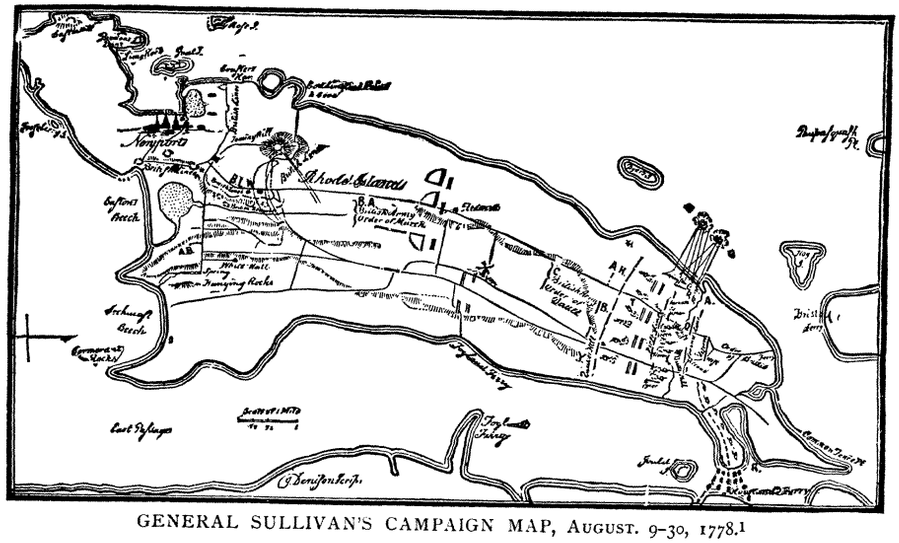
The British strength on the island, Aug. 22d, is given as 6,860 men; and the loss in the action of the 29th is given at 207 in all. *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. iii.

As night fell, the Americans deceived Pigot into thinking them at work on their defences, when in fact they were crossing to the mainland by two ferries. An hour before midnight Lafayette got back from Boston, and found this retreat going on. He took at once charge of the rear-guard, and by midnight the entire army was rescued.

The conduct of Sullivan in this brief campaign has been much criticised, and Thomas C. Amory attempts his defence in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (Sept., 1879), vol. xvii. p. 163; and *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (1879), vol. iii. pp. 550, 692. Cf. Amory's *Sullivan*, p. 70, and his papers in the *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, 1884, p. 106; 1885, pp. 244, 271. Sullivan's general orders are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xlvii., and in Upham's *John Glover*, p. 46. Letters of Sullivan are in *Sparks MSS.*, no. xx., including his correspondence with Pigot; others are in the *Trumbull MSS.*; some to Laurens, Aug. 6th and 16th, in the *Laurens Corresp.* (ed. by F. Moore), pp. 116, 120. One of the miscellaneous volumes of MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library (*Letters and Papers, 1777–1780*) is mostly made up of the papers of Meshech Weare, President of New Hampshire, and they include various letters from Sullivan, Whipple, and others during this campaign.

The French side of the controversy with D'Estaing is given in Chevalier's *Histoire de la Marine Française pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine*, and in a *Journal d'un officier de la Marine* (1782). The correspondence of D'Estaing is in the Archives de la Marine at Paris, and copies of much of it are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. i.). Arnold (*Rhode Island*, vol. ii.) used papers from these French archives.

The despatch of Pigot to his government is



GENERAL SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN MAP, AUGUST. 9–30, 1778.[1]

[1] This follows a sketch in E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 108, which is a reduction of the original (38 inches long, — scale, one inch to mile), given by Sullivan, after the retreat, to the government of Rhode Island, and discovered in the State House a few years ago.

KEY: A, "American army under the command of the Hon'ble Gen'l Sullivan." B, "British lines." B L W, "British Lines and works." B A, "British Army. Order of March." "Here a severe cannonading and bombarding on both sides began Aug. 17, 1778, and continued till the 27th." C, "British Army. Order of Battle." D, "Daify Hill" is properly Durfee's Hill. Y, Turkey Hill. A H, Almy's Hill. O, "British redoubts," north of Easton's pond. *Windmill.* "Here the British army came up with the Light Corps of Gen. Sullivan, which was in advance Aug. 29th, 1778, 7 o'c'k A. M., when the battle of that day began." A B, "American batteries and covered way." R, Howland's Ferry. "Here the American army landed Aug. 9th, 1778, beginning after 6 o'clock A. M., and retreated the 30th in the evening."

The sentences above in quotation-marks are legends on the map at the points indicated. A letter of Sullivan, Oct. 25, 1778, respecting this map is in the *Trumbull MSS.*, iv. p. 181.

NOTE. — The view opposite, of the action of August 25th, taken from Mr. Brindley's house, is from the *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1779, p. 100. The key is wanting. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 83, and Drake's *New England Coast.*

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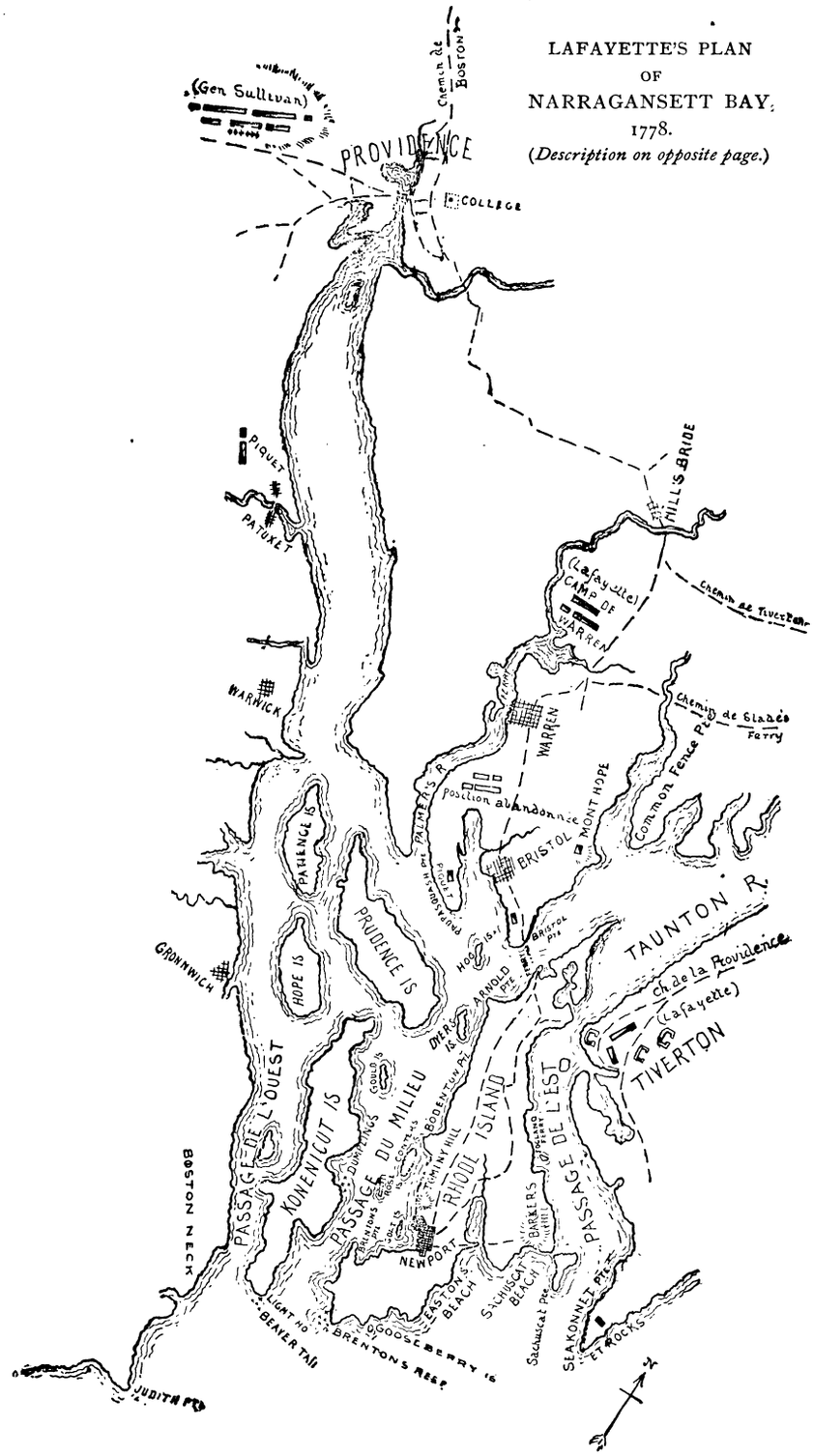
LAFAYETTE'S PLAN
OF
NARRAGANSETT BAY,
1778.
(*Description on opposite page.*)



in the *Gent. Mag.*, Nov., 1778, p. 537; in Dawson; in Rider's *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, vi.; in *Newport Hist. Mag.*, ii. 253; in E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 111. Cf. also paper of Aug. 31, to Clinton, in *London Gazette*, Oct. 15; *Gent. Mag.*, Nov., 1778; Almon's *Remembrancer;* Stone's *French Allies*. See diaries at Newport in *Hist. Mag.*, 1860, and Mrs. Almy's in *Newport Hist. Mag.*, July, 1880. Stedman (ii. ch. 23, 24) tells the story.

The loyal wits had now their chance, and some of their effusions can be seen in Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, p. 231. Wells (*S. Adams*, iii. 38) traces the effect of Sullivan's retreat on the country. Upon the general management of the campaign a committee of Congress reported, Aug. 7, on the early stages (*Journals*, iii. 9). An orderly-book of Glover's is in the *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.* (vol. v.; cf. also i. p. 112), and another is noted in the *Cooke Catal.* no. 1,897. Maj. Gibbs' diary (Aug.) is in *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. A diary of Manassah Cutler, who was a chaplain in Titcomb's regiment, is in E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. xv. Lafayette gave an account fifty years afterwards which is in the *Hist. Mag.*, Aug., 1861. His letters to Washington are in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.* (ii. 181, 196). Cf. also Sparks's *Washington*, v. 29, 40, 45; vi., etc.; Irving's *Washington*, iii. ch. 36; Marshall's *Washington*, iv.; Bancroft, ix. 209, 357; x. ch. 5; Greene's letter in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 188, and Greene's *Greene*, ii. 100, etc. A long letter of Dr. Cooper of Boston, Aug., 1778, to Franklin, defending D'Estaing's action, in Hale's *Franklin in France*, p. 183; Heath's *Memoirs;* John Trumbull's *Autobiog.* 51; Stuart's *Gov. Trumbull*, ch. 32; Williams' *Gen. Barton*, ch. 3; Arnold's *Rhode Island*, ii. 419; Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 150; Hamilton's *Republic of the U. S.*, i. ch. 17. There are rolls of the campaign in the *Mass. Archives;* and in *N. H. Rev. Rolls*, ii. 500, 508. Connecticut did not respond (*Hist. Mag.*, ii. 7; cf. also iv. 145). There are general surveys in Carrington and Dawson; in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, by J. A. Stevens, July, 1879; in Stone's *Our French Allies* (Providence, 1884), part iii. On the British side see the contemporary account in *Gent. Mag.*, xlix. 101; the Tory account in Jones, *N. Y. during the Rev.*, ii. ch. 12; the German in Ewald, *Belehrungen*, ii. 249; Eelking's *Hülfstruppen*, i. 105; ii. 14, 30; epitomized in Lowell's *Hessians*, 215, 220. Cf. J. G. Rosengarten on the German soldiers in Newport, in *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, vii. 81. Silas Tal-

NOTE. — The map on the preceding page is sketched from a colored map belonging to the Lafayette copies in the Sparks collection at Cornell University, called *Carte des positions occupées par les troupes Américaines après leur retraite de Rhode Island, le 30 août, 1778.*

The contemporary English engraved maps of Narragansett Bay of the most importance are those published by Des Barres and Faden. That of Des Barres is called *A chart of the harbour of Rhode Island and Narraganset Bay, published at the request of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Howe, by F. F. W. Des Barres, 20 July, 1776*, in two sheets, which subsequently made part of the *Atlantic Neptune*. It bears the following "Notes and references explaining the situation of the British ships and forces after the 29th of July, 1778, when the French fleet under the command of Count D'Estaing appeared and anchored off the harbour. The same day two French frigates went up the Seakonnet Passage. July 30th two French line-of-battle ships anchored in the Narraganset Passage, on which the king's troops quitted Connanicut Island. Aug. 5th the French ships came towards Dyer's Island where the British advanced frigates were destroyed and the seamen encamped. 8th, the rest of the French fleet came into harbour and anchored abreast of Gold Island [small island south of Providence Island], upon which the king's troops withdrew within the lines [north of Newport]. 9th, the enemy's forces landed." It places the sinking and burning of the "Alarm" (10 guns), "Cerberus" (28), "Juno" (32), "Kingfisher" (18), "Lark" (32), "Orpheus" (32), "Pigot" (8), "Spitfire" (8), "Flora" (32), and "Falcon" (18).

The Faden map was published July 22, 1777, and is entitled *A Topographical Chart of the Bay of Narraganset, in the Province of New England, with all the Isles contained therein, among which Rhode Island and Connonicut have been particularly surveyed . . . to which have been added the several Works and Batteries raised by the Americans, taken by order of the Principal Farmers on Rhode Island, by Charles Blaskowitz.*

A marginal table gives the names of the farmers, and enumerates ten batteries, mounting one hundred and twenty-seven guns in all. The map is dedicated to Earl Percy.

A French reproduction of it. *Plan de la Baie de Narragansett* makes part of the *Neptune Américo-septentrional*, no. 6. It is given in fac-simile in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1879.

The *Sparks Catalogue*, p. 206, shows a "Map of the Narra Gansett Bay, by Lieut.-Col. Putnam, Jan. 7, 1776, presented to his Excellency, George Washington, Esq.;" but it is not among the maps at Cornell University.

There is in the British Museum a colored plan (1778) of Rhode Island and the adjacent islands and coast, made by Edward Page, second artillery (measuring 1 2-12 × 7 6-12 inches); and a colored view of Bristol Neck (1765).

Modern eclectic war maps of the bay are given in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 80; Carrington's *Battles*, 456 (the last repeated in the *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, 1884, p. 106).

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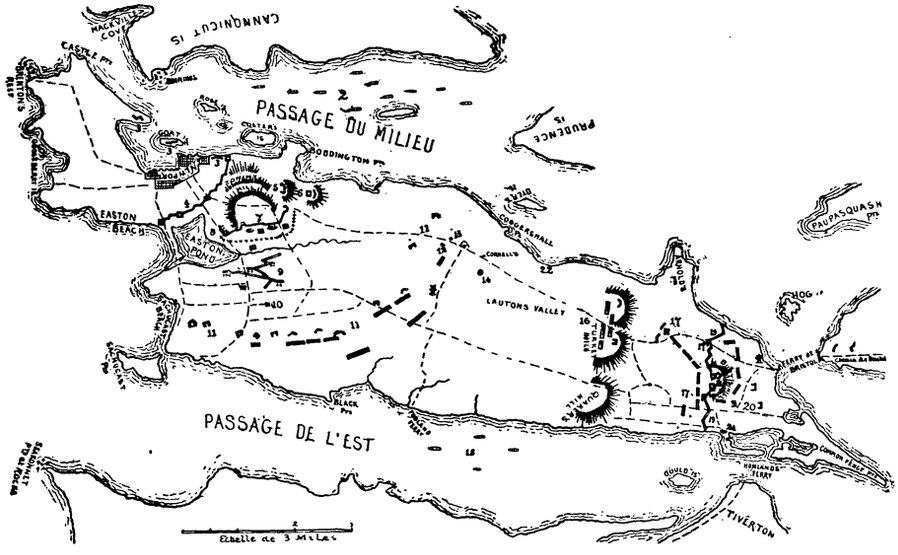

RHODE ISLAND, AUGUST, 1778.[1]

bot, a Rhode Islander, who had gained credit in the land service, and had managed some fire-ships against the British fleet in New York, captured a floating battery of the enemy near New-

[1] Sketched from a colored plan among the Sparks maps at Cornell University, which follows a plan made for Lafayette. It is called *Plan de Rhode Island avec les différentes opérations de la flotte Française, et des troupes Américaines, commandées par le Major Général Sullivan, contre les forces de terre et de mer des Anglais, depuis le 9 Août, jusqu'à la nuit du 30 au 31 du même mois, 1778, que les Américains ont fait leur Retraite.*

KEY: The British works are solid black, their troops diagonally black and white; the American works of open lines, and their troops shaded obliquely. The British in Newport were protected on the water side by batteries (3, 3, 3); on the land side by an inner line of defence (4) and an outer line (5, 6, 7, 8), with nine guns (8) commanding the water approach by Easton Pond. At the north end of the island they had works (16, 18, 20, — solid black) to resist attack from the mainland. Upon the entrance of the French fleet by the Newport batteries, the English evacuated these advanced posts, and some frigates were sent into the East passage (15) to protect the movements of the Americans, who, moving over to the island, threw up redoubts (17) to protect their first position, and erected a battery of two guns at 20 to cover their retreat across Howland's Ferry, should that become necessary. They now advanced, and on August 15th took position on the line 11, and began their approaches (9). The French had landed from the ships at 22, and joined the left wing under Lafayette. The redoubts on the extreme left and right of the line 11 were never completed. The fire from the parallels was kept up from the 19th to the evening of the 28th, when the retreat began, and the Americans in the night of the 28th erected the breastworks (19, 19) flanking the abandoned British forts (18), and during the night of the 30th left the island by Howland's Ferry, while the British were at Turkey Hill (16). The position of the British fleet was at 1.

Sparks has added to the plan these references: 12, Overing's house, where Col. Barton captured Gen. Prescott; 13, guard-house; 14, round redoubt thrown up by the New Hampshire militia, — skirmishing commenced here under Col. Laurens; and 10, Bishop Berkeley's house. The broken lines are roads.

The most elaborate of the manuscript contemporary maps is one belonging to the Mass. Hist. Society, which is reproduced, full size, in the *Proceedings* of that society (vol. xx. p. 350), and is given in its essential parts in Gen. G. W. Cullum's *Historical Sketch of the Fortification Defences of Narragansett Bay* (Washington, 1884). It is on a scale of nearly an inch and a quarter to the mile, and is signed "J. Denison scripsit." The French fleet is represented as going out to join battle with Lord Howe's fleet, exchanging shots with the English shore batteries, which are more numerous than in the Lafayette map. The French ships in the East passage are shown as sailing out to sea, to join D'Estaing on his way to Boston. In the battle of the 29th, near Butt's Hill, English ships are drawn as engaging both the American right and a battery on the Bristol shore. The first line of the Americans stretches across the island in this order from west to east, — Livingston, Varnum, Cornell, Greene, Glover, Tyler. These are without the breastworks. Behind them are Lovell at the west, Titcomb between the abandoned British forts, with a reserve under West behind them.

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port, and made his subsequent record on the water as an officer of the navy. Henry T. Tuckerman wrote the *Life of Silas Talbot*, which had been intended for Sparks's *Amer. Biography*, but was published separately in N. Y. in 1850. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 849.

The next morning Clinton's reinforcements appeared, brought by Howe's fleet. They were not needed; and so, while Gen. Grey made some raids, with transports and light craft, upon Fairhaven and other ports, whose privateers had annoyed the British (cf. *Harper's Monthly Mag.*, 1885, p. 823; and statement of losses in *Sparks MSS.*, lii. vol. ii. 29), Clinton took his troops back to New York, and Howe went round Cape Cod and cruised off Boston harbor, trying in vain to allure D'Estaing to battle. The French commander remained in port till November. As the time for his sailing approached, another English fleet, under Admiral Byron, appeared off the harbor; but a storm scattering his ships, the French, on the 3d of November, left the port unmolested, and sailed for the West Indies.

D'Estaing, while in Boston, addressed a letter to Congress (*Sparks MSS.*, lii. vol. iii.), and promulgated a proclamation (Oct. 28th) to former French subjects in Canada, seeking to detach them from English interests (Andrews's *Late War*, iii. 171; Niles's *Principles*, 1876 ed., p. 136; *Doc. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, x. 1165).

The reports which reached Boston relative to the campaign under Sullivan, and the impressions respecting the French, are given in Ezekiel Price's diary (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1865, p. 334). Hancock, who had been in command of the Massachusetts militia during the campaign, returned to Boston to do what he could by his hospitality to prevent the general indifference of the Boston people producing evil effects on the French (*Memorial Hist. Boston*, iii. 185; Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, 102; Adams's *Familiar Letters*, 342; Greene's *Greene*, ii. 143). On the unfortunate riot (Sept. 17, 1778) in the town, in which the French were roughly handled, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. 785, 856; xv. 95. Considerable apprehension was felt lest the British, elated by success, should push towards Boston from Rhode Island, and beacons were got in readiness (Sept. 7th) on Blue Hill in Milton. A regiment of artillery had been raised for the defence of the town, and an orderly-book covering its service, June 8, 1777, to Dec. 18, 1778, is given in the *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, xiii. 115, 237; xiv. 60, 110, 188. Heath (cf. his *Memoirs* for this period), at a time when the French were making ready to sail, wrote from Boston, Oct. 22, 1778, to Weare, of New Hampshire, that he feared the British were planning an attack by water (*Letters and Papers, MSS.*, 1777–1780, in Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet).

IV. The Penobscot Expedition, 1779.— This expedition was fitted out in Boston by the Massachusetts authorities, with some assistance from New Hampshire, for the purpose of dislodging a British force, which in June, under General McNeill, supported by a few vessels under Captain Mowatt, had taken possession of the peninsula now called Castine. The treasury of Massachusetts issued bills to cover the cost (Goodell's *Province Laws*, v. 1191). Solomon Lovell

was put in command of 1,200 militia and 100 artillery, while Peleg Wadsworth was second in command, and Paul Revere had charge of the artillery. The general government lent the "Warren" and "Providence," Continental vessels, and Dudley Saltonstall, a Continental officer, commanded the fleet. The expedition, consisting of nineteen armed vessels, of three hundred and twenty-four guns, with twenty transports, and 2,000 men in all, left Boston harbor July 19th. Quarrels between Lovell and Saltonstall prevented prompt action, and before success could be insured the expedition was overcome by a naval force which Clinton had sent from New York when he heard of the undertaking. Our main sources on the American side are *The original Journal of General Solomon Lovell, kept during the Penobscot Expedition, 1779, with a sketch of his life by Gilbert Nash*, published in 1881 by the Weymouth (Mass.) Hist. Society; the *Boston Gazette*, March 18, 25, April 1, 8, 1782; journal on board the Continental sloop "Hunter," July 19–Aug. 11, in *Hist. Mag.*, viii. 51. Further on the American side: Thacher's *Military Journal;* Heath's *Memoirs;* Thomas Philbrook's account in Cowell's *Spirit of '76 in Rhode Island;* Pemberton's journal in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 172; letters of Artemas Ward, Peleg Wadsworth, and Charles Chauncey; a letter of James Sullivan, saying that it had involved Massachusetts in a debt of $7,000,000, "which is not so distressing as the disgrace" (Amory's *James Sullivan*, ii. 376; *Sparks MSS.*, xx.); Wheeler's *Pentagoet*, p. 36; Kidder's *Military Operations in Eastern Maine*, p. 265; Williamson's *Maine* (ii. 471) and *Belfast*, ch. 12; Willis's *Portland*, ch. 19; William Goold's *Portland in the Past*, p. 374; Barry's *Mass.*, ii. ch. 14; J. W. De Peyster in the *N. Y. Mail*, Aug. 13, 1879.

The *Revolutionary Rolls*, in the Massachusetts Archives, give the *personnel* of the expedition; the orders, vessels, etc. (vols. xxxvii., xxxviii., xxxix.)

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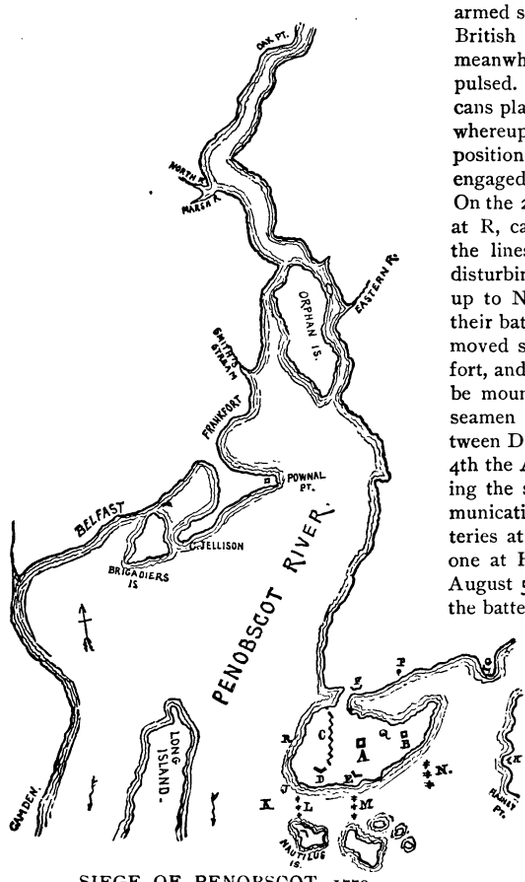
On the English side we have John Calef's *Siege of Penobscot by the Rebels* (London, 1781, — Sabin, iii. no. 9,925), which is copied in Wheeler; the journal, July 24–Aug. 12, in the *Nova Scotia Gazette*, Sept. 14, 1779, which is reprinted in the *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. 121, and that in the *Particular Services*, etc., edited by Ithiel Town. There is a Tory view in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 297.

Lovell's troops and the seamen struggled in disorder through the Maine wilderness, and the general himself reached Boston about Sept. 20th. A court of inquiry, under Gen. Artemas Ward, exonerated Lovell, and blamed Saltonstall. Nash prints its report, which is preserved in the *Mass. Archives*, vol. cxiv. It is examined by Eben Hazard in a letter printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 129, in which he intimates that the blame was not all the naval commander's, and that it was a part of the plan to throw the responsibility on a Continental officer, in order to force the cost of the expedition upon Congress.



SIEGE OF PENOBSCOT, 1779.

The annexed sketch is a combination of the two maps on a much larger scale in Calef's *Siege of Penobscot* (London, 1781). On the approach of the American fleet up the river, the British garrison was encamped on the peninsula of Majabig-waduce (the modern Castine) at Q, and their main fortification, Fort George (A), was not completed. Capt. Mowatt, the naval commander, placed his three vessels in line (L) to defend the harbor. The Americans were first seen July 24th. On the 25th the American transports passed up the river and anchored, while nine armed ships in three divisions at K attacked the British ships at L; the American land forces, meanwhile, attempting to land at R, were repulsed. On the 26th, towards night, the Americans placed some heavy guns on Nautilus Island, whereupon the British ships moved back to a position at M. On the 27th the American ships engaged the British battery D with little result. On the 28th the Americans succeeded in landing at R, captured the battery D, and established the lines C. The battery on Nautilus Island disturbing the ships at M, they moved farther up to N. On the 29th the Americans opened their batteries along the lines C, and the British moved some guns from the half-moon E to the fort, and the ships sent ashore some cannon to be mounted at E. On the 31st the American seamen and marines attempted a landing between D and E, but were repulsed. On August 4th the Americans opened a battery at G, annoying the ships at N, and endangering their communications with the forts. The American batteries at F and H were not completed, and the one at H was abandoned on August 9th. On August 5th the British naval commander began the battery B to protect his communications with the fort; and while building it, the Americans planted, on the 8th, a field-piece at F to annoy the men working.

On the 13th arrangements were making for a vigorous attack, when the reinforcing British fleet appeared in the offing. During the night the Americans reëmbarked, and all their vessels fled up the river. Only the "Hunter" and "Hampden" attempted to escape down the river, and these were captured. Night coming on, the British anchored; while the Americans landed their men, and then blew up their vessels. The commodore's ship, "Warren," of thirty-two guns, was burned at Oak Point.

Calef's map is given in Wheeler's *Pentagoet*. A MS. plan of the operations of the English fleet is among the Faden maps (no. 101), in the library of Congress. As a result of their success at Penobscot, the British government, the next year, attempted to erect Maine into a province under the name of New Ireland (Bancroft, x. 368; Barry's *Mass.*; *Me. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. 201).

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE INDIANS AND THE BORDER WARFARE OF THE REVOLUTION.

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THE peace which followed the quelling of the Pontiac war gave opportunities for settlements to be pushed westward. The population on the border, rendered lawless by environment, was not likely to observe treaties. Fear of the Indians was more potent to restrain these restless men than dread of punishment by colonial authorities. Conflicts of colonial jurisdiction and disputed land claims added to the chronic confusion of the situation.

It needed all the tact and discretion of which that remarkable man, Sir William Johnson, was master to prevent outbreaks, and the danger was not over until the boundaries were adjusted with the Six Nations and other Indians, at Fort Stanwix, in 1768. There was far more cause for complaint against the English on the part of the tribes whom Sir William was able to control than on the part of the Senecas, who, in September, 1763, had surprised and scalped a working party with their guard. Encroachment upon their lands had also irritated the Mohawks, who particularly resented an attempt of a Connecticut company to colonize the valley of the Susquehanna. Early in the spring of 1763, the Connecticut company sought to secure Sir William's influence with the Indians in quieting the company's title, which was based upon the Connecticut charter and upon alleged Indian deeds. The company failed in this, as well as in an attempt to negotiate with the confederacy. The Indians, instead of granting a deed, sent to Connecticut a delegation of Mohawks, accompanied by Guy Johnson, to represent to the governor of that colony the peril with which further attempts at colonization would be attended.[1] These efforts arrested the movements of the company, and for the time immigration was checked. They were not early enough, however, to prevent one of those horrible attacks which stand out in our memories as types of Indian warfare

[1] In January, 1763, peremptory orders were sent from England to the governor and company of Connecticut to put a stop to the Susquehanna settlement. In September of the same year, Governor Fitch wrote to the board of trade that he had strictly obeyed the orders; that a delegation from the Six Nations had been received, and in the presence of the assembly he had announced the commands of his majesty; that this had apparently satisfied the natives. (*Trumbull MSS.*, Mass. Hist. Soc.)

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and which in the minds of many readers obscure all other conceptions of Indian character. A number of families had already settled in this region, under the auspices of the Connecticut company, and had built themselves homes near the present site of Wilkesbarré. On October 15, 1763, they were suddenly attacked by Indians, and one woman and nine men were killed and scalped. The rest of the inhabitants fled to the mountains, and such as did not perish worked their way through the wilderness to the nearest settlements. Their villages were destroyed, their cattle killed, and their crops laid waste. Avenging expeditions were promptly organized in Pennsylvania. One marched to the Delaware town at Wyoming, but found it deserted. Another laid waste the Delaware and Munsee towns on the west branch of the Susquehanna.

The Moravian Indians at Wyoming, who had taken no part in the massacre of the Connecticut settlers, removed for safety to Gnadenhütten, whence they were taken to Philadelphia for greater security. At Paxton, Pennsylvania, the inhabitants assembled secretly, and attacked a settlement of the harmless Conestogoes. The cause for this wicked slaughter has never been clearly explained,[1] but the subsequent memorials of the rioters seem to indicate that it was part of a general plan to exterminate the Indians. Whatever the motive, popular approval was strong enough to shield the perpetrators of such shameless deeds.[2] The entire band of the Conestogoes was exterminated,[3] and their town was destroyed. The first attack was made on them on the night of the 14th of December, when this band of murderers surrounding the town, killed all who happened to be there. Those Indians who were absent took refuge in Lancaster, where they were lodged in a public building, spoken of by some as the workhouse, by some as the jail. On the 27th, their enemies followed them to this refuge, and in cold blood slaughtered them all, men, women, and children, indiscriminately.

The Moravian Indians, who had taken refuge at Philadelphia, were next threatened by the rioters, who marched towards that place with the avowed

[1] In Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, ii. p. 326, there is a note containing an extract from an "authentic publication," entitled *A narrative of the late massacres in Lancaster County, of a number of Indians, friends of this Province* (Philadelphia, 1764). In this narrative (which was written by Franklin, — cf. Sparks's *Franklin*, i. 273; iv. 56), religious enthusiasm, "chiefly Presbyterian," is the alleged motive for the outbreak. See, also, a reprint of a curious pamphlet on the massacre of the Conestogoe Indians by the Paxton Boys, in the *Hist. Mag.*, July, 1865, p. 203. [For other tracts see *Carter-Brown Catal.*, iii. 1,407–1,415; Field's *Indian Bibliog.*, nos. 854, 1,187, 1,193, 1,331; *Brinley Catal.*, nos. 3,062–3,070; Hildeburn's *Penna. Press*, ii. nos. 2,029–2,034; cf. *Penna. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 73; *Zeisberger*, by Schweinitz, 274; Graydon's *Memoirs*, 49; and letter of Richard Peters in *Aspinwall Papers*, ii. 508. — ED.]

[2] In Reed's *Reed*, i. p. 35, there is a letter from Dr. John Ewing, coolly discussing this transaction, as if it were a laudable attempt on the part of the frontier inhabitants to relieve themselves in a perfectly justifiable way from a source of danger. He says, "there was not a single act of violence, unless you call the Lancaster affair such, although it was no more than going to war with that tribe."

[3] The Conestogoes belonged to the Five Nations, but had no connection with the Tuscaroras. The Five Nations put in a claim for the land of the Conestogoes, as "their relations and next heirs." (Sir William Johnson to Governor Penn, Feb. 9, 1764, *Penna. Archives*, iv. p. 162.)

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intention of killing them also. The provincial authorities appealed to General Gage for help, but before his reply reached them they sought to throw the Indians upon New York for protection. It happened that a company of regulars was about to march from Philadelphia for New York, and under their escort the Indians were dispatched, with intention to place them under charge of Sir William Johnson. The New York authorities refused, however, to permit the Indians to enter that province. Meantime, General Gage placed troops at the disposal of Governor Penn. The Indians were conducted back to Philadelphia, and orders were given to repel by force any attack. The rioters again approached Philadelphia, but were dissuaded from attack, and Pennsylvania was spared the shame of further atrocities by the "Paxton Boys."

After this excitement was over the labors of Sir William Johnson to prevent renewed conflict were still constant. He complained, in his correspondence,[1] of murders, robberies, and encroachments on the rights and possessions of the natives. The frontier inhabitants, according to him, thought themselves at liberty to make settlements where they pleased. He lost heart, while on the other hand the settlers openly bade defiance to authority. In 1766 he wrote: "Murders are now daily committed on the frontiers, and I fear that an Indian war is inevitable." In January, 1767, he announced that Colonel Cresap, of Maryland, himself held a treaty some time during the last year with several warriors of the Six Nations, who passed that way, and who were persuaded to grant to him a considerable tract of land down the Ohio toward Green-Brier. With prophetic instinct, Sir William added: "If this be true, it will be productive of dangerous consequences." A large part of Johnson's time was spent in protecting the Indians from such fraudulent conveyances of their land as were made through transfers where there was but a shadow of title, through forgeries, and through deeds executed without proper formalities, under circumstances which would prevent recognition of the transaction by the tribes. Many deeds, which upon the face seemed properly executed, were secured from the signers when they were so completely intoxicated that they were ignorant what they were doing. Others conveyed by metes and bounds an extent of territory far exceeding the intention of the grantors. No transfer of land made by a band of warriors, on the war-path or on a hunting expedition, would have been recognized by the confederacy. Sir William himself said: "A sachem of each tribe is a necessary party to a fair conveyance, and such sachem affixes the mark of the tribe thereto, as a public seal of a corporation." The title to the land was supposed to be in all. Even the women had a voice in transfers by bargain and sale.[2] It was one of the principal occupations of Sir William

[1] His correspondence with Gage is in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, ii. 833 *et seq.*

[2] The question of the rights of Indian women in lands of the tribes forms part of the discussion in the paper by Lucien Carr, entitled "The social and political condition of women among the Huron-Iroquois tribes." (*Report xvi. of the Peabody Museum*, pp. 216–218.) Instances are

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Johnson's life to adjust difficulties arising out of transfers, such as the one to Cresap, of which he had heard, and in which he saw the seeds of future trouble, if it should prove to be true. In his review of the trade and affairs of the Indians in the northern district of America, he recapitulates the wrongs of the Indian.[1]

Life in the midst of such impending dangers bred contempt for authority, even on the part of men who were well disposed. The strong arm of the government was but feebly felt in the distant bottoms in the western parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, which settlers were beginning to appropriate to their own use. The inhabitants of the frontiers were a law unto themselves, and sometimes unto the authorities. Men who diligently read their Bibles and pondered over the teachings of the gospels could tear scalps from the heads of Indians. The government was powerless to protect the frontiers except through the agency of volunteers, and they in turn were able at any moment seriously to complicate the situation. In the organization of companies of rangers the weakness of the government was exposed, and through them the independence of the settlers was developed. Such companies frequently adopted Indian costumes, painted their faces, and manœuvred by Indian tactics. The habits of the Indian more than the civilization they had left, influenced their modes of life. They attacked for revenge, and were barbarous

on record where transfers were compelled by the women in opposition to the wishes of the chiefs, and where they prevented sales, the terms of which had been arranged by the men. At the conference at Canajoharie Castle in 1763, where the Mohawks submitted one of their numerous complaints against settlers for stealing their lands, all the women present interrupted the speaker, and declared that they "did not choose to part with their lands and be reduced to make brooms for a living." The fraudulent transfers alluded to in the text had already attracted the attention of the authorities. By proclamation, dated October 7, 1763, the king had forbidden private individuals to purchase land from Indians.

[1] "After the peace, numbers of the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, etc., animated with a spirit of frenzy, under pretext of revenge for past injuries, though in manifest violation of British faith and the strength of the late treaties, robbed and murdered sundry Indians of good character, and still continue to do so, vowing vengeance against all that come in their way; whilst others forcibly established themselves beyond even the limits of their own governments in the Indian country."

[NOTE. — The opposite map was found in MS. among a collection of maps and charts which were presented to the New York State library by Obadiah Rich, of London. It had been sent to Lord Hillsborough in 1771, accompanying a memorial concerning the Iroquois, prepared by the Rev. Charles Inglis, of Trinity Church, New York city, who had endeavored to christianize them. This paper was subsequently recovered from the descendants of Dr. Inglis in Nova Scotia, and is printed in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.* (quarto), iv. p. 661, accompanied by an engraved copy of Johnson's map, of which a reduction is given herewith. The map is also given in Pearson's *Schenectady Patent*, 1883, p. 433; in Hough's edition of Pouchot, ii. 148.

In *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii. 136, Guy Johnson's map, showing the line fixed at Fort Stanwix, Nov., 1768, is given as copied from the original in Sir William Johnson's letter, Nov. 18, 1768, to Hillsborough, preserved in the State Paper Office. In *Ibid.* viii. 31, is a copy of the map annexed to the Report and Representation of the Board of Trade, March 7, 1768, showing the line of the bounds with the Indians. Cf. on this line *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, i. 587; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii. 110; *New Jersey Archives*, x. 55, 95; Mill's *Bounds of Ontario*, p. 21; *Olden Time*, i. 399; Schweinitz's *Zeisberger*, ch. xviii.; *View of the title to Indiana* (1776; see Hildeburn's *Bibliog.*, no. 3,490). Respecting the territory of the Oneidas, see *Magazine of American History*, Oct., 1885, p. 387, where the accuracy of the map in Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* is questioned. — ED.]

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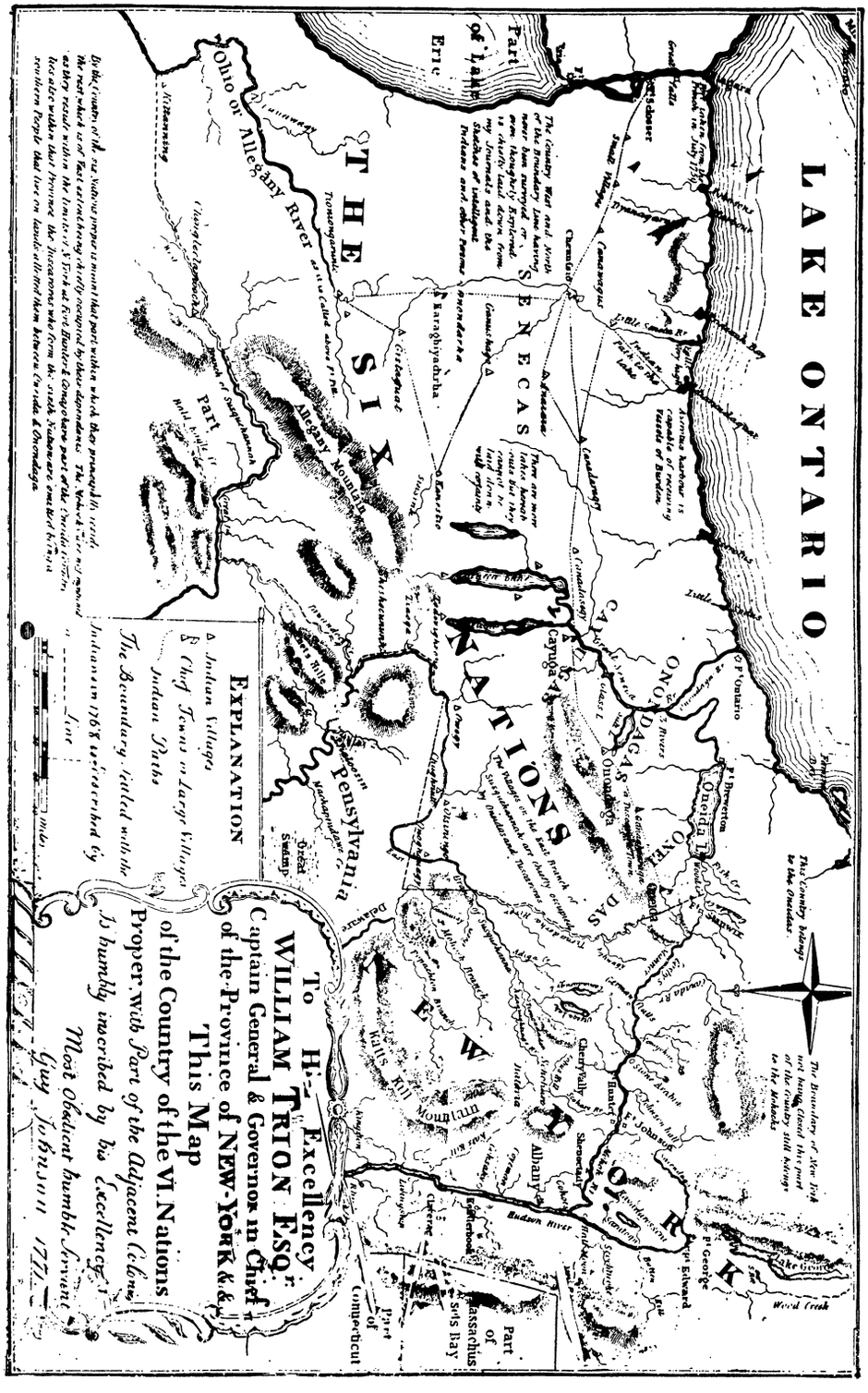
LAKE ONTARIO
THE SIX NATIONS
SENECAS
CAYUGAS
ONONDAGAS
ONEIDAS
MOHAWKS
Part of Lake Erie
Ohio or Allegany River
Pensylvania
Albany
Boston
Part of Connecticut
Massachusetts Bay
Lake George
Wood Creek
Oneida Lake
Cayuga Lake
Seneca Lake
Allegany Mountains
Kittanning
Susquehanna
Delaware
Hudson River
Mohawk River
Schenectady
Schoharie
Canajoharie
Onondaga
Cayuga
Seneca
Niagara
Fort Schuyler
Fort Stanwix
Fort Johnson
Fort George
Fort Edward
Fort Herkimer
Fort Oswego
Fort Pitt
Fort Detroit
Fort Erie
Fort Niagara
Chenussio
Canandaigua
Genesee River
Chemung
Tioga
Wyoming
Easton
Reading
Lancaster
Philadelphia
Wilkes Barre
Harris's
Shamokin
Sunbury
Carlisle
Hanover
Frederick Town
Winchester
Staunton
Williamsburg
Virginia
Kentucky
Cherry Valley
Canajoharie
Schoharie
Johnstown
Albany
Stockbridge
Lebanon
Litchfield
Hartford
Providence
Boston
Newport
New London
New York
Long Island
Staten Island
Sandy Hook
Amboy
Trenton
Burlington
Bristol
Chester
Wilmington
Baltimore
Annapolis
Alexandria
Fredericksburg
Williamsburg
Norfolk
Cape Henry
Cape Hatteras
Albemarle Sound
Roanoke
Edenton
Newbern
Wilmington
Cape Fear
Charlestown
Georgetown
Savannah
Augusta
Ogeechee
Alatamaha
St Augustine
Florida
Mississippi
Illinois
Wabash
Scioto
Muskingum
Kanawha
Monongahela
Youghiogeny
Big Kanhawa
Little Kanhawa
Great Kanhawa
Great Miami
Little Miami
Sandusky
Detroit
Niagara
Fort Erie
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Superior
Lake St Clair
Lake Simcoe
Lake Champlain
Lake George
Lake Oneida
Lake Cayuga
Lake Seneca
Lake Chautauque

because the savages were. In the case of the Indians such methods in warfare came by inheritance. They were modified somewhat by the spirit of the missionaries, and however cruel they may have been, they were at any rate absolutely free from assaults on woman's chastity. In the case of the settlers, the promptings of civilization were disregarded, and it would seem as if the system of bounties for scalps had taught them to regard the Indian as on the level of a brute. Nevertheless, the rule had exceptions; and it would not be just to paint all the settlers along the borders in these repulsive colors, or to believe that there was a universal desire for the extermination of the Indians.

This hazardous contact of Indian and border settler stretched along a doubtful line which extended from Oneida Lake to the central part of the valley of the Ohio. In 1768 the boundaries were adjusted at Fort Stanwix, between representatives of the English government, on the one part, and the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawanese, the Mingoes of Ohio, and other dependent tribes, on the other. A deed of the land to the east and south of a line which ran from a point just west of Fort Stanwix south to the Susquehanna, thence up the West Branch and across to Kittanning on the Alleghany, thence down that river and the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee, was then duly executed to the king of England. An exception from its terms was made of the land occupied by the Mohawks, whose settlements were all to the east of the agreed boundary line. The hunting-grounds comprised within the limits of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee were claimed by the Six Nations as conquered territory, and they paid no regard to the claims of the Cherokees, who had arranged a boundary with Stuart, the Indian agent, to a part at least of the same region, the northern termination of which was the mouth of the Kanawha River. It was understood by the Indians that no white man was to settle to the west of the line agreed upon.[1]

[1] At this date the Mohawk Valley, as far west as the boundary line, was jointly occupied by the whites and the Mohawk tribe. Immediately to the west of that line, in the neighborhood of Oneida Lake, lived the Oneidas. Both Mohawks and Oneidas had extensive hunting-grounds to the north. The Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas severally lived upon the lakes which to-day bear the names of those tribes. The Tuscaroras occupied land which had been allotted them immediately to the south of the Oneida country, and had also a section on the Susquehanna. [See Colden's map in Vol. IV. 491, and the maps in Vol. III. 281, 293. — ED.] The whole number of the confederacy did not exceed 10,000 souls, of whom 2,000 were warriors, more than one half being Senecas. The most conspicuous tribe among the Ohio Indians was the Shawanese. They were a source of terror to the Virginia settlers, and had a hand in most of the invasions of Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. They numbered about 300 warriors, and lived in Ohio on the Scioto and its branches. The Delawares, counting 600 warriors, were scattered from the Susquehanna Valley to Lake Erie; 200 Wyandots lived near Sandusky. These and other tribes living on the border or in Canada, who were classified as allies of the Six Nations, numbered in all about 2,000 warriors. The other tribes living east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, with whom the British had dealings, or of whom they had knowledge, were classified as the "Ottawa Confederacy, comprehending the Twightwees or Miamis," and numbered about 8,000 warriors, of whom 3,000 lived near Detroit. In all, there were, according to this estimate, which is from Sir William Johnson's papers, about 12,000 warriors. [See Sketch map in Vol. IV. 298. — ED.]

A similar computation of the "gun-men or effectives" in the South, made by Sir James

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The far-reaching influence of the Indian superintendents restrained this aboriginal population from violent outbreak from 1764 until the collision at Point Pleasant, Virginia, in 1774. This was undoubtedly precipitated by atrocities committed upon the Indians in the Ohio Valley, near Wheeling. Underlying the immediate causes for irritation during this period were reasons for complaint, revealed in the correspondence of Sir William Johnson, which would probably have led to warfare at an early date. Among these was the influx of settlers upon the hunting-grounds of the Indians, where, regardless of treaties, the land across the Ohio was parcelled out in "tomahawk improvements," as the squatter rights of the day were denominated. These proceedings attracted the attention of General Gage, and on the 8th of August, 1772, he issued a proclamation, calling attention to the fact that some persons had "undertaken to make settlements beyond the boundaries fixed by treaties made with the Indian nations," "where they lead a wandering life, without government and without laws," "causing infinite disturbance." Such persons were ordered to "quit these countries instantly and without delay, and to retire at their choice into some one of the colonies of his majesty." The peace which was negotiated by Lord Dunmore brought but little quiet to the settlers on the border. Indian raids were frequent, and the details of their horrors are sickening, but the loss of life by these raids has been greatly exaggerated. The Indians seldom ventured beyond the region which was scantily peopled. The watchfulness of the settlers, and their promptness to assemble and pursue, averted many disasters. At such a time Virginia and Pennsylvania were wrangling over the right to grant patents for land, the settlement of which had so much to do with the uneasiness of the Indians.[1]

In New York, settlements were more compact. Rights of territory were better defined and better understood. Indian lands had been better protected there from direct invasion and from fraudulent transfer. Danger from trespass was better appreciated. The Indians themselves, being under the personal oversight of their superintendent, were better controlled. His immediate presence made him more useful in the adjustment of disputes without resort to the tomahawk. The frontier patriots of Tryon County, "unlike the rude inhabitants of most frontier settlements," are stated by a careful student of the records to have been "scrupulous in their devotion

Wright in 1773, shows that over 9,500 men could be furnished by the Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and Catawbas. From other sources we have estimates which include tribes omitted by the above authorities, from which it would appear probable that there were about 35,000 warriors east of the Mississippi, in the United States and across the straits at Detroit. There is a difference of opinion as to the proportion of warriors to the total population. Apparently the proportion varied in different tribes. Some observers have placed the number as high as six to one; others, as low as three to one. Between four and five to one appears to be about the number furnished by the averages of the best observers. This will give for a total Indian population east of the Mississippi, in the United States and along the lakes near Detroit, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, 150,000 persons.

[1] "My intelligence informs me," wrote Governor Penn to Lord Dunmore, March 1, 1775, "that your lordship has set up an office for granting lands far within the limits of this province, and that lands already patented by me have been granted by your lordship."

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to the supremacy of the laws." The confederacy of the Six Nations, as a whole, had not participated in the events in the valley of the Ohio, but they shared with their dependants and allies in the uneasiness caused by such aggressions upon Indian territory. Some of their warriors had taken part in the Virginia war, and the "temper of the whole Indian race, with the exception of the Oneidas, was soured by these occurrences of the year 1774." The first official labors of importance which devolved upon Colonel Guy Johnson, who, after the death of Sir William Johnson in 1774, had been appointed to the office of superintendent, were to check the resentment of the Six Nations.[1] His success in those labors showed that he had inherited, by virtue of his office, some of the respect and affection which the natives had lavished upon his predecessor.

Such was the condition of affairs when Washington took command of the army, in July, 1775, with instructions not to disband any of the forces already raised, until further directions from Congress. It is not probable that all the members of the Congress were aware of the full meaning of these instructions. There were among the men whom Washington was thus instructed not to discharge a number of Indians regularly enlisted as minute-men. Had the question of employing Indians been submitted to Congress at that time, it would probably have been answered in the negative; but it had already been settled by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay when they accepted the services of Indians.[2]

On the first day of April, 1775, the Committee on the State of the Province reported to that congress a resolve beginning with these words: "Whereas a number of Indians, natives of the town of Stockbridge, have enlisted as minute-men." A committee was next appointed to draft a letter to the Rev. Mr. Kirkland,[3] and to frame an address to the chief of the Mohawk tribes. The letter requests Mr. Kirkland to use his influence with the Six

[1] Guy Johnson refers to the success of his interference on this occasion in his letter to the magistrates and others of Palatine, Canajoharie, and the upper districts, dated May 20, 1775, quoted in Stone's *Brant*, i. p. 65.

[2] Accustomed as the inhabitants of the Northern colonies had been to coöperating with Indians in the several wars with the French, the proposition to make use of their services did not excite the universal feeling of horror which would be aroused by the same proposition today. On the contrary, it was regarded as a natural and inevitable condition attached to the war that the natives should be engaged upon the one side or the other; and rumors of the friendly disposition of this tribe, and of the number of warriors which that tribe would furnish to the cause, found their way into the journals of that day. It was evident that Indian auxiliaries would be of greater military value to the English than to the Americans. The English army would be practically an army of invasion. There were no English homes exposed to destruction. The use of savages by the Americans would not keep out of the field a single Englishman for the protection of the scalps of his family. Nevertheless, it was felt by the colonists that all the tribes that could be secured would be an advantage gained. Such evidently was the opinion of the men composing the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay, who first met the question, and, even before the battle of Lexington, solved it by employing some of the Stockbridge Indians as minute-men. The records of that body go far towards justifying the statement made by Gen. Gage at Boston (June 12, 1775), that the "rebels" were "bringing as many Indians down here as they could collect."

[3] In this letter to Kirkland the assertion is made that the step was taken because of information received that "those who are inimical to us in Canada have been tampering with the natives." In the *American Archives*, 4th

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Nations "to join with us in the defence of our rights;" but if he could not "prevail with them to take an active part in this glorious cause," he was "at least to engage them to stand neuter." The address calls upon the Indians to "whet their hatchet, and be prepared to defend our liberties and lives."

It is evident that the Stockbridge Indians were further importuned,[1] for on the 11th of April their chief sachem answered a communication from the President of the Provincial Congress (the contents of which can only

series, ii. p. 244, is a letter dated Montreal, March 29th, from J. Brown to Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, Committee of Correspondence of Boston, in which Brown's mission is betrayed even without his credentials. He was prospecting the ground with a view to future operations. He reports that "the Indians say they have been repeatedly applied to and requested to join with the king's troops to fight Boston, but have peremptorily refused, and still intend to refuse. They are a simple politick people, and say that if they are obliged, for their own safety, to take up arms on either side, they shall take part on the side of their brethren the English in New-England." In the same letter Brown states as a secret that Ticonderoga must be seized on the beginning of hostilities. Samuel Adams, one of the committee to whom Brown's letter was addressed, was also a member of the committee which drafted the letter to Kirkland. If Brown's letter did not reach Adams in time to inspire the suggestion of "tampering," it indicates at least the character of the rumors. The English writers (like Mahon, vi. 35) look upon the plea of "tampering" as a pretence; and Dartmouth, in July and August, 1775, called his orders retaliatory ones. We know that there was little for the colonists to apprehend from Carleton on this score. His opposition to the enlistment of Indians for service outside Canada drew forth complaints afterward from Guy Johnson (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii. p. 636). Still less was there cause for apprehension if the Caughnawagas were going to take sides with the colonists. It was probably understood that the statements of these Canadian Indians could not be implicitly relied upon.

[1] The enlisted Indians are occasionally heard from during the war, although their services were not conspicuous. Their fondness for liquor soon brought them into trouble, and we find that a petition signed by seventeen of them was presented to the Provincial Congress, asking that liquor might be kept out of their way. This petition was duly granted. (*Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., ii. pp. 1049 and 1083.) During the siege of Boston they occasionally killed a sentry (*The Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, Aug. 7, 1775; Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, pp. 212, 213). In *Mass. Archives*, vol. lvi. (special title, "Coat Rolls, 8 Months' Service, 1775 — vol. i. Rolls"), no. 173, is a copy of what purports to be an order for bounty money, etc., signed by thirty-two persons. Appended is the following: "Camp at Charlestown, March 12, 1776. This may certify that the within named persons were soldiers in my Regiment, and served as such in the service of this province last summer, until they were discharged by his Excellency Gen. Washington. Attest, John Paterson, Col. These Indians belonged to Capt. William Goodrich's Company. Attest, John Sargent." Some of them, under the command of Captain Ezra Whittlesey, were "posted at the saw-mills," Sept. 13, 1776 (*Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, ii. p. 476). If Guy Johnson is to be believed, there were enlisted Indians in the battle of Long Island, and some of them were taken prisoners (*N. Y. Coll. Doc.*, viii. p. 740). Washington applied for them for scouting service, Oct. 18, 1776 (*Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, ii. p. 1120); Jones (*Annals of Oneida County*, p. 854) says that a considerable party of Oneidas participated in the battle of White Plains, and that a full company of Stockbridge Indians, under Captain Daniel Ninham, went to White Plains (*Ibid.* p. 888). A capture by Indians of six prisoners is reported in Moore's *Diary*, etc., i. p. 476. The Stockbridge Indians were ambuscaded at King's Bridge with severe loss, Aug. 31, 1778. (*Mag. Am. Hist.*, v. p. 187.) In 1819, the survivors of this tribe, petitioning the President of the United States for the protection of their rights in certain lands in Indiana, said: "When your parent disowned you as her children, and sent over to this great island many strong warriors to burn your towns, destroy your families, and bring you into captivity, we, of the Muhheakunuks, defended your fathers on the west against the warriors which your parent had sent against you on that side; and we also sent our warriors to join your great chief, Washington, to aid him in driving back into the sea the unnatural monsters who had come up from thence to devour you, and ravage the land which we a long time before granted to your fathers to live upon. (*American State Papers — Public Lands*, vol. iii., Washington, 1834).

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be conjectured) by offering to visit the Six Nations and find out how they stood. "If I find that they are against you," he said, "I will try and turn their minds." . . . "One thing I ask of you, if you send for me to fight, that you will let me fight in my own Indian way." The Massachusetts Congress also tried to draw recruits from the Indians of Nova Scotia, and addressed them on the 15th of May, 1775,[1] as their "friends and good brothers;" adding as an inducement for their enlistment that "the Indians at Stockbridge all join with us, and some of their men have enlisted as soldiers." Captain John Lane was sent down among these Eastern Indians to raise one company of their men, "to join with us in the war with your and our enemies." Nothing, however, resulted from this, except the arrival in June of Captain Lane with one chief and three young men, and at a later date the execution of a barren treaty.[2] In addition to these efforts put forth by the Provincial Congress, attempts were early made in the same direction by provincial officers;[3] and thus by general or special effort at the very beginning of the war, the Americans secured the services of such Indians as were willing to enlist, and the English followed so close in their steps as to confound, to the casual observer of their mutual criminations, the evidence of priority. The Indians engaged upon the American side produced no material influence upon military movements. Their presence in camp has been ignored by many writers. The responsibility for the intention is the same as if the effort had been successful. It must, however, be remembered that small bodies of Indians, serving with whites, were controllable and easily restrained from excesses. After the evacuation of Boston, the tide of events changed the field of war, and altered the composition of the troops. The army began to assume a national aspect. The voice of Massachusetts was no longer pre-eminent in military affairs.

The Continental Congress contained representatives of other colonies who keenly felt the dangers from the use of Indians by the enemy. The

[1] [Kidder's *Mil. Operations in Eastern Maine*, p. 51. — ED.]

[2] In Kidder's *Expeditions of Captain John Lovewell*, it is stated that the petition for guns, blankets, etc., of thirteen Pequakets, who were willing to enlist, was granted by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay. The date of the petition is not given. [For the treaty of July 10, 1776, see *Amer. Arch.*, 5th, i. 835; and the reply of the Micmacs to Washington, *Ibid.* iii. 800. — ED.]

[3] On the 24th of May, Ethan Allen addressed a letter to several tribes of the Canadian Indians, asking their warriors to join with his warriors "like brothers, and ambush the regulars." This proceeding he reported to the General Assembly of Connecticut two days afterward. On the 2d of June, Allen proposed to the Provincial Congress of New York an invasion of Canada, urging as one of the reasons therefor that there would be "this unspeakable advantage: that instead of turning the Canadians and Indians against us, as is wrongly suggested by many, it would unavoidably attach and connect them to our interest." From Newbury, Colonel Bayley, on the 23d of June, addressed the Northern Indians as follows: "If you have a mind to join us, I will go with any number you shall bring to our army, and you shall each have a good coat and blanket, etc., and forty shillings per month, be the time longer or shorter."

In the autumn of 1775, Arnold on his Kennebec march was joined at Sartigan by a number of Indians, to whom he offered "one Portuguese per month, two dollars bounty, their provisions, and the liberty to choose their own officers." Under this inducement they took their canoes and proceeded with the invading column.

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expressions of opinion in that body were, therefore, much more conservative than in the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay. On the 18th of May it appears by the *Journals* that indubitable evidence of a design formed by the British ministry of making an invasion had been received. In June, according to the *Secret Journals*, Governor Carleton was making preparation to invade the colonies, and was "instigating the Indian nations to take up the hatchet against them." On the 30th the Committee on Indian Affairs was instructed "to prepare proper talks to the several tribes of Indians for engaging the continuance of their friendship to us, and neutrality in our present unhappy dispute with Great Britain." On the 1st of July there is a hint of a possible change of position shown in the passage of a resolution, "that in case any agent of the ministry shall induce any Indian tribes, or any of them, to commit actual hostilities against these colonies, or to enter into an offensive alliance with the British troops, thereupon the colonies ought to avail themselves of an alliance with such Indian nations as will enter into the same, to oppose such British troops and their allies." The statement that Carleton was instigating the Indians to "fall upon us" was repeated July 6th.[1] On July 12th the Committee on Indian Affairs recommended that the country be divided into

[1] Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, was in correspondence with Major Brown. Fifteen days after the fall of Ticonderoga the governor wrote to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay, and, without mentioning his authority, spoke of the "iterated intelligence we receive of the plans framed by our enemies to distress us, by inroads of Canadians and savages from the Province of Quebec upon the adjacent settlements." (Stuart's *Trumbull*, p. 185.) In a note (*Ibid.* p. 186) an extract from a letter of Arnold, of the 19th, is given, in which Arnold says that there are "400 regulars at St. Johns, making all possible preparation to cross the lake, and expecting to be joined by a body of Indians, with a design of retaking Crown Point and Ticonderoga." (Cf. also, Arnold, May 23d, from Crown Point, in *Jour. Cong.*, i. 111.) The New Hampshire Provincial Congress, on the 3d of June, 1775, had "undoubted intelligence of the attempts of the British ministry to engage the Canadians and savages in their interest, in the present controversy with America, and by actual movements in Canada." (*Sparks's MSS.*) On the 6th of July, 1775, Governor Trumbull wrote to General Schuyler, enclosing a statement of a person who had been in Canada, containing the assertion that Governor Carleton "directly solicited the Indians for their assistance, but on their refusal declared he would dispossess them, and give their lands to those who would." July 21, 1775, Schuyler gave Major John Brown a general letter for use in Canada, in which he said: "Reports prevail that General Carleton intends an excursion into these parts; that for that purpose he is raising a body of Canadians and Indians." (Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. 366.) On Aug. 15th, Brown reported that "Sir John Johnson was at Montreal with a body of about 300 Tories and some Indians, trying to persuade the Caughnawagas to take up the hatchet," etc. (*Ibid.* p. 380). From the foregoing we can see that Congress had some reason to believe that the English authorities were at work among the Indians. Washington was evidently not convinced of the fact until Schuyler received information of a positive character concerning the Guy Johnson conference at Montreal. On the 24th of December, 1775, he wrote to Schuyler: "The proofs you have of the ministry's intention to engage the savages are incontrovertible. We have other confirmation of it by some despatches from John Stuart, the superintendent for the southern district, which luckily fell into my hands" (Sparks's *Washington*, iii. p. 209). Congress had not made public its previous sources of information, but it authorized the publication of "the second paragraph in General Schuyler's letter relative to the measures taken by the ministerial agents to engage the Indians in a war with the colonies." Montgomery, at St. John's, had, in September, already met with proofs of the most convincing character, but the presence of the Mohawks there, and their opposition to the American force, does not seem to have made the impression to which it was entitled.

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three Indian departments, and that commissioners be appointed, with power to "treat with the Indians in their respective departments, in the name and on behalf of the United Colonies, in order to preserve peace and friendship with the said Indians, and to prevent their taking any part in the present commotion." This recommendation was adopted. On July 13th, a formal speech was addressed to the Six Confederate Nations, urging them to keep peace. On the 17th the commissioners were recommended to employ Mr. Kirkland, in order to secure the friendship of the Indians and continue them in a state of neutrality. On July 21st a plan of confederation was submitted to Congress by Franklin, in which "a perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive," was proposed, "to be entered into as soon as may be with the Six Nations." On December 2d it was resolved that the Indians of the St. Francis, Penobscot, Stockbridge, and St. John and other tribes may be called on in case of real necessity, and that giving them presents is suitable and proper. On March 8, 1776, the growing disposition to make use of Indians found expression in a resolve "that Indians be not employed as soldiers in the armies of the United Colonies, before the tribes to which they belong shall, in a national council, held in the customary manner, have consented thereto, nor then without express approbation of Congress." On May 25th the opposition seems to have been completely overcome, when Congress resolved "that it is highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United Colonies."[1] On June 3d authority was conferred upon General Washington to employ in Canada a number of Indians, not exceeding two thousand; and on the 6th instructions were given to the standing Committee on Indian Affairs to devise ways and means for carrying into effect the resolution of the 3d. Meantime the news of the disaster at the Cedars was received, and its circumstances impelled Congress to special efforts in behalf of the colonies. On June 14th the commissioners of the Northern Department were instructed to "engage the Six Nations in our interest, on the best terms that can be procured." On the 17th, the restriction in the resolution of the 3d, which limited to Canada the use of the Indians to be raised, was removed, and the general was permitted to employ them in any place where he should judge they would be most useful. He was further authorized "to offer a reward of one hundred dollars for every commissioned officer, and thirty dollars for every private soldier of the king's troops, that they should take prisoners in the

[1] *Secret Journals of Congress*, p. 44. Sparks, in his review of the subject, says: "After the sanguinary affair at the Cedars . . . Congress openly changed their system" (*Washington*, iii. p. 497). The resolution passed May 25th. Washington was then in Philadelphia. As late as June 9th, he wrote from New York: "I have been much surprised at not receiving a more explicit account of the defeat of Colonel Bedell and his party at the Cedars. I should have thought some of the officers in command would and ought to have transmitted it immediately, but as they have not, it is probable that I should have long remained in doubt as to the event, had not the commissioners called on me to-day." The coincidence of Washington's presence in Philadelphia at the time of the passage of the resolve is more significant than the fact that a battle had been fought of which the general of the army had only just heard two weeks after that date.

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Indian country, or on the frontiers of these colonies." The days of irresolution were over. Congress was now irrevocably committed to the proposition of permitting the general commanding the armies to take what advantage he could of Indian auxiliaries, and to offer them bounties for prisoners. The next utterance of Congress on this subject is to be found in the Declaration of Independence, in which the king is arraigned because "he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions." This was closely followed by a resolution on July 8th, authorizing Washington to call forth and engage the Indians of the St. John, Nova Scotia, and Penobscot tribes. The address to the people of Great Britain was adopted the same day. The address to the people of Ireland, in which it is asserted that "the wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness have been solicited by gifts to take up the hatchet against us, and instigated to deluge our settlements with the blood of defenceless women and children," was agreed to July 28, 1776.[1] After this, the acts and resolutions of Congress were consistent with the resolution in which they declared that it was highly expedient to employ the Indians. Instructions were given from time to time to secure the greatest advantage out of the services of the Indians, in behalf of the country which was now struggling for independence; and in 1779 it was resolved that twelve blank commissions be furnished the commissioners of the Northern Department for the appointment of as many Indians, the name and the rank of each commission to be filled at the discretion of the commissioners.[2]

The English approached the question differently; and there can be but little doubt that the proposition to use Indian warriors was more shocking to the cultivated Englishman, who was in no danger from their barbarous excesses, than to the American of corresponding attainments, whose life had been spent in close contact with men to whom such incidents had been every-day experiences. The fierce invectives of Chatham,[3] in 1777, against the ministry for having enlisted the services of Indians, were founded on a proper estimate of the responsibilities of an invading army. Lord North recognized this distinction when, in 1775, he said that Carleton raised Indians only for purposes of defence. Military men knew that the natives, who had taken part in every war in America between the French and the English, must inevitably be drawn into any protracted contest between

[1] The address to the people of Ireland is dated May 10, 1775, the date of the assembling of Congress. The address was agreed to July 28th. It would be hard to justify the language used, if we accept the nominal date of the instrument as the actual date of its composition. When it was issued, the atrocities committed at the Cedars were still fresh in the minds of the members.

[2] [A note on the opinions of leading men, respecting the employment of Indians, is on a later page. The index (under *Indians*) to B. P. Poore's *Descriptive Catalogue* will point to the government publications. — ED.]

[3] [*Speeches;* also in Niles's *Principles* (1876), p. 459. Cf. also Burke's *Speeches*, and the reference in Walpole's *Last Journals*, ii. 193. — ED.]

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Great Britain and the colonies. It could be foreseen that, if the English retained Canada and Detroit, operations would be conducted by way of Lake Champlain, Oswego, and Detroit, which would involve the use of Indian territory. If any inference could be drawn from the past, no armed occupation of strategic positions within Indian territory, and no use of the rivers and natural highways of the back country for military purposes during a time of actual war, could be made without collision with the natives, unless such occupation and use was by their consent. Such consent could only be gained by alliance. General Gage and Lord Dunmore, both in close contact with the situation, placed their opinions on record soon after hostilities broke out. On June 12, 1775, Gage wrote to Lord Dartmouth: "I hear that the rebels, after surprising Ticonderoga, made incursions and commenced hostilities upon the frontier of the province of Quebec, which will justify General Carleton to raise bodies of Canadians and Indians to attack them in return; and we need not be tender of calling on the savages, as the rebels here have shown us the example, by bringing as many Indians down here as they could collect." Lord Dunmore, whose indiscretions and brutality were so serviceable in stamping out loyalty among men of wealth and intelligence in Virginia, sought no justification in the example of the rebels. He wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, on May 1st, that he hoped "to be able to collect from among Indians, negroes, and other persons a force sufficient, if not to subdue rebellion, at least to defend government;" and in the fall of the same year he endeavored to carry out his policy.[1] Carleton was apparently averse to the employment of Indians in aggressive movements. At any rate, he took refuge behind his orders, which did not permit him "to act out of the line of the province."

Colonel Guy Johnson was the object of much suspicion during the months of May and June, 1775. He repudiated with vigor the position which these suspicions attributed to him, and said that he could not sufficiently express his surprise at those who had, either through malice or ignorance, misconstrued his intentions, and supposed him capable of setting Indians on the peaceable inhabitants of Tryon County. He was a servant of the king and an ardent loyalist. From the mere performance of his official duties he was necessarily an object of suspicion to the Americans. He was the person who furnished the natives with supplies. "We get our things from the superintendent. If our ammunition is stopped we shall distrust you," said an Indian speaker to the delegates from Albany and Tryon counties. These supplies were furnished by the king to those whom he termed his allies. It was evident that the king would not continue to furnish supplies, if their only effect was to keep the neighboring Indians on good terms with

[1] This letter of Dunmore is quoted by Dartmouth. (*Am. Arch.*, 4th, iii. 6.) On the 23d of April, 1779, William Livingston forwarded a copy to Congress. It was ordered to be printed (Almon's *Remembrancer*, viii. p. 278). According to Bancroft, Gage in 1774 asked Carleton his opinion about raising "a body of Canadians and Indians, and for them to form a junction with the king's forces in this province." Carleton, in reply, apparently discouraged the project, saying, "You know what sort of people they [the Indians] are" (Bancroft, vii. pp. 117, 119).

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colonists who, while claiming to be loyal subjects, were actually in arms against his government. As the distributer of supplies, the safety of the superintendent was of great importance to the natives, and a rumor that the "Bostonians" contemplated seizing his person[1] caused the Indians much alarm. Whether Johnson believed this rumor or not, he fortified his house. This act, as well as his sudden removal to Fort Stanwix, and thence to Oswego, — at both of which places he held conferences with Indians, — increased the numbers who doubted the sincerity of his statements. Yet even here, after these suspicious movements, he protested to the Provincial Congress of New York against the charges brought against him: "I trust I shall always manifest more humanity than to promote the destruction of the innocent inhabitants of a colony to which I have been always warmly attached." The conference at Oswego caused alarm to the inhabitants of Tryon County, and the air was filled with rumors of Indian invasion. Colonel Johnson reported to Dartmouth that he left home the last of May, "having received secret instructions from General Gage," and that he "assembled 1,458 Indians at Ontario,[2] and adjusted matters with them in such a manner that they agreed to defend the communications and assist his majesty's troops in their operations." At the Albany conference the Indians were interrogated about the proceedings at Oswego, and repeatedly asserted that the superintendent's advice to them was to preserve neutrality.[3] The statements made by the Indians at the conferences were generally to be relied upon. Johnson's language has perhaps been misunderstood. The assistance "to his majesty's troops in their operations" may have been limited to the agreement to defend the communications, the military value of which Johnson appreciated, but the full effect of an agreement to defend which the Indians did not comprehend. In the middle of July, Johnson arrived at Montreal, and another conference was held with 1,664 Indians, at which their services were secured for the king. Brant, who was present, afterwards said: "We immediately commenced in good earnest, and did our utmost during the war."

In the South, John Stuart, the Indian superintendent of that department,

[1] Guy Johnson was the son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, as well as his successor in office, and the Mohawks said: "The love we have for Sir William Johnson, and the obligations the whole Six Nations are under to him, must make us regard and protect every branch of his family."

[2] From the best evidence that I can get, I conclude that Ontario and Oswego are one. Stone and Lossing state that there were two conferences. Guy Johnson, in "a brief sketch of his past transactions," refers to but one (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. 636).

[3] At a conference between Captain John, in behalf of the Six Nations, and Colonel Butler, of the colony of Connecticut, in 1776, Captain John said: "We come to make you a visit, and let you know we were at the treaty at Oswego with Col. Guy Johnson." "We do now assure you that so long as the waters run, so long you may depend on our friendship. We are all of one mind and are all for peace." (Miner's *Wyoming*, p. 183.) Under date of Nov. 21, 1774, the following is entered in the records of Harvard College: "As the corporation with pleasure have received information of Mr. Zebulon Butler to engage in a mission to the Tuscarora Indians, they cheerfully signify their readiness to give him all suitable encouragement, as far as may be in their power, if he should proceed according to his intention in so laudable an undertaking." This extract will perhaps explain Col. Butler's influence among the Indians.

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was also an object of suspicion. At a hint from friends he fled from Charleston to Savannah, and in turn to St. Augustine. From this spot, on July 18th, he wrote to the Committee of Safety of Charleston, asserting that he had never received any orders from his superiors "which, by the most tortured suspicion, could be interpreted to stir up or employ the Indians to fall upon the frontier inhabitants, or to take any part in the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies."[1] A few weeks later he received from Gage a letter written just before that officer left Boston, the vindictiveness of which was probably prompted by anger. This letter contained instructions to "improve a correspondence with the Indians to the greatest advantage, and even when opportunity offers make them take arms against his majesty's enemies, and distress them all in your power; for no terms are now to be kept with them; they have brought down all the savages they could against us here, who, with their riflemen, are continually firing on our advanced sentries;[2] in short, no time should be lost to distress a set of people so wantonly rebellious."[3] Stuart apparently proceeded to carry out what he conceived to be the desires of his superior officer, and, in a letter of October 3d, reported progress.

From England instructions were forwarded on July 5, 1775, by Lord Dartmouth to Colonel Johnson, "to keep the Indians in such a state of affection and attachment to the king as that his majesty may rely upon their assistance in any case in which it may be necessary." On the 24th Dartmouth wrote: "The intelligence his majesty has received of the rebels having excited the Indians to take a part, and of their having actually engaged a body of them in arms to support their rebellion, justifies the resolution his majesty has taken of requiring the assistance of his faithful adherents, the Six Nations. It is, therefore, his majesty's pleasure that you do lose no time in taking such steps as may induce them to take up the hatchet against his majesty's rebellious subjects in America, and to engage them in his majesty's service, upon such plan as shall be suggested by General Gage." This work Johnson had already accomplished even before the instructions of July 24th were written. In the fall of the same year that Dartmouth thus placed the British government on record as willing to employ Indians in the war, without other restrictions than such as were to be suggested by General Gage, the Earl of Shelburne, on infor-

[1] An unsuccessful attempt was made to detach Cameron, Stuart's deputy, from the king's service. He was offered a salary and compensation for losses if he would join the American cause. "He refused to resign his commission or accept of any employment in the colony service." Hearing later that he was to be seized, he fled to the Cherokee country. This alarmed the colonists, but they were quieted when they heard that he had written "that Captain Stewart had never given him orders to induce the Indians to fall upon Carolina, but to keep them firmly attached to his majesty" (Moultrie's *Memoirs*, i. p. 76). It appears from Stuart's correspondence that he received almost simultaneously, in the first part of October, satisfactory replies from the Indians and orders from General Gage to make use of the natives (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., iv. p. 317). The Catawbas, a relatively insignificant tribe, were said to be friendly to the rebels. The Cherokees were ready for attack (Almon's *Remembrancer*, Part iii., 1776, p. 180).

[2] The reasons for believing that both these statements were true have already been given.

[3] Bancroft's *United States*, viii. p. 88.

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mation received, attacked the administration. "The Indians had been tampered with," he said. "A trial of skill had been made to let the savages on the back settlements loose on provincial subjects. Barbarous as was the measure and cowardly as was the attempt, it had failed." This was on November 10th. Ten days later Lord North asserted that, "as to the means of conducting the war, there was never any idea of employing the negroes or the Indians, until the Americans themselves had first applied to them; that General Carleton did then apply to them; and even then it was only for the defence of his own province." Lord North was not well informed on proceedings in the colonies.

The attitude assumed by the British government in the order of July 24th represented the position which was retained during the remainder of the war. From Halifax, on June 7, 1776, General Howe assured Lord George Germain that his best endeavors would be used to engage the Indians of the Six Nations, and he hoped by the influence of Colonel Guy Johnson to make them useful. Notwithstanding the fact that the intercepted correspondence between General Gage and John Stuart, the superintendent, had been in possession of the Americans for some months, Henry Stuart, a deputy of his brother, on May 18, 1776, asserted that it was not the design of his majesty "to set his friends and allies on his liege subjects." This was probably true, but there were a number of inhabitants of the Southern colonies who could hardly have been classified as "liege subjects" at that time, to whom this announcement could not have conveyed much satisfaction. From an intercepted letter from the same source a scheme for co-operating with the fleet when it should appear on the coast, by marching troops from Florida in concert with a force composed of Creeks and Cherokees, to the frontiers of North and South Carolina, was made public. In the fall of 1776 Lord George Germain forwarded a supply of presents to the Indians, and called the attention of the generals in command to the necessity of securing their services. In November, 1777, the Earl of Suffolk justified the alliance with the Indians on two grounds: "one as necessary in fact, the other as allowable on principle; for, first, the Americans endeavored to raise them on their side, and would gain them if we did not; and next, it was allowable, and perfectly justifiable, to use every means that God and nature had put in our hands."[1] This avowal called forth from the Earl of Chatham a fierce denunciation of its author.

In the review which has been submitted of the acts and opinions, official and personal, on both sides the ocean, concerning the employment of the Indians in the Revolutionary War, the actors have been allowed to speak

[1] *Parl. Reg.*, x. p. 48. Flavored as follows in a communication quoted in Almon's *Remembrancer*, viii. p. 328: "God and nature hath put into our hands the scalping-knife and tomahawk, to torture them into unconditional submission." [Burgoyne's opinions at this time became important; they are in his speeches (*Parl. Reg.*), his letter to the secretary of state (Ryerson's *Loyalists*), his address to the Indians (Anburey's *Travels*), and elsewhere (*Hadden's Journal and Orderly-Book*, etc.). Cf. also *Gent. Mag.*, March, 1778; McKnight's *Burke*, ii. 213; *Walpole and Mason Corresp.*, i. 335; Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*. —ED.]

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for themselves as nearly as possible. If we follow the order of events, we can see that the flaming rhetoric of the address of the Continental Congress to the people of Ireland, and the caustic arraignment of the king of Great Britain in the Declaration of Independence, were calculated to produce an erroneous impression as to the American position upon the subject. With the publication, which afterwards took place, of the correspondence of prominent men of the times, and of official documents from state and national archives, this became evident. Sparks, in his *Washington*,[1] says: "It has been usual in America to represent the English as much the most censurable on this score in the Revolutionary War; and if we estimate the amount of deserved censure by the effect produced, this opinion is no doubt correct. But such is not the equitable mode of judging on the subject, since the principle and intention are chiefly concerned, and not the policy of the measure nor the success of the execution. Taken on this ground, historical justice must award the Americans a due share of the blame." We may complain of the brutal eagerness of Lord Dunmore to sustain his official position at any expense to his people; we may hold up for abhorrence the vindictive nature of the orders transmitted by General Gage; we may point out the disingenuous evasions or downright falsehoods of Colonel Guy Johnson; but we must accept responsibility for the enlistment, before the battle of Lexington, of the Stockbridge Indians by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay. We may claim with apparent justice that the Continental Congress was reluctant to employ Indians; yet we cannot undertake to reconcile the resolutions of that Congress on May 25 and on June 17, 1776, with the indignation against Great Britain, expressed so shortly afterward in the Declaration of Independence and the Address to the people of Ireland, for doing what Congress, by resolutions of previous date, had first declared to be highly expedient, and then had specifically ordered to be done.

The examination which has heretofore been made of the position of the colonies on the question of the employment of Indians as soldiers has already brought to light some of the events requiring notice which took place in the Northern Department. The few Mohegans, whose unfortunate enlistment as minute-men furnished argument for Gage "that the colonies were collecting all the Indians that they could," were practically the only Indians the colonies found ready to take up arms in their behalf. During the summer and autumn of 1775 Washington was much encouraged by reports of the friendly disposition of the Eastern and Canadian Indians. He was visited at Cambridge by delegations from the Penobscot, the St. Francis, and the Caughnawaga tribes, who in friendly talks conveyed the impression that they favored the colonies. The Six Nations were sorely perplexed and divided in their councils.[2] The residence of the superin-

[1] Vol. iii., App.

[2] At the same time that some of them were engaged in hostilities in Canada, others were at Philadelphia having peace-talks with Congress (*Journals of Congress*, ii. pp. 192, 206, 207).

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tendent among them, his power as the distributer of gifts, the traditional respect and affection that they had for his predecessor, and, above all, the active agency of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chief, whom the superintendent adroitly engaged as his private secretary, all conspired to take them over to the enemy. It is surprising that any influences could have overcome, even partially, this combination of circumstances in favor of the English; but, as it proved, the personal attachment of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras for Kirkland the missionary, and Dean the interpreter, was powerful enough, when exerted in favor of neutrality, to prevent the greater part of those tribes from following their brethren. Various conferences were held during the summer between delegations of whites and representatives of the Eastern tribes of the confederacy, in all of which those Indians who participated professed their willingness to remain neutral.[2] In the autumn

JOSEPH THAYENDANEGEA.[1]

[1] [This portrait of Brant, "from an original drawing in the possession of James Boswell, Esq.," is engraved in the *London Mag.*, July, 1776. It is reëngraved in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ii. 345. — ED.]

[2] For the treaty at Albany in August, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxv. 75, and *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. 605. [A report of the commissioner of Indian affairs in the Northern Department, addressed to President Hancock from Albany, Dec. 14, 1775, is in *Letters and Papers, 1761-1776* (MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc.). — ED.]

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of 1775 the Indian commissioners of the Northern Department held a preliminary conference at German Flats, and thereafter a formal conference at Albany, at which the peace-speech of Congress was presented to the Six Nations, or rather to that part of the confederacy which was represented at the conference.[1] An agreement of neutrality was entered into, but its value was greatly diminished by the fact that in the preliminary speeches the Indians insisted upon the necessity of keeping open their communications. This meant that they would regard the occupation of Fort Stanwix as an invasion of their rights.[2] While these proceedings were going on, some of the Indians who had accompanied Guy Johnson to Montreal returned to their homes. When Dean, under orders from the commissioners, went out to explain to the tribes the nature of the Albany treaty, he met these Indians from Montreal. He says they were members of the Cayuga, Mohawk, and Seneca tribes, and they informed their brethren that they had taken up the hatchet at Montreal against the colonies. The Indians who had been at Albany were displeased at this, and their influence so far prevailed that the famous war-belt delivered by Guy Johnson was surrendered to General Schuyler on the 12th of December at Albany.[3]

In the Mohawk Valley, the departure of Guy Johnson, in the summer of 1775, left Sir John Johnson the most prominent royalist, and at the same time the most conspicuous friend of the Indians, in that region. He was surrounded by several hundred Scotch Highlanders, who were devoted to him personally, and followed his lead in politics. Early in January, 1776, General Schuyler received orders to proceed to Johnstown, apprehend Sir

[1] Numerous other conferences and communications between different persons and bodies and the several tribes attracted attention this season. In May, 1775, the Mohawks declared to the committee of Albany and Schenectady that it was their intention to remain neutral, but they had heard that their superintendent was threatened, and they would protect him (*Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., ii. p. 842). They also addressed a letter to the Oneidas, calling on them to prevent the Bostonians from capturing him (*Ibid.* pp. 664, 665). For accounts of the conferences, see *Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., iii.; also Stone's *Brant*, i. ch. v. Cf. letter from Albany in *Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., iii. p. 625.

[2] When Fort Stanwix was occupied without causing an Indian outbreak, Washington congratulated Schuyler (Sparks's *Washington*, iv. p. 24). We have but little information of the conference at Montreal which Col. Guy Johnson held in July; but in Almon's *Remembrancer*, i. p. 241. the statement is made that a considerable number of the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations were present, and that there were also present 1,700 Caughnawagas. In the presence of Governor Carleton, "they unanimously resolved to support their engagements with his majesty, and remove all intruders on the several communications." This gives a hint of the jealousy with which they regarded the occupation of the posts at the carrying-places between the Mohawk Valley and the lakes. See also Guy Carleton's letter to Dartmouth (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. 635), in which he says that at Ontario they agreed to defend the communications.

[3] An intended conference of the Six Nations with the Canadian Indians was announced to Congress by Schuyler in January, 1776 (*Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., iv. p. 898). In March the Oneidas, by their friendly interference, again prevented the taking up of the hatchet which had been surrendered at Albany. (Dean to Schuyler, *Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., v. p. 768.) The Caughnawagas went to Oneida, but would not go to the Onondaga council in March (*Ibid.* p. 769). Dean went to the Onondaga council. While on the way there his life was threatened, and the Oneidas declined to go on until they received assurances of Dean's safety (*Ibid.* pp. 1100–1103). The Caughnawagas, returning from Onondaga [?], surrendered the sharp hatchet which Col. Guy Johnson had given them. ("The Commissioners in Canada to the President of Congress, Montreal, May 6, 1776," in *Ibid.* p. 1214.)

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John, and disarm his followers. In carrying out these orders the jealousy of the Indians had to be considered. Conferences were held with them. They tried to dissuade the general from invading the valley with an armed force, but he carefully explained to them the situation, and insisted upon advancing. The Indians were, however, invited to be present at the conference with Sir John. As a result of the expedition, the Highlanders were disarmed and Sir John was arrested and paroled. In May, it being reported that Sir John was not observing his parole, a second expedition was dispatched to Johnson Hall.[1] Without waiting to be arrested, Sir John fled to Canada with a numerous body of followers, and shortly thereafter entered the English army. It was in this same month that the affair of the Cedars took place. Here, for the first time, Joseph Brant — *Tha-yen-dan-e-gea* — appeared in the field against the colonies. As a youth he had been placed at the school for the instruction of Indians, which was

BRANT.[2]

[1] [The loyalists termed this Schuyler's "Peacock Expedition," because the men decorated themselves with feathers from the peacocks at Johnson Hall. Cf. Jones's *New York*, i. 71, and note xxx.; De Peyster's *Life and Misfortunes of Sir John Johnson* (New York, 1882), which was first issued as a part of the *Orderly-Book of Sir John Johnson* (Albany, 1882). This contains a portrait of Sir John, which will also be found in Hubbard's *Red Jacket*. — ED.]

[2] [Stone gives two portraits of Brant: one in his younger days, after a picture belonging to the Earl of Warwick, and painted by G. Romney; the other after a painting by Catlin, following an original by E. Ames, and representing

him at a later age. The younger of these two is herewith given. (Cf. J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mez. Portraits*, iii. 1306; and McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes*, vol. ii.) Cf. also J. N. Hubbard's *Sa-go-ye-wat-ha* (Albany, 1886), p. 88. — ED.]

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conducted by the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, afterwards president of Dartmouth College. Brant is said to have been a man of good personal appearance and of great physical courage. Enough of his life had been spent among the whites to make him feel at ease in European costume, and to fit him to enter society without fear of transgressing ordinary rules of etiquette. As the private secretary of Guy Johnson, he had followed the superintendent to Montreal. From that point he went to England, where he was received with consideration. After a brief stay he returned to Canada, arriving in time to participate, while his memory of British adulation was still fresh,[1] in the joint attack of the British troops and Indians on the Americans at the Cedars.[2]

The necessity for occupying Fort Stanwix became early apparent to the Americans, and was the subject of frequent correspondence. This fort was at the carrying-place between Lake Ontario and the Mohawk,[3] and from this post, on September 23, 1776, Colonel Dayton wrote that "Indian rumors report Colonel Johnson at Oswego with a large force."[4] The alarm was, however, premature.

In the spring of 1777[5] intelligence reached the Tryon County committee of the march of Brant, with a large body of warriors, across the country from Canada to the region where the Susquehanna River crosses the line between New York and Pennsylvania. Considerable restlessness was also noted at this time among the Tories. The presence of this large force of Indians under Brant caused great uneasiness to the settlers, and in June General Herkimer, with about three hundred of the militia, marched to Unadilla. Then followed one of the most singular incidents, as the story is generally told, of the whole border war. Herkimer's whole proceedings up to this point were aggressive. He had ventured with an armed force into Indian country. Upon his application, a co-operative force under Colonel Van Schaick was dispatched to Cherry Valley. The presence of Brant in the vicinity with a large body of followers was known, and Brant had already avowed his loyalty to the king. Yet after a conference, to which Brant came with evident reluctance, and at which he made a display of the

[1] Tuesday, March 5, 1776. Two Indian chiefs, who lately arrived in town from Canada, were introduced to his majesty at St. James's by Col. Johnson, and graciously received (*Gentleman's Magazine*, xlvi. p. 138).

[2] See *ante*, chap. ii.

[3] The site is at present covered by the town of Rome. Its name was changed, when occupied by the Americans, to Fort Schuyler, and for a time the new name conquered a place in the despatches, but the fort is more generally known and spoken of by its original title. There had been another Fort Schuyler at the spot where Utica now stands, and this fact has caused some confusion. [See a paper on Forts Stanwix and Bull and other forts near Rome, by D. E. Wager, in the *Oneida Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 1885–86, p. 65. — ED.]

[4] The "large force at Oswego" was probably suggested by a grand Indian council held at Niagara in September, 1776, between Col. John Butler and others representing the English and fifteen Indian tribes, including representatives of the Six Nations. The Indians declared their intention to embark in the war and abide the result of the contest (MSS. of Gen. Gansevoort, quoted by Stone in his *Brant*, ii. p. 4, note).

[5] In March the Oneidas sent a delegation, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, to the army, to see how matters were going. An offer made by them to act as scouts, probably a result of this tour of inspection, was on the 29th of April accepted by Congress.

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force with him in such a way as to make Herkimer's followers uneasy, the meeting terminated without apparent result, unless Brant's renewed assertion of loyalty may be so regarded.[1] Very soon after this a conference was held at Oswego between the officers of the British Indian Department and the Six Nations, at which the greater part of the latter were secured for the service of the king, and the lines were finally drawn between them and those members of the confederacy who were disposed either to maintain neutrality or who actually favored the American side.

While these events were occurring, Burgoyne had started upon his march by way of Lake Champlain, confident that he could without difficulty effect a junction with the British force from New York. Lieutenant Hadden mentions that Burgoyne said at an early date in the campaign that "a thousand savages brought into the field cost more than twenty thousand men." What confidence he had in his allies at the start diminished as he advanced. On the 11th of July he wrote to the secretary of state: "Confidentially to your lordship, I may acknowledge that in several instances I have found the Indians little more than a name," — a name which he sought by a proclamation to make a terror; but in doing so he gave his adversaries ground for holding him responsible for such enormities as the murder of Miss McCrea,[2] and for refusing to believe his indignant denials. His doubts of the value of the Indians as soldiers were soon verified. They could scout and forage, but at Bennington they were useless. They, in turn, finding that Burgoyne endeavored to restrain them in their customary methods of warfare, and that there was but little opportunity for plunder, began to drop away. At the most critical period of the campaign they deserted in large numbers, and could not be prevailed upon to return. Their presence, far from proving a terror to the provincials, consolidated and thus strengthened them, while on the other hand it undoubtedly led the English to overestimate their own strength.[3]

By orders from London, dated March 26, 1777, the advance of Burgoyne

[1] Stone, in his *Brant*, i. p. 185, attributes to Herkimer an act of intended treachery utterly inconsistent with Herkimer's character as it is portrayed to us. Simms, in his *Frontiersmen*, etc. (ii. p. 19), gives a more natural version of the story.

[2] [This tragical incident, which attained great currency at the time, is followed in D. Wilson's *Life of Jane McCrea* (New York, 1853); Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Rev.* (ii. 221); Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 250) and *Field-Book* (vol. i.); the elder Stone's *Brant* (i. 203), and the younger Stone's papers in *Hist. Mag.* (April, 1867) and *Galaxy* (Jan., 1867, also in Beach's *Indian Miscellany*), and App. to his *Burgoyne's Campaign;* Asa Fitch in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, also in Stephen Dodd's *Revolutionary Memorials;* Epaphras Hoyt in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1847, p. 77); *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. 202; also Moore's *Diary* (475), and Ruttenber's *Hudson River Indians* (p. 273). The subsequent fate of Lieut. Jones, her lover, is told in the *Catholic World*, Dec., 1882. — ED.]

[3] The hints as to Burgoyne's opinions of the Indians which are derived from contemporaneous documents are of course more satisfactory than any of his subsequent expressions of opinion. In his speech in the House of Commons, May 26, 1778, his estimate of their value as soldiers was very reasonable: "Sir, I ever esteemed the Indian alliance, at best, a necessary evil. I ever believed their services to be overvalued; sometimes insignificant, often barbarous, always capricious; and that the employment of them in war was only justifiable when, by being united to a regular army, they could be kept under control, and rendered subservient to a general system" (*Parl. Reg.*, ix. p. 218).

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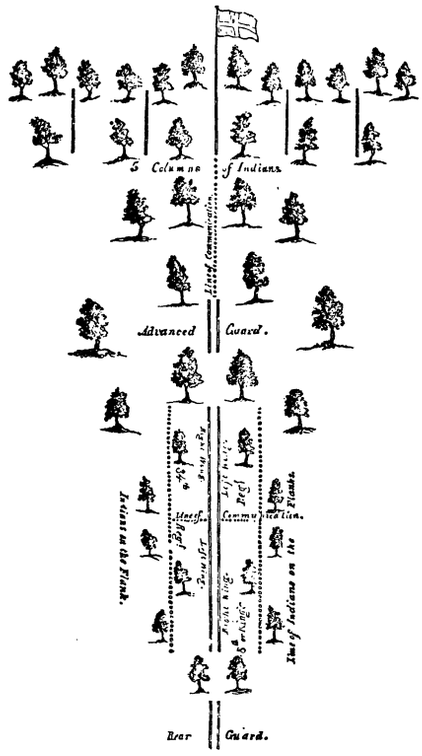
was supported by a simultaneous movement by way of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. Lieutenant-Colonel Barry St. Leger, made a brigadier for the purpose, led a force of about 650 regulars, Hessians, Canadians, and Tories, with upwards of 800 Indians, as stated by Colonel Claus, who had charge of them. This command, bearing a few six-pounders, three-pounders, and cohorns, marched from Oswego, in the latter part of July, for the valley of the Mohawk. Unusual precautions were taken to protect the flanks by Indians, and the way was led by scouts. The Oneidas gave the Americans ample warning. Fort Stanwix was at the time under the command of Colonel Gansevoort, with Colonel Marinus Willett as second, — both excellent officers. The regular garrison consisted of 550 men, who were poorly supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Indians infested the woods during the summer, and several atrocious murders were committed, even near the fort. On August 2d, a reinforcement of 200 men reached the garrison, with two bateaux loaded with stores. The supplies had been barely taken into the fort when St. Leger's advanced guard appeared. The increased garrison had now six weeks' provisions and an abundance of ammunition for small arms, but only nine rounds a day for the cannon for the same period. During the summer the garrison had partly repaired the fort, and had felled trees along the banks of Wood Creek, so as to impede navigation.



ST. LEGER'S ORDER OF MARCH.[1]

News was conveyed to St. Leger of the approach of the reinforcement, convoying supplies for the garrison. In the hopes of intercepting them he authorized Lieutenant Bird to invest the place with the advanced guard, at the same time adding to Bird's command a body of Indians under Brant. Thinking perhaps that the garrison might offer to surrender upon the approach of the investing force, he instructed Lieutenant Bird not to accept a capitulation, but to await the approach of the main body of troops; saying, "This is not to take any honor out of a young soldier's hands, but by the presence of the troops to prevent the barbarity and carnage which

[1] [After the cut in Stone's *Brant*, i. 219, following the original draft found in St. Leger's baggage. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 241. — ED.]

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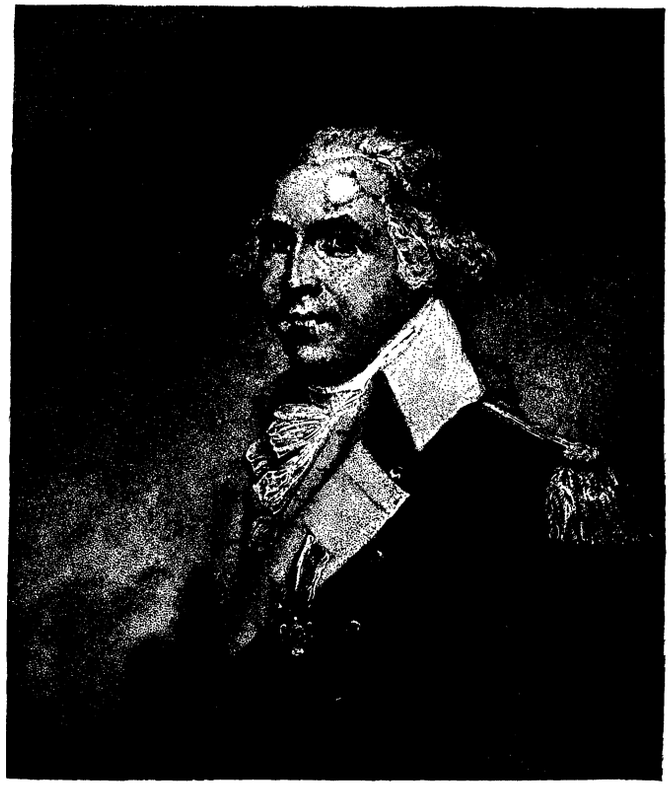
will ever obtain where Indians make so superior a part of a detachment." On the 3d of August, St. Leger arrived with the greater part of his force, himself taking charge of operations which had been begun by Lieutenant Bird on the 2d. Wood Creek had been "most effectually choaked up," as St. Leger termed it, by the garrison of the fort; consequently he could not at once bring forward his artillery and stores. He



PETER GANSEVOORT.[1]

forwarded to the garrison copies of a proclamation similar in tenor to that issued by Burgoyne, and on the 4th completely invested the fort and began the siege. Instead of the unfinished work which he says he had been led to expect, he found it "a respectable fortress, strongly garrisoned with 700 men, and demanding for its speedy subjection a train of artillery of which he was not master."

The torpor of the inhabitants of Tryon County had excited indignation at Kingston and at Albany. Under the pressure of an invading force, the people responded to the call of General Herkimer, and that officer soon

[1] [After a picture by Stuart as engraved by Prud'homme. Cf. Stone's *Brant*, i. 209; and his *Campaign of Burgoyne*, p. 221; Lossing's *Field Book*, i. 240. — ED.]

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found himself at the head of about 700 men.[1] Among them were a small number of Oneida Indians. On the 4th of August this assemblage of men from the frontier moved forward from Fort Dayton at German Flats, where they had gathered together, and on the 5th encamped near Oriskany. From this point a message was sent to Colonel Gansevoort reporting their approach, and asking him to announce his knowledge of the fact by three rapid discharges of cannon. The messengers did not succeed in entering the fort until the morning of the 6th between ten and eleven o'clock. The three guns which were intended to communicate to Herkimer the intelligence that the garrison knew of his approach, were then fired at the fort. Herkimer's men were, however, too impatient to wait for co-operation on the part of the garrison. At that hour they had already advanced between two and three miles from their camp, and were engaged with the enemy. In justice to Herkimer, it must be said that he endeavored to prevent the advance, but it was evident from the temper of his men that if he had not consented to move he would have lost their confidence.

At the time of Herkimer's approach, St. Leger was but poorly prepared for an engagement. The garrison and the relief column together were equal in number to St. Leger's total force. The passage of the creek had been so completely blocked that 110 men were nine days in freeing it from obstruction. To get his artillery and stores forward, St. Leger was obliged to clear a path or roadway sixteen miles in length. He had but 250 soldiers on duty at the camp when the news reached him that the Americans were advancing. From these he could spare but 80 men to co-operate with 400 Indians in an ambuscade which was prepared for Herkimer. Sir John Johnson commanded 50 of these, and was posted, for the purpose of checking the column, on the road over which the Americans were advancing. It was intended that the Indians and a small party of rangers under Colonel Butler, who concealed themselves in the woods by the sides of the road, should, when Sir John had performed his part of the work, pour in their fire from all sides. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the approach of the unsuspecting and undisciplined American troops, with their wagons, was heard by the Tories and Indians in their place of concealment. The presence of the enemy was first revealed to the Americans by a volley from the impetuous Indians, who could not restrain themselves long enough for the perfect development of the plan, but opened fire before the head of the column had reached Sir John Johnson's post, and before the rear guard, with the wagons, had completely entered the fatal circle. Had the regiment which composed the rear guard been made up of men accustomed to warfare, they might even then have done good service in behalf of the

[1] The number of Herkimer's force can never be positively ascertained. It has generally been stated at from 800 to 1,000. In the letter of the Council of Safety to John Jay and Gouverneur Morris (*Journals of the Provincial Congress, the Provincial Convention, the Committee of Safety, and the Council of Safety of the State of New York*, vol. i. p. 1039) it is estimated at 700.

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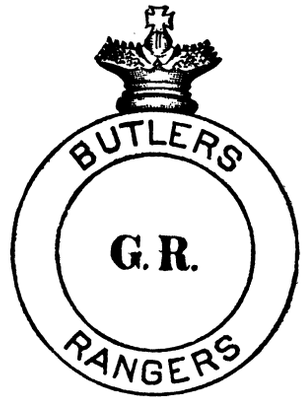
surprised column. Unfortunately, those who could get away fled, leaving their companions to their fate. The returns show that even this regiment suffered severely in the engagement. A desultory combat followed, in which each of the entrapped Americans fought for himself, taking advantage of whatever opportunities offered for defence. The remnant of the surprised and disordered troops, thus brought to bay, proved formidable opponents, and punished severely the Indians, who bore the brunt of the fighting. Quite early in the action several of the American officers were killed or wounded. General Herkimer was shot through the leg, and his horse was killed. The saddle was removed from the animal and placed at the foot of a tree. Upon this the disabled general was seated by his men, and by his coolness and indifference to suffering and to danger won their respect. A heavy shower, which interrupted the progress of the battle, afforded opportunity for the Americans to arrange for co-operation. After the shower was over, the contest was renewed, and, according to the American accounts, fresh troops from the English camp participated. Local annals are filled with tales of feats of valor and vindictiveness which characterized this portion of the combat. At length the Indians, wearied with the protracted contest, and disheartened by the loss of several of their warriors, left the field. The English troops closely followed them. A diversion made by the garrison probably hastened the retreat. During this action the American loss was, according to their own accounts, about two hundred killed and nearly as many wounded and prisoners. The British loss was stated by themselves to have been not over six killed and four wounded. From the same source we learn that the Indians lost thirty-three killed and about as many wounded.



THE BUTLER BADGE.

After the shower which checked the battle at Oriskany was over, Colonel Willett, at the head of two hundred and fifty men, with a three-pound carronade, sallied forth from the fort. The camp was almost entirely unprotected. Lieutenant Bird, who was in charge of the portion which Willett attacked, had received information that Sir John Johnson needed succor, and had abandoned his post and marched towards Oriskany. Colonel Willett penetrated the camp, secured a large quantity of guns, ammunition, Indian weapons, blankets, etc., captured nearly all the books and papers of the expedition, evaded an attempt on the part of St. Leger to cut off his retreat, and safely effected his return to the fort with all his plunder, without losing a man.[1] The Indians, before going out to fight, had

[NOTE. — The above cut of a brass emblem worn by Butler's men follows one in Simms's *Frontiersmen of New York*, ii. 68, drawn from a sample ploughed up in Otsego County. — ED.]

[1] *Narrative of the Mil. Actions of Col. Marimus Willett* (N. Y., 1831).

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stripped themselves nearly naked. On their return to camp they found neither clothing, tents, nor blankets. Thus ended the day. The relief party under Herkimer was shattered. The fort was still besieged, and the besiegers had now opportunity to open their communications; but their camp had been rifled, and their Indian allies, discouraged by their losses, had no further interest in the siege, and began to think of home. St. Leger sought to secure a capitulation on the ground of the defeat of Herkimer, and caused the captured militia to write accounts setting forth the strength of his force and the excellence of his artillery; but Gansevoort was firm. The argument that the English would be unable to restrain the Indians from barbarities if the siege were protracted was also spurned by the garrison. Failing in this direct attempt upon their fears, an effort was made to reach them through the people of the county. A proclamation was put forth by Sir John Johnson, D. W. Claus, and John Butler as superintendents. This also was of no effect. It being desirable to communicate with Albany, Colonel Willett and Major Stockwell penetrated through the enemy's camp by night, and proceeded on foot through the woods to Fort Dayton. From that point Colonel Willett went to Albany. He found that General Arnold had already been ordered to relieve the fort. The siege, notwithstanding the fact that the artillery was of little avail, was continued until the 23d of August. The garrison, ignorant of the fate of Colonel Willett and Major Stockwell, were in grave doubts as to how long they could hold out. On the 23d, the enemy suddenly abandoned their camp, leaving a great quantity of material behind. The retreat was precipitated by false intelligence which Arnold caused to be conveyed to the English camp. St. Leger evidently suspected the ruse, but was unable to prevent its effects.

The gallant Herkimer did not long survive the battle. A simple, unlettered man, without experience in leading troops, he paid the penalty of his mistakes at Oriskany with his life. His intrepidity during the action and the coolness with which he faced death convinced his followers of his dauntless courage, and his loss was deeply felt.

The Indians, in their resentment for the severe losses with which they had met, murdered several of the American prisoners. They also burned one of the Oneida settlements, destroyed the crops, and killed or drove away the cattle belonging to the village. Colonel Butler, in his report to Sir Guy Carleton concerning affairs at Fort Stanwix, coolly says, "Many of the latter [prisoners] were, conformable to the Indian custom, afterwards killed." On the retreat the Indians became uncontrollable, and robbed the English officers. In the words of St. Leger, they "became more formidable than the enemy we had to expect."

The failure of St. Leger and the capitulation of Burgoyne placed the affairs of the colonies in such position that Congress deemed it worth while to renew negotiations with the Indians. The time seemed opportune for securing the services of the Six Nations, and the commissioners were, on

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the 3d of December, 1777, instructed "to urge them to some decisive enterprise which will effectually tie them to our cause." On the 4th the commissioners were authorized to expend $15,000 as a reward to the Indians for reducing Niagara. In February, 1778, they were instructed to speak to the Indians "in language becoming the representatives of free, sovereign, and independent States." "Whether it would be prudent to insist upon the Indians taking an active part in behalf of these States" would depend upon the temper in which they should appear to be. Action upon that point was submitted to the discretion of the commissioners. The temper of the Senecas was found to be far from favorable; and instead of attending the conference, they sent a message expressing surprise that while the tomahawk was still sticking in their heads, and they were still grieving for the loss of their friends at Oriskany, the commissioners should think of inviting them to a treaty. On March 4th, Washington was empowered by Congress, if he should think it prudent and proper, to employ in the service of the United States a body of Indians, not exceeding five hundred. On the 7th, Colonel Nathaniel Gist was instructed to enlist Indians on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina, not to exceed two hundred in number. On June 11th, Congress recommended aggressive warfare, being satisfied, from the presence of British agents among the Indians, that the cruel war had been "industriously instigated" and was still being "prosecuted with unrelenting perseverance by principal officers in the service of the king of Great Britain."

In 1778, according to the plan of campaign as given by Guy Johnson in his correspondence, the English forces on the western borders of New York were divided into two bodies: one, consisting of Indians under Brant, to operate in New York, while Deputy Superintendent Butler with the other should penetrate the settled district on the Susquehanna. Brant, who, according to Colonel Claus, "had shown himself to be the most faithful and zealous subject his majesty could have in America," did his work unsparingly, and ruin marked his track. In the valley of the upper Mohawk and the Schoharie nothing but the garrison-houses escaped, and labor was only possible in the field when muskets were within easy reach. Occasionally blows were struck at the larger settlements. In the last of May, Brant, with about three hundred and fifty Indians, destroyed a number of houses in the Cobleskill Valley, and routed, with severe loss, a militia company which attempted to pursue him.[1] In June, the little town of Springfield, at the head of Otsego Lake, was burned. Such of the men as did not take flight were seized as prisoners. The women and children were not in-

[1] In Simms's *Frontiersmen*, ii. p. 152, and note, there is a description of the Cobleskill affair. Simms says that Stone is in error in making two engagements, one in 1778 and one in 1779, at this spot, and he places the date at May 30, 1778. Campbell describes the event as having occurred in 1779 (*Border Warfare*, etc., p. 175). Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, mentions the event in 1778. The next date preceding the entry is May 20th; the next succeeding, June 1st. Col. Stone actually gives three accounts of this engagement, — two in the summer of 1778 and one in 1779.

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jured. During the same month, Sir John Johnson, with a company of loyalists, made a sudden descent upon the Mohawk Valley, the scene of their former homes, and took a number of citizens prisoners.

In July, 1778, the threatened attack on Wyoming took place. This region was at that time formally incorporated as the county of Westmoreland of the colony of Connecticut. This result had been accomplished by the persistence of the emigrants, under most discouraging circumstances and at the expense of some bloodshed. In the fall of 1776, two companies, on the Continental establishment, had been raised in the valley, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, and were shortly thereafter ordered to join General Washington.[1] Several stockaded forts had been built during the summer at different points. The withdrawal of so large a proportion of the able-bodied men as had been enlisted in the Continental service threw upon the old men who were left behind the duty of guarding the forts. Repeated alarms, during the summer of 1777, compelled the young men to scour the woods, but their vigilance did not prevent some prisoners being taken by the Indians. In March, 1778, another military company was organized, by authority of Congress, to be employed for home defence. In May, attacks were made upon the scouting parties by Indians, who were the forerunners of an invading army. The exposed situation of the settlement, the prosperity of the inhabitants, and the loyalty with which they had responded to the call for troops, demanded consideration from Connecticut, to whose quota the companies had been credited, and from Congress, in whose armies they had been incorporated; but no help came. On June 30th, an armed labor party of eight men, which went out from the upper fort, was attacked by Major Butler, who with a force estimated by the American commander in his report at eight hundred men, Tories and Indians in equal numbers, had arrived in the valley. This estimate was not far from correct; but if we may judge from other raiding forces during the war, the proportion of whites is too large, for only a few local Tories had joined Butler. The little forts at the upper end of the valley offered no resistance to the invaders.

On July 3d, there were collected at "Forty Fort," on the banks of the river, about three miles above Wilkesbarré, two hundred and thirty Americans, organized in six companies (one of them being the company authorized by Congress for home defence), and commanded by Colonel Zebulon Butler, a resident in the valley and an officer in the Continental army. It was determined, after deliberation, to give battle. In the afternoon of that day, this body of volunteers, their number being swelled to nearly three hundred by the addition of old men and boys, marched up the valley. The invaders had set fire to the forts of which they were in possession. This

[1] The population of the valley at that time has been estimated by Miner at twenty-five hundred, who rejects the larger number given by Chapman and others as not being based on any enumeration; but John Jenkins, in 1783, represented, in behalf of the inhabitants, to the legislature, that such an enumeration was taken, and yielded six thousand persons.

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perplexed the Americans, as was intended, and they pressed on towards the spot selected by the English officer for giving battle. This was reached about four in the afternoon, and the attack was at once made by the Americans, who fired rapidly in platoons. The British line wavered, but a flanking fire from a body of Indians concealed in the woods settled the fate of the day against the Americans. They were thrown into confusion. No efforts of their officers could rally them while exposed to a fire which in a short time brought down every captain in the band. The Indians now cut off the retreat of the panic-stricken men, and pressed them towards the river. All who could saved their lives by flight. Of the three hundred who went out that morning from Forty Fort, the names are recorded of one hundred and sixty-two officers and men killed in the action or in the massacre which followed. Major Butler, the British officer in command, reported the taking of "two hundred and twenty-seven scalps" "and only five prisoners." Such was the exasperation of the Indians, according to him, that it was with difficulty he saved these few. He gives the English loss at two whites killed and eight Indians wounded.[1]

During the night the worst passions of the Indians seem to have been aroused in revenge for Oriskany. Incredible tales are told of the inhumanity of the Tories. These measures of vengeance fell exclusively upon those who participated in the battle, for all women and children were spared.

As soon as the extent of the disaster was made known, the inhabitants of the lower part of the valley deserted their homes, and fled in the direction of the nearest settlements. Few stayed behind who had strength and opportunity to escape. In their flight many of the fugitives neglected to provide themselves with provisions, and much suffering and some loss of life ensued. The fugitives from the field of battle took refuge in the forts lower down the valley. The next day, Colonel Zebulon Butler, with the remnants of the company for home defence, consisting of only fourteen men, escaped from the valley. Colonel Denison, in charge of Forty Fort, negotiated with Major Butler the terms of capitulation which were ultimately signed. In these it was agreed that the inhabitants should occupy their farms peaceably, and their lives should be preserved "intire and unhurt." With the exception that Butler executed a British deserter whom he found among the prisoners, no lives were taken at that time. Shortly thereafter, the Indians began to plunder, and the English commander, to his chagrin,

[1] From Major John Butler's report to Lieut.-Col. Bolton, dated at Lackwanak, July 8, 1778. This report was apparently withheld from Miner's agent, who wrote against its title "Disallowed at the foreign office." Butler's humanity "in making those only his object who were in arms" was the subject of congratulation of Lord George Germain, in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton. See extract in Miner's *Wyoming*, p. 234. Butler probably understates his losses; but, as is the case with all successful ambuscades, it must have been light. Miner quotes from an American prisoner, who thinks from forty to eighty fell. This seems improbable, when the circumstances of the fight are taken into consideration. The report of Colonel Denison to Governor Trumbull is among the Trumbull MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Soc.

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found himself unable to check them. Miner even goes so far as to say that he promised to pay for the property thus lost. Finding his commands disregarded, Butler mustered his forces and withdrew, without visiting the lower part of the valley. The greater part of the Indians went with him, but enough remained to continue the devastation, while a few murders committed by straggling parties of Indians ended the tragedy. The whole valley was left a scene of desolation. In August the American forces returned, and a few settlers came back and endeavored to save some of their crops, but occasional surprises by Indians warned them that the region was still unsafe. In September, Colonel Hartley marched with one hundred and thirty men against the Indian towns of Tioga and Sheshequin, and broke up those settlements.

Brant, meanwhile, had not been idle. On July 18th he burned a little settlement about six miles from German Flats, called Andrustown. In the latter part of August, German Flats, a settlement containing thirty-four houses, was destroyed and the cattle were driven away. Only two lives were lost, the inhabitants having taken refuge in Fort Dayton. The rapine was not, however, all on one side. From Schoharie an American expedition under Colonel William Butler threaded its way through the woods, forded the flooded streams, and destroyed the Indian town of Oquaga, and on their return burned the Tory settlement and the grist and saw mills at Unadilla.

In the spring of 1778, General Lafayette ordered a fort to be built at Cherry Valley, and this post was afterwards garrisoned by the Continental regiment under Colonel Ichabod Alden. During the fall, information of a positive character was conveyed to Colonel Alden that the place was threatened. Some of the officers of the garrison were accustomed to sleep outside the fort, and notwithstanding the warning, this practice was continued. Neither Alden nor his men were familiar with Indian warfare. The citizens wished to move their effects into the fort, but Colonel Alden quieted them by saying that he had good scouts out, who would give timely warning. One of these scouting parties, through carelessness, was captured on the night of November 10th, and by this means the enemy learned the exact condition of affairs. The invading force is said to have consisted of two hundred whites and about five hundred Indians, the whole under command of Captain Walter N. Butler. This officer had been arrested as a spy near Fort Stanwix during the siege, and had been condemned to death, but had been reprieved, and had escaped from custody. He had with him a body of Senecas, besides Brant and his Mohawks. The night after the capture of the scouting party, the enemy encamped near the village. On the morning of the 11th, under cover of a heavy rain, they penetrated a swamp in the rear of the house used as headquarters, where they concealed themselves, awaiting a favorable opportunity for attack. Chance favored the garrison, and gave them a brief warning. A resident of the valley, on

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the way to the village, at about half past eleven o'clock discovered two Indians, and was fired upon by them. Although wounded, he was able to reach headquarters in advance of the enemy, and give the alarm. The

Jno Sullivan [1]

regimental officers hastened towards the fort, and some of them succeeded in reaching it before the Indians surrounded it. Colonel Alden was one

[1] [From the *Gesch. der Kriege in und ausser Europa, Dreyzehnter Theil*, Nürnberg, 1778. The original of this design was a print published in London, Aug. 22, 1776. Reproductions of it will be found in Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., vol. iii.; E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. 76; T. C. Amory's *Sullivan*. Cf. also Murray's *Impartial History*, p. 241; Jones's *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada*, p. 88; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 272.

For a view of Gen. Sullivan's house at Durham, N. H., with a paper on its associations, see *Granite Monthly*, v. 18, 80. For his family, see *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, 1865, p. 304. — ED.]

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of the first victims of his own infatuation, having been shot while trying to reach the fort. For three hours and a half the enemy protracted their efforts to capture the post. Sixteen Continental soldiers were killed during the attack on the village, and thirty-two of the inhabitants, principally women and children, were massacred. Some of the murders were committed under circumstances of peculiar barbarism, in which whites competed with Indians. The houses, barns, and out-houses of the settlement were burned. The garrison, although too weak to attack the enemy, was strong enough to defend the fort. The enemy having completed the work of destruction as far as they could, retired, but made a feeble renewal of the attack on the 12th. This was easily repelled, and they then devoted themselves to collecting the cattle belonging to the villagers. The greater part of the prisoners who had been captured were liberated on the 12th, and permitted to return to the settlement. In setting them free, Captain Butler entered into a correspondence with General Schuyler, in which he endeavored to relieve himself from responsibility for the massacre. Brant also denied responsibility for it. Butler in his letter asserted that at Wyoming "not a man, woman, or child was hurt after capitulation, or a woman or child before it." If we admit the disclaimers of the Butlers, father and son, the fact still remains that they headed raiding parties, where plunder and destruction of property were the main purposes of the expeditions, and where the massacre of the inhabitants was one of the possibilities of success. Strip from the stories of Wyoming the exaggerations of the frightened refugees, the brutal massacre of the prisoners remains. The mercy which was extended to the prisoners at Cherry Valley merely reduces the number of horrors which were committed there. The massacre still stands out conspicuously as the most shocking in its details of any event in this region during the Revolution. Fortunately for the memory of Sir John Johnson, notwithstanding his prominence as the scourge of the Mohawk Valley during the war, his name is not associated with either of these events.

On March 6, 1779, Washington, acting under instructions from Congress, "to take effectual measures for the protection of the inhabitants and the chastisement of the Indians," tendered to General Gates the command of an expedition "to carry war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, destroy their next year's crops, and do every other mischief which time and circumstances will permit." This offer Gates declined, and on March 31st General Sullivan was appointed to the command. He was to lay waste all the Indian settlements in the most effectual manner, "that the country may not be merely overrun, but destroyed." Sullivan was to assemble his forces in Pennsylvania. General James Clinton was to assemble a force in the Mohawk Valley. In all the preliminary discussions of the campaign it was contemplated to make the main advance by way of the Mohawk. This idea was,

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however, abandoned, and it was arranged that Clinton should cross over to the Susquehanna River, and by that route effect a junction with Sullivan. As a preliminary to the campaign, Colonel Van Schaick, on the 18th of April, left Fort Stanwix at the head of five hundred and fifty-eight men, including officers, and made a sudden descent upon the Onondaga towns. The expedition was completely successful, and on the 24th Van Schaick was back at the fort, and able to report that this work of destruction and plunder had been accomplished, with the loss of only one man. On June 16th, General Clinton arrived at Canajoharie, where he found about fifteen hundred troops. From that point over two hundred boats and three months' provisions for the command were transported over the hills to Lake Otsego. On June 30th, Clinton reported to Sullivan that this transfer had been accomplished, and that he was now ready to come down the river. Here he remained with his troops until August 9th, awaiting orders. Meantime he constructed a dam across the outlet of the lake, by means of which he raised the water about a foot.

By the latter part of June the troops which were under Sullivan's immediate command had assembled in the Wyoming Valley. They numbered, on the 21st of July, 2,312 rank and file. They remained in this valley, awaiting the arrival of stores, until the last day of July, when marching orders were issued. During this period of idleness the troops at Wyoming and at Lake Otsego chafed at their inaction. The enemy continued the policy of desultory attacks and devastating raids, some of which were committed in close proximity to the American encampments. In May, at Fantinekill and at Woodstock, in Ulster County, New York, houses were destroyed, cattle killed, and prisoners taken. On the night of July 19th, Brant, with a force one third white and two thirds Indians, variously estimated at from ninety to one hundred and sixty men, made a descent upon the Minisink settlement. The citizens and militia of Goshen marched next day in pursuit, and were joined on the 21st by a small detachment of the Warwick militia, the whole number being, according to Colonel Hathorn, who took command, one hundred and twenty. On the 22d they overtook Brant, were completely outwitted by him, and were defeated, with a loss of forty-four killed.

In Pennsylvania several outrages were committed in the immediate vicinity of Sullivan's army. On July 28th Freeland's fort, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, was taken by the enemy, and a small detachment sent from Northumberland for its relief was badly cut up. Neither Clinton nor Sullivan were diverted from the purposes of the campaign by these forays. The Oneidas had agreed to join Clinton, but were prevented by a threatening message from General Haldimand. They excused themselves to the American general on the ground that they feared an attack on their castles, should they assist in the campaign. Their defection had no influence upon operations. On the 13th Sullivan destroyed the Indian town of Chemung, and then fortified a post at a narrow point on the peninsula, a short dis-

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tance above the junction of the Tioga and Susquehanna. Clinton, on receipt of orders to advance, destroyed the dam at the foot of the lake on the 9th, and successfully embarked his bateaux on the flood of his own creating. On the 22d the junction of the two columns was effected. On the 26th the united forces moved forward, and on the 29th encountered the enemy under the Butlers, McDonnell, and Brant at Newtown, five miles from Elmira. Here the enemy had selected a spot on rising ground which commanded the road, and had thrown up a rude breastwork of logs. Some attempt had been made to conceal it by placing before it brush and young trees. Here they were apparently prepared to make a stand. General Poor was dispatched with his brigade to gain a hill to the right, and from thence to attack the enemy's left flank. After allowing some time for Poor to reach his destination, Sullivan opened with his artillery. Poor met with resistance, but when he had forced his way to a position which became threatening to the enemy, they abandoned their whole line.[1] On the 30th Sullivan proposed to his men, as provisions were short, that they should go on half rations, trusting to the country to furnish them the rest. This was readily agreed to. The baggage and heavy guns were sent back, and on the 31st the column advanced, taking for campaign artillery four light three-pounders and a small howitzer. The main army marched down the east side of Seneca Lake to its outlet, destroying villages, cornfields, and orchards on the way. From the foot of the lake a party was sent down the Seneca River towards Lake Cayuga to destroy a town, and another was sent a short distance up Lake Seneca, on the west side, for the same purpose. From the foot of this lake the main army moved westward, skirting the northern ends of lakes Canandaigua, Honeyoye, and Hemlock, destroying as it moved. Then it bore to the southwest, and passed the southern end of Lake Conesus. On the 14th of September, about sunset, the expedition arrived at the great castle of the Senecas, on the west side of the Genessee River, and on the opposite side of the valley from the site of Geneseo. On the evening of the 12th, as the army approached this region, Sullivan ordered a scouting party to be sent out. It was his intention that only five or six men should go, but the officer in charge of the party, Lieutenant Thomas Boyd, took with him twenty-six men, including the Indian guides. In the darkness, Boyd unconsciously passed the encampment of Butler and his force, who were ambushed near Lake Conesus, waiting for Sullivan. On the morning of the 13th, Boyd, having reconnoitred an Indian town, sent word to camp by two of his men, and halted where he intended to await the approach of the army. While waiting here, some Indians were discovered by the party, whom Boyd indiscreetly pursued. By this means his force was led directly into the power of Butler, whose men completely

[1] Eleven dead Indians were left on the field. The American loss was reported by Sullivan as three killed and thirty-three wounded. The number of the enemy engaged was reported by prisoners at eight hundred, although Butler himself stated that his whole force numbered only six hundred men.

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surrounded the Americans and opened fire upon them. Nerved to desperation, a gallant attempt was made by the devoted band to break through the enemy's lines. In this attempt eight of them succeeded. Fifteen of the party were killed. Two, Boyd and his sergeant, were captured. The two captives were taken to Seneca Castle, or "little Beard's town," and honored for their brave defence with tortures of unusual cruelty. The "western door of the Long House," as this place was termed by the Indians, consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight houses, some of which were well built. The gardens were filled with corn and vegetables. All these were destroyed; and on the 15th the army, having completed its work, began its return march. Sullivan had, on the outward march, dispatched a messenger from Catharine's town to the Oneidas, calling upon them to furnish him with some warriors. At Kanadasaga, near the foot of Lake Seneca, on his return, he received a message from them, explaining why their warriors had failed him, and putting in a plea for mercy in behalf of the Cayugas. He accepted their excuses, but paid no attention to their requests. From Kanadasaga he sent Colonel Smith, with a command, to complete the destruction on the west side of Lake Seneca. He also detached Colonel Gansevoort, with one hundred and five men, with instructions to proceed to Albany, and on the way to destroy the lower Mohawk Castle. Through motives of policy, the latter part of this order was not carried out to the letter. A detachment was also sent out to destroy the towns on the eastern side of Lake Cayuga. On the 21st another detachment was dispatched, with orders to lay waste the towns on the western side of Lake Cayuga, and to intercept the Cayugas if they should attempt to escape the officer who had gone up on the other side of the lake. The rest of the army then marched south, between Seneca and Cayuga lakes. When they reached the valley of the Tioga, an expedition was sent up that river on an errand of destruction. On the 28th these several detachments, with the exception of Gansevoort's, had all rejoined the main column, having accomplished their work without resistance. They were then met by a supply of provisions from Tioga. The work of destroying Indian towns and crops was finished. Fort Sullivan, near the junction of the rivers, was abandoned and razed. The army descended the Susquehanna to Wyoming, which place they reached October 7th. By the route which they took, the distance marched by the army, in going from Wyoming to Seneca Castle, was two hundred and fifteen miles, all of it in Indian country, without a road over which a wagon could be transported. Forty Indian towns were destroyed. Some of them were insignificant. Several had from twenty to thirty houses. One had one hundred and twenty-eight houses. Colonel Gansevoort, speaking of the lower Mohawk Castle, said: "It is remarked that these Indians live much better than most of the Mohawk families. Their houses were well furnished with all necessary household utensils, and a great plenty of grain." The excellent construction of some of the houses of the Seneca and Cayuga villages was a source of surprise to the invaders.

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They marvelled at the well-conditioned orchards, the cultivated gardens, and the extensive cornfields. They left behind them, on the sites of these villages, smoking ruins and blighted vegetation. Notwithstanding the fact that the expedition was delayed so long waiting for stores, it was undertaken with the certainty that there was not enough on hand for the purpose, if the army was to rely upon what was supplied. General Sullivan was compelled to march thus or not at all. In numbers the troops fell short of what had been counted on. They met with no opposition worthy of note. The losses during the campaign, by accident, by sickness, and in the field, amounted to only forty. They could not have foreseen that General Haldimand would be so completely bewildered as to their intentions, and that he would refuse to believe that they could purpose invading this region, until too late to render the Indians assistance.[1] The greater part of the warriors of the Six Nations were in the field on the side of the English. It was but reasonable to anticipate that the Indians would receive aid from their allies in defence of the Indian country. Everything militated against the probability of the expedition being able to accomplish its work with such ease. The expedition was too large to treat the question of supplies in the same way that an ordinary raiding party would have done. Through the delays in procuring supplies, it was prosecuted at a time when the army could subsist partially upon the growing crops. Had Sullivan started when he expected, he must have depended upon his train. Otherwise the Indians could easily have destroyed their stores and impeded the progress of the army.[2]

As a part of the original scheme, a simultaneous movement from Fort Pitt against the Indian towns on the Alleghany was ordered. The difficulty of communication between the two forces led to the abandonment of all idea of co-operation. Colonel Brodhead, who had charge of the movement on the Alleghany, was left to pursue his own course. On August 11th he

[1] Aug. 20, 1779, General Haldimand had a conference with deputies of the Six Nations. Sullivan was then invading the Indian country. Haldimand told the Indians that he did not "establish" Oswego, because he then "had intelligence that the rebels were preparing boats at Saratoga and Albany to go up the Mohawk River, with an intention to take post at Oswego; but in the course of a few weeks he received a different account, that that was not their intention, but a large rebel army was come up the Connecticut River under the command of the rebel General Haysen, with an intention to invade this province." "As to your apprehensions of the rebels coming to attack your country, I cannot have the least thought of it" (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. p. 776). Sullivan's force was accounted for as "a feint to be made upon the Susquehanna to draw the attention of Colonel Butler and the Six Nations of Indians from going to Detroit."

[2] [Respecting the original maps made by Lieut. Lodge, of Sullivan's army, showing by actual survey the routes of the several divisions of the army, General Clark informs me that they have been discovered, and will be included in a proposed volume on the campaign, to be issued by the State of New York. What seems to be an original map is preserved among the Force maps in the library of Congress. There is in Simms's *Frontiersmen* (ii. 272) a map of Sullivan's march along Seneca and Cayuga lakes from the Tioga, following a sketch found among the papers of Capt. Machin, who was in the expedition. See note following this chapter.

For the route of Brodhead, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 655. Maps of the Groveland ambuscade and the Newtown fight are in the *Cayuga County Hist. Soc. Coll.*, no. 1. — ED.]

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left Pittsburgh at the head of six hundred and five rank and file, with one month's provisions. With this force he proceeded up the river by boat to Mahoning; there the stores were loaded on pack-horses, and the march was begun. On the way to the Indian towns the advance guard came in contact with a party of between thirty and forty warriors, whom they put to flight. The detachment marched for a distance of about two hundred miles from Pittsburgh, and destroyed the Indian settlements along the Alleghany extending for eight miles, and consisting of one hundred and thirty houses. The growing crops and provisions were ruined. This extraordinary march was made without the loss of a single man, and without meeting any warriors except the party already mentioned.

On October 20, 1779, Washington wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette, saying: "General Sullivan has completed the entire destruction of the country of the Six Nations, driven all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, out of it, and is at Easton on his return." He further said that Colonel Brodhead had inflicted similar chastisement on the "Mingo and Muncey tribes," living on the Alleghany, French Creek, and other waters of the Ohio. Washington concluded with these words: "These unexpected and severe strokes have disconcerted, humbled, and distressed the Indians exceedingly, and will, I am persuaded, be productive of great good; as they are undeniable proofs to them that Great Britain cannot protect them, and that it is in our power to chastise them whenever their hostile conduct deserves it."[1] The cruel steps taken against the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas were probably justifiable as war measures. War against these Indians without the adoption of their own tactics could only be prosecuted at a great disadvantage.[2] The destruction of their homes and the consequent removal of the natives to a point more distant from the American settlements, together with the necessity thus thrown upon the British government of providing for their allies, undoubtedly affected the aggressive power of the Indians and diminished the value of their alliance. But if it was expected that raids upon the border settlements would be stopped by this campaign, then the authorities must have been disappointed. The border knew no peace until the war was ended.

The Indians, driven out of their own country and left without shelter and without food, took refuge at Niagara for the winter. The Oneidas feared an attack, and abandoned their castles. About four hundred of them placed themselves under the protection of the government at Schenectady. In April, 1780, the settlement at Harpersfield was destroyed, and a scouting party of Americans which happened to be in the neighborhood was captured. Repeated blows were struck at the scattered, poorly defended

[1] There is in the *Penna. Archives*, xii., a list of the forts in Pennsylvania built and maintained during the war.

[2] It did not need that with the adoption of Indian tactics the barbarous custom of mangling the dead should be included, even for purposes of economy. "On Monday, the 30th, sent out a party for some dead Indians." "Toward morning found them, and skinned two of them from their hips down, for boot-legs: one pair for the major, the other for myself" (*Proc. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, ii. p. 31, — Diary of Lieut. William Barton).

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settlements along the border. The lower Mohawk was invaded by a force under Sir John Johnson, and the local histories, in their records of the work of the summer of 1780, have a melancholy monotony of conflagration and plunder. In August the settlement at Canajoharie was laid waste by Brant, and several small settlements adjacent to Canajoharie, and at Norman's Kill, not far from Albany, were ravaged. From the valley of the Mohawk the enemy moved southward, destroying a number of houses and capturing prisoners in Schoharie Valley. In October, 1780, Schoharie Valley was again ravaged, this time from the south, by an invading force of about one thousand in all, under Sir John Johnson, which consisted of Tories, together with Brant and his Mohawks, and Cornplanter with a body of Senecas. They had, by way of artillery, two small mortars and a brass three-pounder.[1] There were three forts in the valley, in which the inhabitants took refuge. The invaders did not succeed in capturing either of the forts, and the loss of life in them was small, but they left scarcely a building standing in the whole valley.

After thoroughly completing the work of destruction in Schoharie Valley, the invaders proceeded to the valley of the Mohawk, and ravaged the country on the north side of the Mohawk from Caughnawaga to Stone Arabia and Palatine. A little force from Stone Arabia, acting, it is supposed, under a promise of support from General Van Rensselaer, undertook to check them. The general had collected some of the militia, and was to fall upon the rear of the enemy. The promised support was not furnished. Colonel Brown, who led the attacking party, was killed, and his followers were badly cut to pieces. After this encounter Sir John's forces renewed their work of destroying property in the neighborhood of Stone Arabia, and then moved slowly up the river, ravaging the country as they went. The invaders were followed by the Americans, whose numbers increased as they moved, until they were numerically stronger than the enemy. There were some Oneidas with the Americans, under command of one of their own number holding a commission from the Continental Congress as lieutenant-colonel. On the afternoon of October 20th, just at nightfall, a skirmish took place between the two commands at the spot selected by Sir John for his evening bivouac. It was soon terminated by the increasing darkness, of which the Americans took advantage to withdraw to a camping place about three miles back, and the invaders, availing themselves of the opportunity, hurriedly sought the woods. During their flight the enemy captured a party of Americans which had been dispatched to destroy their boats.[2] After this raid the upper Mohawk Valley and the Schoharie Valley

[1] The destruction of grain in Schoharie Valley alarmed Washington. On November 5th he wrote Governor Clinton, saying: "We had the most pleasing prospects of forming considerable magazines of bread from the country which has been laid waste, and which from your Excellency's letter is so extensive that I am apprehensive we shall be obliged to bring flour from the South to support the troops at and near West Point" (Sparks's *Washington*, vii. p. 282).

[2] The operations of the several columns are reported by Gen. Haldimand in a letter to Lord George Germain, dated Quebec, Oct. 25, 1780. The return of "rebels killed and taken on the

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rivalled in their desolation the region of the lakes which had been invaded by Sullivan the preceding year. Numbers of prisoners had been carried off during these raids, some of whom were liberated shortly after capture. Others were detained till the close of the war. In one instance a child was returned by Brant, with a letter, in which he said: "I do not make war upon women and children. I am sorry to say that I have those with me in the service who are more savage than the savages themselves."

Simultaneously with the operations in the Mohawk Valley, the enemy ascended Lake Champlain and captured Forts Ann and George. Portions of Kingsbury, Queensbury, and Fort Edward were burned. A branch of this expedition destroyed the settlement at Ballston. At the same time, a party of about two hundred, chiefly Indians, under Major Haughton of the 53d, left Canada, and destroyed several houses in the upper part of the Connecticut Valley, and carried off thirty-two inhabitants as prisoners.[1]

The work of retribution on the part of the Indians did not stop with what has been recorded. Even during the succeeding winter Brant was on the war-path, appearing now here and now there in the Mohawk country cutting off stragglers and detached parties. Great difficulty was experienced in furnishing the garrisons at the outposts with provisions. Distress ensued, and there was serious danger that the outlying defences could not be maintained. Fort Stanwix was badly damaged in May, 1781, both by flood and by fire, and in consequence the post was shortly afterward abandoned. The command of the Mohawk Valley was this season assigned to Colonel Willett. He carefully acquainted himself with its condition, and infused a portion of his own active spirit into the management of affairs. Very shortly after he assumed command, on June 30th, Currietown, a village near the mouth of the Schoharie, was destroyed. With a small force, Willett pursued the raiders, overtook them, and routed them with severe loss. In July, Colonel Willett wrote that the number of men in Tryon County liable to bear arms did not exceed eight hundred. At the beginning of the war the enrolled militia numbered 2,500 men. He accounted for this reduction by supposing that one third had been killed or made prisoners, one third had gone over to the enemy, and one third had abandoned the country. Indeed, life in the valley had become almost unendurable. The only places of safety were within the walls of the stockaded forts which were scattered through the region. All through the summer of 1781 detachments of the enemy struck blows at different points along the border. The most conspicuous of these desultory acts of devastation was the de-

expedition to the Mohawk River, in October, 1780," was as follows: On the Mohawk River and at Stone Arabia, the 18th, 19th, and 20th of October, prisoners, 10 privates; killed, 1 colonel and 100 privates. At Canaghsioraga, the 23d of October, prisoners, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 45 privates; killed, 1 lieutenant, 3 privates. The returns of October 23d must refer to the capture of the party sent to destroy the boats, an event which is generally said to have been accomplished without firing a shot.

[1] "It is thought, and perhaps not without foundation, that this incursion was made upon a supposition that Arnold's treachery had succeeded" (Sparks's *Washington*, vii. p. 269).

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struction of the little town of Wawarsing. Unsuccessful efforts were made this season to seize the persons of both General Gansevoort and General Schuyler. The active movements of the year closed with a foray on the Mohawk by Sir John Johnson and Major Walter N. Butler, in the latter part of October. When the Americans learned the approach of the invaders, Colonel Willett gathered a force together, with which, although inferior in numbers to the enemy, he attacked them at Johnstown. The varying fortunes of the day were, on the whole, with the Americans. The enemy fled, after dark, to the woods. Willett followed them for some days, and had a collision with their rear guard, in which the notorious Major Walter N. Butler was shot through the head and left on the field.[1] The difficulties of the military as well as the political situation had been greatly complicated this summer by the menacing aspect of the British forces on Lake Champlain, and doubts as to the fidelity of certain of the leaders in Vermont, whose hostility to the threatened extension of the authority of New York over the inchoate State had been pronounced in terms of bitter earnest.

During the summer of 1782, although the frontiers of New York were not altogether quiet, the scene of activity in border warfare was transferred further west. There were none of the organized raids of the enemy in the valleys of the Mohawk and Schoharie, with which the inhabitants had become so familiar.

In February, 1783, the last movement of the war on the border took place in this region. It was an attempt by Colonel Willett to surprise the garrison at Oswego. A forced march of a night and a day was made through the trackless forests, on the snow, from the Mohawk Valley to the vicinity of the fort. Then preparations for the assault were made, but when the column advanced the guide became confused and lost his way. As surprise was essential for success, the attempt was abandoned. Willett and his men found their way back as best they could, enduring on the return march intense suffering from fatigue, cold, and exposure. Colonel Willett then proceeded to Albany, at which place he arrived in time to hear peace proclaimed.

The story of this chapter opened with the determination of a boundary line between the king of Great Britain and his allies. It closes with an assurance on the part of the Continental Congress, which is intended to pacify the Indians, that, "as the country is large enough to contain and support us all, and as we are disposed to be kind to them, to supply their wants, and to partake of their trade, we, from these considerations and from motives of compassion, draw a veil over what is passed, and will establish a boundary line between them and us, beyond which we will restrain our citizens from hunting and settling, and within which the Indians shall not come, but for the purpose of trading, treating, or other

[1] By a pocket-book found on Butler's person it appears that he had with him 607 men, including 130 Indians. This list is appended to Willett's report in Almon's *Remembrancer*, xiii. 341.

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business equally unexceptionable."[1] The discussion of how far the kindly spirit which pervades these promises has been maintained in subsequent dealings with the Indians does not fall within the subject of this chapter.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE relations of the Indians to the British government and to the colonies, during the period immediately preceding the Revolutionary War, is readily studied in *The life and times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.*, by William L. Stone (Albany, 1865, in 2 vols.[2]), which was intended to form a part of a history of the relations of the Iroquois to current events. Stone completed but two volumes of the series, the *Life of Brant* and the *Life of Red Jacket*. The *Life of Sir William Johnson*, being incomplete at the time of his death, was finished and published by his son, of the same name.[3] The book for awhile stood alone in its detailed treatment of the official relations and dealings of the superintendent with the Indians. Later publications have infringed somewhat upon its monopoly.

The *Pennsylvania Archives*, and the *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, commonly cited as "Colonial Records," lay bare the secrets of the province, and furnish authentic information upon many points which prior to their publication were obscure.[4]

The documentary publications of the State of New York are for the purposes of this chapter of even more value than those of Pennsylvania. They contain many official papers from the hands of Sir William Johnson, and letters from Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, and Generals Carleton and Haldimand, treating of Indian affairs. Some of these documents help us materially in the study of the situation. The history of the publications known as the *N. Y. Colonial Documents* and *Documentary History of N. Y.* is told elsewhere;[5] but the *Journals of the Provincial Congress* are of peculiar use in the present inquiry.[6] Such of the conferences, treaties, and agreements with Indians on the part of the colonies, the Continental Congress, and the government of the United States as have been printed, are scattered through a variety of publications.[7]

[1] *Secret Journals*, p. 255.

[2] Cf. Vol. V. p. 584.

[3] William Leete Stone was born April 20, 1792. He died August 15, 1844. He was for many years one of the proprietors and editors of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. In addition to the works enumerated in the text, and besides several miscellaneous works, he also published *Border Wars of the American Revolution* (two volumes, 1839), *Poetry and History of Wyoming* (1841), and *Life of Uncas and Miantonomoh* (1842). He is generally spoken of as Col. Stone, a title which he gained through a staff-office. (Cf. account of Col. S. in *Hist. Mag.*, Sept., 1865, and his portrait in Feb., 1866).

[4] Cf. Vol. III. p. 510.

[5] See Vol. IV. pp. 409–12.

[6] *The Journals of the Provincial Congress, The Provincial Convention, The Committee of Safety, and the Council of Safety of the State of New York, 1775–1776–1777*, Albany, 1842, in two volumes, the second volume being devoted to the correspondence of the Provincial Congress. Here we are able to trace the doubts about Brant, the suspicion of Guy Johnson, and we learn what steps were taken to check their influence. Reports of conferences and meetings are given here, including the meeting between Brant and Herkimer at Unadilla.

[7] Two of these which have been found useful in connection with this chapter are: *Indian Treaties and Laws and Regulations relating to Indian affairs, to which is added an Appendix, containing the proceedings of the Old Congress, and other important State Papers, in relation to Indian Affairs* (published by the War Department, Washington, 1826); and *Laws, Treaties, and other documents having operation and respect to the Public Lands. Collected and arranged pursuant to an Act of Congress, passed April 27, 1810* (Washington City, 1811).

See also *Indian Treaties, 1778–1837. Compiled by the Committee on Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1837).

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The literature of border life, from which the habits and methods of life of the frontier inhabitants may be drawn, is too extensive to permit any attempt at an exhaustive recapitulation of titles. Especial use has been made in this chapter of Dr. Joseph Doddridge's *Notes on the Settlements and Indian Wars*,[1] perhaps the most valuable of the many works upon this subject. Notwithstanding the sufferings from Indian raids which Dr. Doddridge himself endured, he deals fairly with the subject of border warfare, and candidly admits the terrible responsibility of the whites for counter outrages. He draws a vivid picture of the lack of law on the frontier, aggravated as it was by the conflicts of colonies. "In the section of the country where my father lived," he says, "there was for many years after the settlement of the country neither law nor gospel. Our want of legal government was owing to the uncertainty whether we belonged to Virginia or Pennsylvania." "Thus it happened that during a long period we knew nothing of courts, lawyers, magistrates, sheriffs, or constables." "Every one was, therefore, at liberty to do whatever was right in his own eyes."

In *An Account of the remarkable occurrences in the life and travels of Col. James Smith, etc., etc.*,[2] the author unconsciously gives us a picture of the lawlessness of frontier life and the power of the volunteers. The story is told in a simple manner, and the narrative is full of interest. The rare *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, by Alexander S. Withers (Clarksburg, Va., 1831), is a recognized authority, and is frequently quoted. It was reproduced in substantial form in Pritt's *Border Life of Olden Times*,[3] a compilation of reprints of volumes, narratives and statements relating to border life. The relations of the Indians to current events are also to be traced in Gale's *Upper Mississippi*, etc.,[4] and in Ketchum's *History of Buffalo*.[5] The latter work covers much of the ground which Col. Stone had preëmpted. The materials are well arranged, the views of the author are clearly presented, and as a result the volumes form a valuable contribution to the history of the Indians.[6] Many details will be found collected in Drake's *Book of the Indians*.[7]

James Handasyd Perkins was a careful student of the early history of the country, and contributed many articles to the periodical literature of his day on the subject of Indian history and border warfare, which have been collected.[8] The compiler of *Annals of the West*,[9] in the preface to the third edition of that work, says: "The first edition was issued at Cincinnati, where he (the compiler) was assisted by the lamented James H. Perkins, a

[1] See notice in Vol. V. p. 581.

[2] In this book there is a full account of the organization of a company of rangers, and a description of their mock Indian costume. There is also an account of the seizure and destruction by the settlers of a lot of goods which the authorities had quietly permitted to be forwarded by traders to the frontier for traffic with the Indians at a time when the border inhabitants did not wish it done. The military authorities, who interfered, were brushed away as lightly as the traders had been who complained to them. The bibliography of the book is given in Vol. V. p. 579.

[3] See Vol. V. p. 580.

[4] *Upper Mississippi, or historical sketches of the Mound Builders, the Indian Tribes and the progress of civilization in the Northwest, from* A. D. *1600, to the Present time*, by George Gale (Chicago, 1867).

[5] *An authentic and comprehensive history of Buffalo, with some account of its early inhabitants, both savage and civilized, comprising historic notions of the Six Nations, or Iroquois Indians, including a sketch of the life of Sir William Johnson, and of other prominent white men long resident among the Senecas. Arranged in chronological order*, by William Ketchum (Buffalo, 1864), 2 vols.

[6] Mary Jemison, the white woman who lived among the Senecas so many years, is carelessly spoken of several times as Mary Johnson; elsewhere he gives the name correctly.

[7] *The Book of the Indians and History of the Indians of North America from its first discovery to the year 1841*, by Samuel G. Drake (Boston, 1841). This is the title of the 8th edition.

[8] *The Memoir and writings of James Handasyd Perkins*, edited by William Henry Channing (Boston, 1851), 2 vols. His chief paper originally appeared in the *N. A. Rev.*, Oct., 1839.

[9] *Annals of the West, embracing a concise account of principal events which have occurred in the Western States and territories, from the discovery of the Mississippi Valley to the year eighteen hundred and fifty-six.* Compiled from the most authentic sources, and published by James R. Albach (Pittsburgh, 1858, 3d edition).

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gentleman highly competent for the task." In the second edition of the *Annals* "the editor had the valuable assistance of Rev. J. M. Peck, a gentleman whose long residence in the far West, and familiarity with the history of those portions of the work less elaborately treated of in the first edition, rendered him admirably qualified for the undertaking." This work, in its chronological arrangement of events, touches upon a portion of the ground covered by this chapter. In 1791, J. Long published in London a volume entitled *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter*, etc. Long arrived at Montreal in 1768. His occupation for the next seven years made him familiar with frontier life and Indian ways. He volunteered in 1775 with the Indians who entered the English service, and was at Isle au Noix with a few Mohawks on the occasion of their collision with the Americans. He also served a short time with the regulars. He states intelligently the value of the alliance of the Six Nations to the English.

Wills de Haas, in his *Indian Wars of Western Virginia*,[1] has devoted one chapter to "Land Companies,"[2] and another to the "Employment of Indians as Allies." His treatment of these topics is brief, but the chapters contain much more information on the subjects than can generally be obtained from American histories.

In *Fugitive Essays*, etc., by Charles Whittlesey (Hudson, Ohio, 1852), an article is reproduced from the January number (1845) of the *Western Literary Journal and Review*, entitled "Indian history: their relations to us at the time of the American Revolution," which is well worth examination.

The *Calendar of the Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts*, 1652–1781 (Richmond, 1875),[3] though meagre as a whole, is particularly full on the subject of the encroachments of individuals and companies on Indian lands. Among these papers is the deposition of Patrick Henry, setting forth that he felt compelled to withdraw from all connection with land schemes, when, as a member of Congress, he found himself in a position where he might be called upon to act as a judge in matters in which he was directly interested. It may be inferred from what he says that there were among his associates some who were not so scrupulous.

Many of the questions involved in the adjustment of boundaries and settlement of treaties between the Indians and the British government survived the Revolution, and reap-

[1] Cf. Vol. V. p. 581.

[2] Lack of space prevents the proper development of the influence upon the Indians, of the constant absorption by the colonies of their lands. Besides settlers with their families; besides squatters, and in addition to English companies, like the Ohio Company and the Walpole Company, the attention of individuals was directed towards these lands for the double purposes of colonization and investment. Bancroft (vi. 377) says that Franklin organized "a powerful company to plant a province in that part of the country which lay back of Virginia, between the Alleghanies and a line drawn from Cumberland Gap to the mouth of the Scioto." The correspondence of Washington discloses his eagerness to secure land for investment (see Vol. V. p. 271). He labored to get for the soldiers who had participated with him in the French wars the land bounties offered by Dinwiddie, and in addition he sought to secure land for himself by purchase. "Nothing is more certain," he wrote to his agent, "than that the lands cannot remain long ungranted, when once it is known that rights are to be had" (Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 346). "My plan is to secure a good deal of land" (*Ibid.* 348). He wished the matter kept secret, as he apprehended that others would enter into the same movement if they knew about it (*Ibid.* 349). In 1770 he personally visited the valley of the Ohio, and marked corners for the soldiers' land. While on this trip he was told by Indians that they viewed the settlements of the people on this river with an uneasy and jealous eye, and that they must be compensated for their right if the people settle there, notwithstanding the cession of the Six Nations (*Ibid.* 531).

In Pennsylvania an act was passed Feb. 18, 1769, "to prevent persons from settling on lands within the boundaries of this province not purchased of Indians." The preamble recites that "Whereas, many disorderly persons have presumed to settle upon lands not purchased of the Indians, which has occasioned great uneasiness and dissatisfaction on the part of the said Indians, and have [*sic*] been attended with dangerous consequences to the peace and safety of the province," etc. (*Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, etc., republished under authority of the Legislature*, by Alexander James Dallas, Philadelphia, 1797).

[3] See Vol. III. p. 161.

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peared before the United States Congress in the struggles of land companies for possession of their alleged purchases.[1] Through the memorials to Congress presented by the Illinois and Ouabache Land Company, which are to be found scattered through the Senate and House documents, as well as in separate tracts, we learn that in order to sustain the claim of this company it became important to show that the Six Nations did not own the Wabash region. For that purpose Deputy-Superintendent Croghan made affidavit that "the Six Nations claim by right of conquest all the lands on the southeast side of the river Ohio down to the Cherokee River, and on the west side of the river down to the Big Miami River."[2] The king had agreed with the Indians that his people should not go west of an established boundary line. He had warned settlers off their lands. The colonists who were in arms against the king were after the lands, by fair means or foul. What was considered fair means in those days, and what causes there were for the exasperation of the Indians, cannot be fully appreciated unless the subject be followed even beyond the days of the Revolution.

The Register of Pennsylvania[3] also contains a variety of material relating to the subject. A number of the early documents will be found in Hubley's *American Revolution* (1805).

In making an estimate of the Indian population within the borders of the United States at this time, I have been obliged to rely largely upon my own deductions. Bancroft (*United States*, iii. ch. 22), giving an estimate of the number of Indians east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence and the chain of lakes in 1640, says: "We shall approach, perhaps exceed, a just estimate of their numbers if we allow . . . one hundred and eighty thousand souls" (edition of 1841). It will be observed that the foregoing estimate includes the Canadian Indians. In the preparation of the estimate which I have given, I have examined many scattered statements of the number of warriors of the different tribes, which comprehend different areas within their respective limits, and which frequently overlap each other. The arbitrary spelling of Indian names often presents the same name in such different dress as to make its identification difficult. If we bear in mind that the name as it appears in print is a phonetic rendering of a word which from the mouths of different individuals would sound differently to the same ear, and further, that those who have given us the various renderings were men of different nationalities and of different degrees of cultivation, we shall oftentimes be able to recognize the same tribe in separate statements, under names the spellings of which at first sight have no seeming identity. As regards this Indian population, a tabulated statement will be found in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, which relies upon Croghan, Bouquet, and Hutchins, supplemented by Dodge and Gallatin. Croghan's estimate will be found in Proud's *His-*

[1] If land companies were disposed to avail themselves of the doubt as to what tribe of Indians had a right to sell land, so the British government itself had treated the question of their shadowy allegiance to suit its convenience. Bradstreet, in his abortive attempts at making a treaty with them, called them subjects. Sir William Johnson said the very idea of being "subjects was abhorrent to them." Compare this with the doctrine laid down in Huske's *Present State of North America*, pp. 16, 17.

[2] Croghan's testimony does not materially alter the boundaries as they were defined by Sir William Johnson in his report to the Lords of Trade, Nov. 13, 1763 (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. p. 573). "Along the ridge of the Blue Mountains to the head of the Kentucky River, and down the same to the Ohio above the rifts, thence northerly to the south end of Lake Michigan," etc. Cf. letters (1767) to Franklin from George Croghan, Joseph Galloway, and Samuel Wharton, in the Shelburne Papers (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, v. 218).

Charles W. E. Chapin contributed an article entitled "The Property Line of 1768," to the *Magazine of American History*, January, 1887. He shows how the boundary line defined in the Fort Stanwix treaty came to be known as the "Property Line," and forcibly points out the powerful influence this treaty had upon the Revolution.

[3] *The Register of Pennsylvania, devoted to the preservation of facts and documents, and every other kind of useful information respecting the State of Pennsylvania*, 16 vols., 1828–1835, a weekly journal, edited by Samuel Hazard. See Vol. III. p. 510.

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tory of Pennsylvania (vol. ii. p. 296.)[1] Bouquet's estimate will be found in the *Historical Account* of his expedition,[2] headed "Names of different Indian Nations in North America, with the numbers of their fighting men." Hutchins's estimate will be found in *An historical narrative and Topographical description of Louisiana*, by Thomas Hutchins (Philadelphia, 1784, App. iii. p. 65), headed "A list of the different nations and tribes of Indians in the Northern District of North America, with the number of fighting men." Sir William Johnson's estimate of the Present State of the Northern Indians,[3] made Nov. 18, 1763, will be found in the *Doc. Hist. of New York*, i. p. 26, and in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. p. 582.

The estimate of Sir James Wright is in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Coll.* (Savannah, 1873), iii. part 2, p. 169. The synopsis of the Indian tribes, by Albert Gallatin, is printed in the *Amer. Antiquarian Soc. Proc.*, ii. Still another list was published in *Sketches of the History, manners, and customs of the North American Indians, with a plan for their melioration*, by James Buchanan, Esq., his Britannic majesty's consul for the State of New York (New York, 1824, 2 vols.), i. ch. xii. pp. 138–39, where it is called "Names of the different Indian nations hitherto discovered in North America, the situation of their countries, with the number of their fighting men" (1770–1780).

Buchanan claimed to have received this list from Heckewelder, the missionary, and it is identical, except for certain palpable errors in transcribing, with a list in what is now known as Trumbull's *Indian Wars*, the authorship of which is attributed in the original edition[4] to the Rev. James Steward, D. D. Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in reply to a question from me, says the book was "written by Henry Trumbull, then of Norwich, when about seventeen years old."[5]

[1] Cf. Vol. III. p. 508.

[2] *An historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764 under the command of Henry Bouquet*, etc., (London, reprinted for T. Jefferies, etc., 1766), App., vol. v. p. 69.

[3] See also Stone's *Sir William Johnson*, Appendix, ii. no. vii. p. 486.

[4] This original edition is called *History of the Discovery of America, of the landing of our forefathers at Plymouth, and of their most remarkable engagements with the Indians in New England from their first landing in 1620, until the final subjugation of the natives in 1669. To which is annexed the defeat of Generals Braddock, Harmer, and St. Clair by the Indians at the Westward, etc.* By the Rev. James Steward, D. D. (Brooklyn, L. I., no date). Slight changes were made in some of the titles to later editions, to indicate the material added, and the date 1669 was altered to 1679. Pritts, under the impression that it was a rare book, reprinted it in his *Border Life*, etc. Its accuracy was impugned in the *Historical Magazine* (1857, p. 376; and 1858, p. 29). It was vigorously denounced in Field's *Indian Bibliography* (no. 1,570, p. 397). "This work under all its Protean forms bears evidence that it was written for a comparatively unlettered public." Col. Peter Force is quoted as having said that he found twenty-two chronological errors on a single page. The notice concludes: "Under all forms there is only a variation of worthlessness." Dr. Trumbull gives a brief bibliographical notice in the *Brinley Catalogue* (which shows six editions), from which I have extracted some of the information used in the text. The very poor woodcuts with which the book was originally illustrated, the violent colors with which the wretched illustrations of some of the later editions were disfigured, and the errors of dates, have prevented recognition of what there was of value about it.

[5] It is not worth while to undertake to follow this book through all its editions and changes. It is important, however, for our purposes to note some of them. The estimate to which I have alluded is given in the appendix of the edition referred to above (p. 176), and the statement is made that it was obtained "from a gentleman employed in one of the Indian treaties." There was a second issue of the first edition with the imprint "Norwich," and the authorship attributed to "A Citizen of Connecticut." An edition was published at "Norwich, for the Author, at his Office," in 1810. In this edition "Henry Trumbull" appears as the author. Another edition was issued at Norwich in 1811, and another in 1812. One was also issued at Trenton in 1812. In these various editions slight changes in the arrangement of materials took place, some corrections were made, and from time to time additional matter was inserted. The name of the gentleman who furnished the list of Indians is given on page 115 of the Trenton edition, which I have been able to consult, as Benjamin Hawkins. Editions were published at Boston in 1819, 1828, 1841, and 1846. Dr. Trumbull is of opinion that there must be

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Gilbert Imlay, in *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, etc. (London, 1792, p. 234), gives a list of Indians on both sides of the Mississippi, and from the Gulf to the St. Lawrence. This list was made up from "Croghan, Boquet, Carver, Hutchins and Dodge." The figures that he uses are plainly intended for the number of the fighting-men, but he puts the total population in this district at less than 60,000. In a second and a third edition, the list is modified. He gives twenty-eight tribes east of the Mississippi, and his calculation of population is based upon 700 to a nation or tribe. He finds in all 20,000 souls, and "consequently between 4,000 and 5,000 warriors."

I have had occasion in this investigation to examine somewhat the question of the population west of the Mississippi, for two purposes: 1st, to determine the numbers to be eliminated from some of the general statements which include tribes whose residence was in the Far West; and 2d, to test the question of the proportion of warriors to population. Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana*[1] has proved of especial service for these purposes. There are also some statistics in Perrin du Lac's *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, etc.[2]

The *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* contain many estimates of the population of the natives in different parts of the country, made at different times. Among these an estimate (1795, p. 99) of the Creeks, Choctaws, Chicasaws, Cherokees, and Catawbas, furnished by Dr. Ramsay, places their total population in 1780 at 42,033, — fighting men 13,526. An estimate of the Indian nations employed by the British in the Revolutionary War, made by Captain Dalton, superintendent of Indian affairs for the United States (*Ibid.* x. p. 123), was published in 1783, and gives the number of men furnished by the tribes as 12,680, of whom the Six Nations proper contributed 1,580. The Choctaws, Chicasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks furnished 2,200. The value of this list lies only in the opportunity which it affords for testing the probable accuracy of some of the others.[3]

There is in the *Doc. Hist. of New York* (i. p. 17) "an enumeration of the Indian tribes connected with the government of Canada in 1736." It is difficult, if not impossible, to identify many of the tribes in this estimate.[4]

Elias Boudinot, in *A Star in the West; or an humble attempt to discover the long lost tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city, Jerusalem* (1816),

twenty editions of the book, which is certainly poor enough; but it happens that this list, which was evidently furnished by some one familiar with the subject, is to our purpose. The same list did service in *A Tour in the United States of America*, etc., by J. F. D. Smyth (London, 1784), where it appears (i. p. 347) without recognition of the original source. The arrangement of the order of tribes is changed, and the spelling of many of the Indian names is altered to correspond with the French methods of spelling, thus suggesting the possibility that the list may have been transcribed by Smyth from some French work. The author foots up the total number of warriors, including certain tribes west of the Mississippi and others in Canada, at 58,930. To these he adds one third to represent the old men, and making an error in his calculation, calls the total number of men 88,570. Allowing six souls for each male warrior he arrives at a total of 531,420, which, he says, "I consider as the whole number of souls, namely, men, women, and children of all the Indian nations."

[1] *Views of Louisiana, together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River in 1811.* By H. M. Brackenridge, Esq. (Pittsburgh, 1814).

[2] *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes et chez les Nations Sauvages du Missouri, par les Etats-Unis, l'Ohio et les Provinces qui le bordent, en 1801, 1802, et 1803; Avec un apperçu des mœurs, des usages, du caractère et des coutumes religieuses et civiles des peuples de ces diverses Countrées,* par M. Perrin du Lac (A Lyon, 1805).

[3] It is also given in Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County*, note L, p. 319.

[4] Three of the estimates referred to in the text are reprinted by Schoolcraft under the following headings: "Enumeration of M. Chauvignerie's Official Report to the Government of Canada, A. D. 1736;" "Estimate of Colonel Bouquet, 1764;" "Estimate of Captain Thomas Hutchins, 1764." Schoolcraft also gives one more estimate of that period, viz.: "Account of the Indian Nations given in the year 1778 by a Trader who resided many years in the neighborhood of Detroit. (From the MSS. of James Madison.)" (Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, iii. p. 553.)

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devotes a small portion of his discussion to the question of population (p. 131 *et seq.*).[1]

"A Table of the principal Indian Tribes" was printed in the *American Pioneer*, a monthly periodical (Cincinnati, i. pp. 257, 408, and ii. 188), where it was credited to Drake's *Indian Biography;* but in fact it was taken from the *Book of the Indians* by the same author, which is prefaced with an alphabetical enumeration of the Indian tribes and nations. The numbers of the different tribes are given, and the date of the estimates from which the numbers were derived. Franklin furnished a partial list of warriors in 1762, which may prove useful for comparison, and is included by Benjamin Vaughan in the *Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces, &c., written by Benjamin Franklin, &c., &c. Now first collected* (London, 1779).[2]

Colonel Force, in the *American Archives*, gives a vast amount of material on the employment of Indians as soldiers by the Americans, which before had been lost from sight in scattered publications. The indexes to these volumes do not suitably analyze their contents. The chief corresponding British repositories are Almon's *Remembrancer*,[3] a mine which was worked by all the earlier writers upon the Revolutionary War, and to-day the original authority for much of our information; and the *Parliamentary Register*, often called the *Parliamentary Debates*,[4] — more specific accounts of which, as well as of the

[1] All of the authorities to which he refers have already been cited, and it may fairly be said that there is nothing of special value in his remarks on the subject. In the development of the topic to which the work is devoted the author alludes to the custom of the Indians to refrain from connection with women not only during the time that they were on the war-path, but for some days before starting. The unanimity of testimony as to this custom of the Indians renders special citations unnecessary. Until the natives were debauched in this respect by contact with civilization, no authentic instance can be found of the violation of a woman by a warrior on the war-path. Brantz Mayer, in his defence of Cresap (*Logan and Cresap*, p. 110), quotes from the *Md. Gazette* (Nov. 30, 1774) a charge of this sort. If there was foundation for it in the minds of those who made it, investigation would probably have traced the outrage to whites disguised as Indians. The superstition which protected women from Indian assault was still in force at that time.

[2] The editor says he "has given the following memorandum of Indian *fighting men*, inhabiting near the distant parts, in 1762; to indulge the curious in future times, and show also the extent of Dr. Franklin's travels. He believes it likely to have been taken by Dr. Franklin in an expedition which he made as a commander in the Pennsylvania militia, in order to determine measures and situation for the outposts; but is by no means assured of the accuracy of this opinion. The paper, however, is in Dr. Franklin's handwriting: but it must not be mistaken as containing a list of the whole of the natives enumerated, but only as such part of them as lived near the places described."

[3] In addition to a vast number of reports, extracts from letters, and proceedings of one sort and another, I would call especial attention to the following papers: Carleton's Commission (ii. p. 120); Proceedings connected with Connolly's arrest (ii. pp. 218–221); Schuyler's expedition to Tryon County (iii. p. 135); Stuart's letter to Gage, Oct. 3, 1776 (Part iii., 1776, iv. p. 180); an account of Wyoming massacre from fugitives (vii. p. 51); Col. Wm. Butler's report to General Stark of the destruction of Unadilla, etc. (vii. pp. 253–255); Colonel Van Schaick's report of the destruction of Onondaga (viii. p. 272); the Minisink affair (viii. pp. 275, 276); the letter of the Earl of Dartmouth to Lord Dunmore (viii. p. 278); attack on Indians at Ogeechee, April, 1779 (viii. p. 300); action of the Council at Williamsburgh in Hamilton's case (viii. p. 337); letters from Sullivan's headquarters concerning battle at Newtown (ix. p. 23); Sullivan's proclamation to Oneidas (ix. p. 25); Brodhead's report of his expedition (ix. p. 152); Sullivan's report, Teaoga, Sept. 30, 1779 (ix. p. 158); Joint movements in the valleys of Mohawk, Hudson, and Connecticut (xi. pp. 81–83). The foregoing sufficiently illustrates the wealth of historical material collected in the *Remembrancer*.

[4] The *Register* contains nearly all the papers submitted to Parliament which bore upon American affairs, together with other documents which the publishers from time to time added to the volumes. The *Remembrancer* and the *Register* together furnish the means of writing a history of the border warfare of the Revolution which would be nearly complete. [A large mass of documentary material respecting the relation of General Haldimand in Quebec with the Indians and with British officers operating with the Indians is in the *Haldimand Papers*, in the British Museum, of which the Dominion archivist, Douglas Brymner, is now printing a calendar in his

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Annual Register, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Scots Magazine*, will be found in another place. All of these help to show us the information upon which the British public formed their opinions.

The attitude of Congress upon the Indian question has been traced by means of the *Journals* and *Secret Journals* of Congress.[1]

The fact that the powers conferred upon Carleton for the suppression of rebellion in the provinces probably influenced opinion somewhat in the colonies has been already adverted to, as well as the further fact, shown by extracts from other commissions, etc., that there was no special meaning to be attached to the language used in the commissions. That it did have weight and was used as an argument in the discussion is shown in a review of *The plan of the Colonies, or the charges brought against them by Lord M——d and others, in a letter to his Lordship*, printed in *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal* (liv., for 1776, p. 408). "Let him review Gen. Carleton's last commission," says the writer. "Your Lordship has already seen it once too often. For what purpose was he authorized to *arm* the Canadians, and then to *march* into any other of the *plantations*, and his majesty's rebellious subjects there to attack, and, by *God's help, them to defeat and put to death?* For what purpose did Guy Johnson deliver black belts to all the Indian tribes in his district, and persuade them to lift up the hatchet against the white people in the colonies? The Congress is possessed of those very war-belts; they have a copy of Governor Carleton's commission; they have long since possessed the whole plan."

Unfortunately, the chief American compilation, aiming to be a reflex of current news, — Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, — is singularly deficient in excerpts respecting the opinions on employing Indians.[2] There is need of but brief references to the

Annual Reports (Ottawa). The correspondence of Haldimand and Guy Johnson, 1778–1783, makes three vols. Many papers on this border warfare are in the Quebec series of MSS. in the Public Record Office, and are also noted by Brymner (*Report*, 1883, p. 79). — ED.]

[1] In the *Secret Journals*, the Articles of Confederation, proposed by Franklin on the 21st of July, 1775, are printed in full. I have had occasion to refer to them because an offensive and defensive alliance with the Six Nations is proposed in them. In the "Advertisement" to the edition of the *Secret Journals* which is cited, the publishers say that these Articles "have never before been published." In the *Gentleman's Magazine* (xlv. p. 572) a "Plan of the American Confederacy" is given. This plan is a copy of Franklin's proposed Articles of Confederation, with a preamble addressed to the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, and was apparently received from that colony. In connection with this, see Bancroft (viii. p. 97). In the *Scot's Magazine* (Edinburgh, 1775, xxxvii. p. 665) these Articles were copied from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, with this comment: "The copy from whence this was printed was addressed particularly to the Province of North Carolina; but the same was without doubt submitted to the consideration of every other Provincial Congress, as the preamble clearly shows." The preamble thus referred to reads: "The Provincial Congress of —— are to view the following Articles as a subject which will be proposed to the Continental Congress at their next session." These two magazines publish the Articles as a mere submission of a plan. When the proposed Articles of Confederation reached the *Annual Register* they became "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union entered into by the several colonies of New Hampshire, &c., &c., in General Congress met at Philadelphia, May 20, 1775" (*Annual Register*, 1775, p. 253). These Articles were also published as if they had been adopted in *The History of the British Empire, etc.* By a Society of Gentlemen. (Printed for Robert Campbell & Co., Philadelphia, 1798, 2 vols.: i. p. 188, note.) They are also given as Articles of Confederation, etc., entered into, etc., May 20, 1775, in *An Impartial History of the War in America*, etc., Boston, 1781, Appendix to vol. i. p. 410.

[2] The rumors current in the colonies during the progress of events express the hopes and the fears of the colonists, and to a certain extent also indicate their opinions. We should naturally expect to find in an American collection of this sort something to help us in getting at the views of the colonists on the question of employing Indians. In fact, there is but little to be found in the book on this subject, and we are obliged to turn again to Almon's *Remembrancer*, where we find numerous rumors recorded, some of them improbable in their very nature, but serving to indicate the hopes of the people; as for instance, in a letter from Pittsfield, May 18, 1775: "The Mohawks had given

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consideration of the subject among the later writers, — such as Ryerson in his *Loyalists of America* (ii. ch. 33); Mahon (ch. 52) and Lecky (iv. 14), in their respective histories of England. There is special treatment of the matter by William W. Campbell in "The direct agency of the English Government in the employment of the Indians in the Revolutionary War," published in the *New York Hist. Society Proc.* (1845, p. 159).[1]

Frederic Kidder, in *The Expeditions of Capt. John Lovewell* (Boston, 1865, p. 114), says: "The last trace of them [the Pequakets] as a tribe is in a petition to the government of Massachusetts, dated at Fryeburg, in which they ask for guns, blankets, and ammunition for thirteen men who are willing to enroll themselves on the patriot side. This document was indorsed by the proper authorities, and the request was granted." [2]

On the 10th of July, 1775, Adjutant-General Gates, at Cambridge, in a circular letter of instructions for the use of recruiting officers, says: "You are not to enlist any deserter from the ministerial army, nor any stroller, negro, or vagabond, or person suspected of being an enemy to the liberty of America, nor any under 18 years of age." "You are not to enlist any person who is not an American born, unless such person has a wife and family, and is a resident in this country" (Niles's *Principles and Acts*, etc.). Though no mention is made of Indians, the fact of their not being excepted is often pointed out as of significance.

Letters in the *N. H. Provincial Papers* [3] betray the fears, along the border, of Carleton and Johnson, and reveal the friendly disposition of the Canadian Indians.

The references for the Kennebec march of Arnold are given in another chapter; but in *Senter's Journal*, there mentioned, we have the details of Arnold's interview with the Indians at Sartigan, and of the inducements which he offered them for enlisting. The

permission to the Stockbridge Indians to join us, and also had 500 men of their own in readiness to assist" (i. p. 66). Again, Worcester, May 10: "We hear that the Senecas, one of the Six Nations, are determined to support the colonies" (i. p. 84). [This extract will be found in the *Spy* of that date.] June 20, 1775: "The Indians from Canada, when applied to by Governor Carleton to distress the settlement, say they have received no offence from the people, so will not make war with them" (i. p. 147). August 3: "The Canadians and Indians cannot be persuaded by Governor Carleton to join his forces, but are determined to remain neuter" (i. p. 169). August 12: "The Indian nations, for a thousand miles westward, are very staunch friends to the colonies, there being but one tribe inclined to join Governor Carleton, of which, however, there is no danger, as the others are able to drive that tribe and all the force Carleton can raise" (i. p. 251). The *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* for August 21, 1775, contains the statement that "all apprehensions of danger from our fellow-subjects in Canada and the Indians are entirely removed." The arrival of Swashan, with four other Indians of the St. Francois tribe, at Cambridge, with the statement that "they were kindly received and are now in the service," is printed in the columns of the same journal. Cf. Drake's *Book of the Indians*, iii. ch. xii. p. 156; Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. p. 127. The *Boston Gazette*, etc. (Dec. 4, 1775) has the following: "Last week his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief received some despatches from the Honorable Continental Congress, by which we have authentic intelligence that several nations of the Western Indians have offered to send 3,000 men to join the American forces whenever wanted." *The New England Chronicle or the Essex Gazette*, from Thursday, July 27, to Thursday, August 3, 1775, published at Stoughton Hall, Harvard College, under date of Aug. 3, says: "We can't learn that a single tribe of savages on this continent have been persuaded to take up the hatchet against the colonies, notwithstanding the great pains made use of by the vile emissaries of a savage ministry for that purpose."

[1] Also in Campbell's *Border Warfare of New York during the Rev. War* (a second edition of his *Annals of Tryon County*), App.

[2] This petition, if in the *Mass. Archives*, as one might infer, cannot now be found there.

[3] For instance, John Sullivan and John Langdon write from Philadelphia, May 22, 1775, that the Indians tell them Guy Johnson "has really endeavored to persuade the Indians to enter into a war with us" (vii. p. 501); Lewa, a well-known Indian, reports the Canadian Indians friendly to the Americans, and says he "can raise 500 Indians to assist at any time" (vii. p. 525); Governor Trumbull has learned that "the Cognawaga Indians have had a war-dance, being bro't to it by Gen. Carleton" (vii. p. 532); Rev. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock gives Dean's report as to the good-will of the Canadian Indians (vii. p. 547).

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fact that Indians joined the American army at this point is corroborated by Judge Henry, in his *Account*,[1] while the topic is also treated in E. M. Stone's *Invasion of Canada* (Providence, 1867).

Many of the more important acts and resolves of the several colonies, apposite to this inquiry, are in the *American Archives*. The importance which circumstances gave to the position taken by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay causes great interest to attach to the proceedings of that body. Many conferences between committees and different Indians were held, the accounts of which are found in *A Journal of the Honourable House of Representatives of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. Begun at the Meeting House in Watertown in the County of Middlesex on Wednesday the Nineteenth day of July, Anno Domini, 1775*.[2] These will also be found in a reprint of the Journals for 1774–1775, entitled *Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774–1775*, etc., Boston, 1838.

General Gage, in his letter to Stuart, complained of two things: the employment of Indians by the rebels and the shooting of his sentries. It has been shown that the acts

[1] Sparks asserts that Natanis, a Penobscot chief, was in the interest of Carleton (*Washington*, iii. p. 112, note). Judge Henry says he was one of those who joined Arnold at Sartigan. In the *American Archives* (5th ser., i. pp. 836, 837), James Bowdoin, writing to Washington, says that the Penobscots said "that when General Washington sent his army to Canada, five of their people went with them, and two of them were wounded and three taken prisoners." The small number of Indians who accompanied Arnold cut no figure in the campaign, but the advance of the column under Montgomery excited fears in the minds of the English in Canada that the invaders might use the natives as auxiliaries, precisely as the Americans feared a similar use on the English side. In Almon's *Remembrancer* (ii. p. 108), a letter from Quebec states: "General Montgomery, who commands the provincial troops, consisting of two regiments of New York militia, a body of Continental troops, and some Indians," etc. On Sept. 16, 1775, General Carleton, writing from Montreal to Gage, in an account of the landing of the Americans near St. John's, says: "Many Indians have gone over to them, and large numbers of Canadians are with them at Chamblée" (Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 110, note). The Canadian Indians, instead of contributing to Montgomery's force, asked for protection, — a plea which apparently seemed, in the excitement of the hour in Canada, to be a declaration of friendship. "The Caghnawagas have desired a 100 men from us. I have complied with their request, and am glad to find they put so much confidence in us, and are so much afraid of Mr. Carleton" (letter from Montgomery, camp before St. John's, Oct. 20, 1775, in Almon's *Remembrancer*, ii. p. 122). The Mohawks, on the contrary, acted on the English side, and some of them were killed by the Americans.

[2] It was from these reports, as well as from personal interviews, that Washington formed his opinion as to the temper of the Canadian and Northern Indians. A few quotations will illustrate what he had a right to think, *e. g.* (p. 35) report of committee, August 3, 1775, appointed to confer with Lewis, a chief of the Caughnawaga tribe. "*Question.* Has the governor of Canada prevailed on the St. Francois Indians to take up arms against these colonies? *Answer.* The governor sent out Messi'rs St. Luc and Bœpassion to invite the several tribes of Indians to take up arms against you. . . . They answered nobody had taken up arms against them, and they would not take arms against anybody to trouble them, and they chose to rest in peace." Again (p. 80), the committee appointed to confer with the St. Francois tribe reported, Aug. 18, 1775: "*Q.* If Governor Carleton should know you offered us your assistance, are you not afraid he would destroy you? *A.* We are not afraid of it; he has threatened us, but if he attacks us we have arms to defend ourselves." Once more (p. 81): "*Q.* Do you know whether any tribes have taken up arms against us? *A.* All the tribes have agreed to afford you assistance, if wanted." Also (p. 89), Aug. 21st, £10 was appropriated for the use of five Indians belonging to the St. Francois tribe, "one being a chief of said tribe; the other four, having entered into the Continental army, are to receive eight pounds of said sum as one month's advance wages for each of them;" and (p. 148) Oct. 9, speech of two head sachems of the St. John's tribe. "Penobscot Falls, September 12, 1775. We have talked with the Penobscot tribe, and by them we hear that you are engaged in a war with Great Britain, and that they are engaged to join you in opposing your and our enemies. We heartily join with our brethren in the colony of Massachusetts, and are resolved to stand together, and oppose the people of Old England, that are endeavoring to take your and our lands and liberties from us."

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of the Massachusetts Bay Provincial Congress justified his first assertion. As to the second, see Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*.[1]

The Military operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia, during the revolution, chiefly compiled from the journals and letters of Col. John Allan, by Frederic Kidder (Albany, 1867), completes the story of the attempt to secure the services of the Eastern Indians, and gives the reasons alleged by the Indians for not complying with the treaty entered into at Cambridge, to furnish a regiment.[2]

The events which took place in the Mohawk Valley during the summer and fall of 1775 were of far-reaching importance. Their history is recorded in the correspondence of such men as Washington and Schuyler, in the meetings of local committees, and in conferences with Indians. Accounts of many of them are to be found in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.* and in the *American Archives*. There is besides a mass of material in the possession of scattered families, much of which has been worked over by local historians.[3] The most important of all these later works is the *Life of Joseph Brant (Tha-yen-dan-e-gea), including the Border Wars of the American Revolution*, etc., by William L. Stone.[4]

The prodigious labor performed by Colonel Stone in the classification and orderly arrangement of the immense amount of his material will be gratefully appreciated by the investigator to-day, even though he has at command publications by the state and national

[1] "A company of minute-men, before the 19th of April, had been embodied among the Stockbridge tribe of Indians, and this company repaired to camp. On the 21st of June two of the Indians, probably of this company, killed four of the regulars with their bows and arrows, and plundered them" (Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 212). A letter of July 9th says: "Yesterday afternoon some barges were sounding the river of Cambridge (Charles) near its mouth, but were soon obliged to row off, by our Indians (fifty in number), who are encamped near that place" (*Ibid.* p. 212, note). On the 25th (June): "This day the Indians killed more of the British guard." On the 26th: "Two Indians went down near Bunker Hill, and killed a sentry" (*Ibid.* p. 213). Frothingham's authority is given as "John Kettel's diary. This commences May 17, and continues to Sept. 31, 1775." Through the kindness of Mr. Thomas G. Frothingham I have examined the original diary, which, in addition to the extracts given, contains several others showing that our riflemen picked off the British sentries. *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal* (August 7, 1775) contains the following: "Watertown, August 7. Parties of Rifle Men, together with some Indians, are constantly harassing the Enemy's advanced Guards, and say they have killed several of the Regulars within a Day or two past." (*Ibid.* 14th): "We hear that last Thursday Afternoon a number of Rifle men killed 2 or 3 of the Regulars as they were relieving the Centries at Charlestown lines." The fact that two Indians were wounded by our own sentries in August is recorded in Craft's Journal, etc. (Essex Institute Hist. Coll., iii. p. 55). As there were no Indians with the English, this must have been an accidental collision.

[2] [The correspondence of Allan and Haldimand is in the *Quebec Series*, vol. xvii. (Public Record Office), and is chronicled in Brymner's *Report on the Dominion Archives* (1883). Cf. further in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1858, p. 254; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1882, p. 486; W. S. Bartlet's *Frontier Missionary* (1853); G. W. Drisko's *Life of Hannah Weston* (Machias, 1857); Journal of sloop "Hunter" in *Hist. Mag.*, viii. 51; Ithiel Town's *Particular Services*, etc. There is a portrait and memoir of Frederic Kidder in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1887. — ED.]

[3] Cf. N. S. Benton's *Herkimer County;* Harold Frederic in *Harper's Mag.*, lv. 171; Dawson's *Battles*, ch. 36; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. ch. 12, etc.

[4] This work was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, iii. p. 349; *The New York Review*, iii. p. 195; *Christian Examiner and General Review*, xxvi. p. 137; *Christian Review*, iii. p. 537; *No. Amer. Rev.*, Oct., 1839, by J. H. Perkins. (Cf. *Poole's Index.*)

The two volumes originally published in 1838 were edited by the son in 1865. An abridgment of it, known as the *Border Wars of the Rev.*, makes part of Harper's Family Library.

There is some account of the early life of Brant in J. N. Norton's *Pioneer Missionaries* (N. Y., 1859), and of his posterity by W. C. Bryant, of Buffalo, in *Amer. Hist. Record*, July, 1873; reprinted in W. W. Beach's *Indian Miscellany*. S. G. Drake told Brant's story in the *Book of the Indians*, and in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ii. 345; iii. 59. There are references to letters of Brant among the Haldimand Papers, in the *Index of MSS.* (Brit. Mus.), 1880, p. 195. Mr. Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wisconsin, has been an amasser of material respecting Brant for forty years, but has not yet published his studies.

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governments containing much of the same material. Since Colonel Stone's day other laborers have been diligently at work in the same field, gleaning facts and collecting historical material of various kinds. Their work has revealed some errors in the *Life of Brant*,[1] which are not of such importance, however, as to displace the work from its posi-

[1] Col. Stone speaks of two conferences held in 1775, one at Ontario and one at Oswego. He says: "Tha-yen-dan-e-gea had accompanied Guy Johnson from the Mohawk Valley first westward to Ontario, thence back to Oswego" (*Brant*, i. p. 149). Lossing, upon the evidence at his command, adopted the same opinion: "Johnson went from Ontario to Oswego" (*Schuyler*, i. p. 355). I have made some effort to discover the site of Ontario, which apparently was to the "westward" of Oswego, but have been unable to find it, and have been forced to the conclusion that the officers who dated their letters from Fort Ontario at Oswego, and who spoke of the post in their correspondence, used the words Ontario and Oswego indifferently to express the same place. Guy Johnson dates several letters at Ontario. Col. Butler, in his correspondence in connection with the St. Leger expedition, dates his letters first at Niagara, then at Ontario. On Guy Johnson's map of the country [see *ante*, p. 609] the site is designated as Fort Ontario, and no other Ontario is put down. Guy Johnson reported that St. Leger had gone "on the proposed expedition by way of Ontario" (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. p. 714). We know that he went by Oswego; and except that Col. Butler writes from Ontario, we have no mention of Ontario in any of the accounts of this expedition. Gen. Haldimand, in speaking of the proposed reëstablishment of the post, calls it Oswego (*Ibid.* viii. p. 777). Guy Johnson, in the same connection, calls it Ontario (*Ibid.* p. 775) and Fort Ontario (*Ibid.* p. 780). Rev. Dr. Wheelock, describing Johnson's movements, said he had withdrawn with his family by the way of Oswego (*N. H. Provincial Papers*, vii. p. 548).

Shortly after Johnson's arrival in Montreal he wrote a brief account of his transactions to the Earl of Dartmouth, in which he spoke of the conference at Ontario, but said nothing of a second at Oswego (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. p. 636). This journal, certified by Joseph Chew, Secretary of Indian Affairs, appears to account for his motions continuously during this period, and speaks only of the conference at Ontario. He arrived at Ontario June 17th, embarked at that point July 11th for Montreal, and arrived at the latter place July 17th, with 220 Indians from Ontario (*Ibid.* viii. p. 658; Ketchum's *Buffalo*, i. p. 243). Mr. Berthold Fernow informs me that in Guy Johnson's account for expenses in the Indian Department in 1775 this item occurs: "July 8, 1775. For cash given privately to the chiefs and warriors of the 6 Nations during the treaty at Ontario, £260." No other conference in that immediate neighborhood is mentioned in the *Johnson MSS.* An instance of indifference in the application of the two names will be found in Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady*. Mr. B. B. Burt, of Oswego, writes to me that "there was not any Ontario west of Oswego except the *lake*," and kindly calls my attention to several instances in the records which tend to show the confusion in the use of these names. Among others he refers to a letter of Sir William Johnson's, in which he speaks of Ontario and Oswego, apparently meaning the same place (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. p. 530). A similar instance, as I believe, is to be found in the letter of Capt. Walter N. Butler to Gen. Clinton, Feb. 18, 1779, quoted in Stone's *Brant*, i. p. 384. In this latter case it is not surprising that the identity of the two places was not suspected by Col. Stone. At first sight Butler seems to be speaking of two distinct spots. In Orasmus H. Marshall's *Niagara Frontier, embracing Sketches of its early history and French and English local names* (1865), Ontario as a town or site is not mentioned. O'Reilly's *Rochester* contains an Indian account of the alliance, which makes no mention of Ontario (see pp. 388, 389). On the other hand, the Duc de la Rochefoucault Liancourt's *Travels through the United States of North America, the country of the Iroquois and Upper Canada, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, mentions a place called Ontario on the Genessee River, but he gives no other description of it than of the log-cabin where he spent the night.

Hough, in his *Northern Invasion of October, 1780*, gives his reason for disputing Stone's statement that the Oneida settlements were destroyed by the enemy in the winter of 1779–1780. The reasons for believing that Hough was correct are stated elsewhere.

Stone places the invasion of the Schoharie Valley in October, 1780; but Simms (*Frontiersmen*, ii. p. 392 *et seq.*) makes it clear that there were two invasions during that year, as indeed Stone himself (vol. ii. p. 97) seems to allow in quoting from Almon's *Remembrancer* (part ii., 1780).

In his enthusiasm for his hero, Col. Stone is betrayed into calling Brant the principal warchief of the confederacy; but Morgan, in his *League of the Iroquois* (p. 103), speaking of the celebrated Joseph Brant Ta-yen-dä-ná-ga, says his "abilities as a military leader secured to him the command of the war parties of the Mohawks during the Revolution. He was also but a chief, and held no other office or title in

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tion as the chief authority on the subject. The habits and modes of life of the Indians and the organization of the confederacy of the Six Nations were not understood as thoroughly when Colonel Stone wrote as they are to-day. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Morgan, in his *League of the Iroquois*, does not agree with Stone in the assertion that Brant was the principal war-chief of the confederacy. A portion of Stone's ground had been earlier covered by William W. Campbell in his *Annals of Tryon County, or the Border Warfare of New York during the Revolution* (N. Y., 1831),[1] a work still looked upon as authority upon many points, republished (1849) as *The Border Warfare of New York during the Revolution, or the Annals of Tryon County*. Another volume devoted to the same topics, but widely different in character and in execution, is Jephtha R. Simms's *History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York* (1845), republished in 1882, with additional matter, as *The Frontiersmen of New York, showing customs of the Indians, vicissitudes of the pioneer white settlers, and Border Strife in two wars, with a great variety of romantic and thrilling stories never before published*, — both editions showing an industrious care to amass, with little skill in presentation.

The Revolutionary War divided the councils of the Six Nations. Had they acted as a unit in favor of the English, the problem would have been more difficult for the provincials. The friendly warnings of the Oneidas were of constant use to the Americans throughout the struggle. Their position materially changed the problem which was set for St. Leger, and though they did not then act aggressively, their unfriendly attitude must have caused his retreating column uneasiness. These Indians were probably of greater service as neutrals — who in that character were able to penetrate the enemy's country and report what was going on — than they would have been had they taken up the hatchet on the American side at the outset. Their attitude was largely due to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the missionary.[2]

In the account of the border wars, as in all other respects, Lossing's *Field-Book* is a useful publication, based upon ordinarily accepted authorities, with local anecdotes, traditions, and descriptions interjected by the author.[3] A contemporary narrative (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii.), called an "Historical Journal," was necessarily written without opportunity for critical revision.

We have a narrative of events from the English side in Stedman's *American War*, where it is said that Montgomery was "joined by several parties of Indians" (i. p. 133),

the nation or in the confederacy." (Ketchum's *Buffalo*, i. p. 331). Stone (ii. p. 448) further says "the Six Nations had adopted from the whites the popular game of ball or cricket," but the *Jesuit Relations*, as well as La Potherie and Charlevoix, would have put him right in this respect.

[1] Tryon County was formed in 1772 (Albany County then embracing all the northern and western part of the colony), so as to cover all that part of New York State lying west of a line running north and south nearly through the centre of the present Schoharie County. Campbell's work, by its title, therefore fairly included the scene of all the border warfare of New York. Many of the notes in the appendix are valuable, and they contain sketches of the lives of Sir William Johnson, Brant, Gen. Clinton, and Gen. Schuyler; Moses Younglove's account of his captivity and his charges against the English; and an account of the Wyoming massacre. Franklin's successful imitation, the Gerrish letter, is copied (as genuine in the first edition) from a local newspaper of the Revolutionary period. A table of the number of Indians employed by the English in the Revolutionary War is given, and an article, by the author, on the direct agency of the English government in the employment of Indians in the Revolutionary War is reprinted. The sketch of Clinton's life was separately published as *Lecture on the Life and Military Services of General James Clinton, read before the New York Historical Society, Feb., 1839*.

[2] *Life of Kirkland*, by S. K. Lothrop, in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, vol. xv. A sketch will also be found in the *History of the town of Kirkland, New York*, by Rev. A. D. Gridley (New York, 1874).

[3] In the *History of the United States for families and libraries*, by Benson J. Lossing (New York, 1857), the author deals briefly, but accurately, with the events covered by this chapter. Cf. also his earlier *Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-Six* (New York, 1849).

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and that Ethan Allen's party numbered "about one hundred and fifty men, composed of Americans and Indians." One inducement for Burgoyne's employment of Indians was "a well-grounded supposition that if he refused their offers they would instantly join the Americans." Wyoming, we learn, "fell a sacrifice to an invasion of the Indians" (ii. p. 73). He speaks of "the Indian settlements of Unadilla and Anaguago, which were also inhabited by white people attached to the loyal cause."

Thacher's *Military Journal*, a contemporaneous account of current events on the American side, as they appeared or as they were told to the author, is often of help in fixing the date of some event about which there is a dispute, even when the description itself of the action is meagre, or consists of mere mention. Thus he puts the destruction of Cobleskill in 1778, when Campbell says it was in 1779, — an error on the part of the later writer, unless there was more than one raid upon that insignificant settlement, as stated by Stone.[1] Thacher's account of the battle of Oriskany and siege of Fort Stanwix is brief, but it shows that the first stories about the affair were quite reasonable.

In the study of the topography, so far as it was known, and of the geographical nomenclature of the frontier just previous to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the *Memoir upon the late War in North America*, by M. Pouchot,[2] will be found very useful.

The story of St. Leger's expedition and the battle of Oriskany, though told at some length in this chapter as illustrative of border warfare, is so essential a part of the campaign of Burgoyne that the critical discussion of the authorities has been, except in some matters pertaining to the use of Indians, treated rather in connection with the story of that campaign than here.[3]

The historical introduction upon Sir John Johnson which Gen. J. Watts De Peyster contributed to *The Orderly-Book of Sir John Johnson* (Albany, 1882) indicates a marked change of opinion upon the exploits of Johnson, as compared with the views which he had expressed in earlier accounts of the battle of Oriskany published by him in 1859, 1869 (*Hist. Mag.*, Jan.), 1878 (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Jan.), and 1880. He confesses that an examination of the British accounts has given him a somewhat enthusiastic admiration for Johnson's methods, but his repeated study has not yet cleared up all errors.[4]

[1] Historical writers have been greatly at variance on this point. John M. Brown (pamphlet *History of Schoharie County*, quoted by Simms and Stone) says the event took place in June or July, 1776; but Stone (*Brant*, ii. p. 313), in giving Brown's account, corrects the date to July, 1778. In the Gansevoort Papers Stone found the affair assigned to the close of May, 1778, corresponding with the date in Thacher, and with the account given in McKendry's journal of the disaster to "Capt. Partrick" at "Coverskill;" this was adopted by Simms in his *Frontiersmen* (ii. p. 151), and Stone put his narrative under this date in his *Brant* (ii. p. 354). Campbell (*Border Warfare*) places it in 1779, but Stone (*Brant*, ii. p. 412) says that Capt. Patrick could not possibly have commanded the troops, as he was killed in the attack of the previous year. It seems to me that Simms clearly establishes that there was but one attack on Cobleskill.

[2] See Vol. V. p. 616. Fort Stanwix, which is sometimes spoken of as a log fort, is thus described by Pouchot: "This fort is a square of about ninety toises on the outside, and is built of earth, revetted within and without by great timbers, in the same fashion as those at Oswego" (vol. ii. p. 138). We find no mention of Ontario.

[3] [See *ante*, ch. iv. — ED.]

[4] De Peyster seems to have misinterpreted the language of St. Leger's letter, where St. Leger states that Lieut. Bird was led to suppose that Sir John Johnson needed succor, and in consequence of this false information Bird went to the rescue, thus leaving the camp without defenders. On page cxi, De Peyster says: "The white troops, misled by the false reports of a cowardly Indian, were recalled to the defence of the camp." There is no phrase in any accounts that I have met with in which action on the part of the troops is predicated on the information of a "cowardly Indian," except that contained in St. Leger's account, which De Peyster himself quotes, p. cxxx, as follows: "Lieut. Bird, misled by the information of a cowardly Indian that Sir John was prest had quitted his post; to march to his assistance." In spite of his mistake as to which marched to the other's assistance, on page cxxxiv he says: "When the Indians began to slip out of the fight, the Royal Greens must have been

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This *Orderly-Book* gives us the movements of Sir John Johnson's command up to the time that they left Oswego. Through the details for guard and fatigue duty during the delay at Buck Island we get at the different commands which formed the expedition. De Peyster and Stone conclude, from the introduction of a general order for the issue of forty days' rations for five hundred men, just before leaving Buck Island, that this determines the number of St. Leger's command, but the evidence is hardly conclusive.[1]

hurried to the scene of action, leaving the lines south of the fort entirely destitute of defenders."

[1] The troops which were intended for St. Leger are named in the *Parl. Reg.*, viii. p. 211. He was to have 675 regulars and Tories, "together with a sufficient number of Canadians and Indians." St. Leger was to report to Sir William Howe at Albany. The numbers of the force which he took with him, although different in detail, corresponded as a whole with the estimate. He was so confident of success that at Lachine he detached a sergeant, a corporal, and thirty-two privates to accompany the baggage of the king's royal regiment by way of Lake Champlain to Albany. Ten "old men" were also ordered to be left at Point Clair (*Johnson's Orderly-Book*, p. 63). Carleton on the 26th of June reported as follows: "St. Leger has begun his movement, taking the detachment of the 34th regiment [100 men], the royal regiment of New York increased to about 300 men, and a company of Canadians [say 75 men]. He will be joined by the detachment of the 8th regiment [100 men] and the Indians of the Six Nations with the Misasages, as he proceeds. About 100 Hanau chasseurs have since arrived, and are on their way to join him" (*Parl. Reg.*, viii. p. 215). The king's (8th) regiment, which was to join as the expedition proceeded, and the Hanau chasseurs, were at Buck Island July 10th (*Johnson's Orderly-Book*, p. 67). The increase of Johnson's regiment is to be accounted for by the presence of "Jessup's corps" (*Ibid.* p. 36, note 17). This force, apparently numbering 675 men, was increased at Oswego by Butler's rangers, a company of 70 to 75 men, making the total force of whites nominally about 750 men. From that number 44 men had been detached, as above. Forty days' provisions for 500 men were on the 17th of July ordered to be made ready to be embarked. From this order De Peyster and Stone argue that St. Leger's total effective force of whites was 500 men. In the same order Lieut. Collerton was directed "to prepare ammunition for two 6-pounders and 2 cohorns, and 50 rounds ball cartridges per man for 500 men," showing by the same reasoning that there were 500 men who bore muskets. No entry is made in the order-book concerning provisions for the Indians and rangers after leaving Buck Island. Col. Claus reported "150 Mississaugas and Six Nation Indians" at that point (Claus to Secretary Knox, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. p. 719), and said that St. Leger had 250 with him when he arrived at Oswego (*Ibid.*). Brant joined the expedition at this point with 300 more (*Ibid.*). A company of rangers raised by Col. Butler participated in the campaign (Carleton to Germain, July 9 and Sept. 20, 1777, *Parl. Reg.*, viii. pp. 220, 224). They apparently joined the expedition at "Ontario," as Butler calls "Oswego." The Western Indians and the Senecas had been summoned by Col. Butler. He reported that "the number of Indians at Ontario and the Senecas at 'three rivers' cannot fall much short of 1,000" (*Ibid.* 226). The Indians were stopped at "three rivers" by Col. Claus; but from those assembled at Oswego and "three rivers," there were "upwards of 800" who went forward with the expedition to Fort Stanwix (Claus to Secretary Knox, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. p. 719). Among these were some Senecas, who participated in the ambuscade under the leadership of chiefs of their own tribe, in concurrence with Sir John Johnson and Col. Butler (*Parl. Reg.*, viii. p. 226). It is evident that the rations for 500 men did not make provision for the Indians nor for the company of rangers. Making every allowance for the reduction of the force by illness, it would seem as if the allowance of 650 whites to St. Leger's effective force must be within limits. The presence of each separate command alluded to by Carleton in his report of what had gone forward, is recognized at some point in the *Orderly-Book*. The "upwards of 800 Indians" mentioned by Claus makes a total of about 1,450. St. Leger throws a doubt over the number of Indians present by saying that all of them participated in the ambuscade. Both Butler and Claus say there were 400 of them in the fight. The probability is that some of them were engaged in transporting supplies across the portage, and that all in camp were sent forward. Col. Stone gives Brant credit for devising the ambuscade and leading the Indians. Butler says not a word of Brant, but praises the Senecas. Here again we must resort to conjecture for explanation. It may be that Brant was on one side of the road with his "poor Mohawks," of whose sufferings in the battle he afterwards spoke, while Butler with his Senecas was on the other side. St. Leger's statement that all the Indians went to the front shows one thing at least, — that the force with which he undertook to cut off Willett's 250

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In James E. Seaver's *Life of Mary Jemison* (N. Y., 1856, 4th ed.) we have the story of the way in which the Senecas bewailed their losses, given by a woman who had been long among them as captive and adopted member; and it is on her authority (p. 114) that it is sometimes stated that the English offered bounties for scalps.[1] An account of the exertions of Red Jacket to keep his people out of the conflict will be found in J. Niles Hubbard's *An account of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, or Red Jacket and his People* (Albany, 1886), ch. 3.

As respects the Minisink massacre, the accounts made public by Brant were fairly accurate, though they ran some risk in being transmitted first to Niagara, thence to Quebec, and finally to England. They stand the test of time better than the American accounts. The Tory organ in New York, *Rivington's Gazette*, printed the first American accounts, representing that only thirty escaped from the ambuscade, — a statement followed in several histories; but the local authorities, on the strength of investigations made at the time of erecting the monument, generally agree on the smaller statements of loss.[2]

The earliest account of the massacre at Wyoming is in a letter written at Poughkeepsie, July 20, 1778, just after the fugitives had arrived there,[3] and this account seems to be

men must have been whites. He had men enough with him while engaged in clearing the creek and in transporting provisions — with 80 men at the front, and with Lieut. Bird's command, decoyed from camp by false intelligence — to return to intercept Willett. Cf. *Precis of the Wars in Canada* (London, 1826), which states that St. Leger's corps "consisted of 700 regulars, with eight pieces of ordnance and about 1,000 Indians."

In all this discussion I have assumed that Sir John Johnson's orderly-book contained all the orders with reference to rations. As such orders were not a necessary part of the record, it may be doubted whether other orders not affecting that corps would not be found in St. Leger's order-book.

[1] Mary Jemison puts the loss of the Senecas alone above what Claus and Butler reported the total Indian loss. Claus states the British loss at three officers, two or three privates, and thirty-two Indians killed (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. p. 720). Col. Butler puts the English loss in the action at four officers killed and two privates wounded; the Indian loss at thirty-three killed and twenty-nine wounded (*Parl. Reg.*, viii. p. 226). Mary Jemison (p. 116) says: "Previous to the battle of Fort Stanwix the British sent for the Indians to come and see them whip the rebels; and at the same time stated that they did not wish to have them fight, but wanted to have them just sit down, smoke their pipes, and look on. Our Indians went, to a man, but, contrary to their expectation, instead of smoking and looking on, they were obliged to fight for their lives; and in the end were completely beaten, with a great loss of killed and wounded. Our Indians alone had thirty-six killed and a great number wounded. Our town exhibited a scene of real sorrow and distress when our warriors returned, recounted their misfortunes, and stated the real loss they had sustained in the engagement. The mourning was excessive, and was expressed by the most doleful yells, shrieks, and howlings, and by inimitable gesticulations."

[2] The exaggerated rumors of the losses at Minisink which first reached Sullivan's camp were immediately displaced by more accurate accounts. "The accts we rec'd from the Delaware at Minisings on the 29th are more favorable than at first represented. The Tories and savages made a descent upon that settlement, and, having burned several houses, barns, etc., were attacked by a Regt. of Militia, who repulsed and pursued them a considerable distance. Forty men were killed on our side, the Colo. and Major included" (Major Norris's journal in *Publications of the Buffalo Hist. Soc.*, i. p. 225).

The account which appears in the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, Sept. 6, 1779, is singularly free from exaggeration. Indeed, it underrates the whole affair. It speaks of the destruction of the town as "an excursion on old Minisink," and says the militia marched to the assistance of their neighbors and followed the savages thirty miles into the wilderness. An action ensued in which upwards of twenty of the enemy were killed, and our losses, killed, wounded, and missing, were upwards of thirty. The later accounts are in E. M. Ruttenber's *Orange County* (Newburgh, 1875); Charles E. Stickney's *Minisink Region* (Middletown, 1867); in the *N. Y. Columbian*, copied in Niles's *Principles and Acts*, and in Dr. Arnell's *Address to the Med. Soc. of Orange Co.*; and the addresses at the dedication of the monument at Goshen (showing forty-five names of the slain), in Samuel W. Eager's *Outline Hist. of Orange County*.

[3] Almon's *Remembrancer*, viii. 51. The *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* (July 27, 1778) contains a letter from Samuel Avery, July 15,

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largely the source whence Gordon, Botta,[1] and Marshall[2] drew their accounts. Owing probably to the fact that Marshall cites Ramsay in his foot-notes, this last historian is frequently included with the others in the general charge of having furnished an exaggerated and erroneous statement of this deplorable event,[3] but, in fact, Ramsay is reasonably accurate, and is free from many of the errors which characterize the other narratives.[4]

Hinman's *Connecticut during the Revolution* contains an account of the Wyoming massacre, transcribed directly from a contemporaneous publication. A full account of the

1778, giving the "disagreeable intelligence, brought by Mr. Solomon Avery, this moment returned from Wyoming, on the Susquehanna River," which says: "The informant conceives, that of about five thousand inhabitants one half are killed and taken by the enemy prisoners, and the other half fleeing away naked and distressed." The same paper (August 3) contains the Poughkeepsie account.

[1] Botta's account is reprinted in the *Penna. Register* (i. 129; cf. vi. 58, 73, 310; vii. 273).

[2] Miner, in 1806, called Judge Marshall's attention to some of the errors in his account. In 1831 the judge revived the correspondence on the subject, and expressed his intention to avail himself of the information furnished by Mr. Miner.

[3] William L. Stone, in the *Life and Times of Red Jacket*, referring to his father's *Life of Brant*, says (p. 75): "Indeed, until this work appeared, it was universally believed that Brant and his Mohawk warriors were engaged in the massacre of Wyoming. Gordon, Ramsay, Thacher, and Marshall assert the same thing." Thacher in his account of Wyoming, under date of August 3, does not mention Brant's name, but charges the responsibility for the atrocities upon Col. John Butler.

Ramsay (ii. 323, etc.) mentions Brant's name, but does not charge upon the invaders an indiscriminate slaughter. He says the women and children were permitted to cross the Susquehanna and retreat through the woods to Northampton County. Stone claimed an *alibi* for Brant in his *Border Wars*, while Caleb Cushing (*Democratic Rev.*) thought the case not proved; but Stone, again, in his *Wyoming*, reasserted it, and Peck, in his *Wyoming* (3d ed., N. Y., 1868), sustains Stone. The question is also discussed by Thomas Maxwell in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, v. 672.

On this subject see "Letter to the Mohawk chief, Ahyonwaegho, commonly called John Brant, Esq., of the Grand River, Upper Canada, from Thomas Campbell, Jan. 20, 1822," published in the *New Monthly Magazine*, London, 1822 (vol. iv. p. 97).

It has been already stated that the correspondence of Guy Johnson shows that in the plan of campaign Brant's field of operations in 1778 did not include Wyoming. Gen. John S. Clark in a private note quotes from a MS. in the handwriting of Col. Daniel Claus, entitled *Anecdotes of Captain Joseph Brant, 1778*, a copy of which is in the possession of Hon. J. B. Plumb, of Niagara, Canada, a statement that Sakayenwaraghton led the Senecas at Oriskany (1777), and that after the battle a council was held at Canadesege, at which it was agreed that this chieftain should attack Wyoming in the early spring, and that Brant should attack the New York settlements. This MS. further says that the Indians "bore the whole brunt of the action, for there were but two of Butler's rangers killed." What is known of the life of this Seneca chieftain is given by Geo. S. Conover in his pamphlet, *Sayengueraghta, King of the Senecas* (Waterloo, 1885).

[4] Ryerson in his *Loyalists of America* (ii. ch. 34) compares the accounts of Wyoming given by Ramsay, Bancroft, Tucker, and Hildreth, and credits Hildreth with the most accurate story. He copies Stone's account from the *Life of Brant*, and expresses himself in approbation of it. There is an account of the Wyoming affair in *The History of Connecticut from the first Settlement to the present time*, by Theodore Dwight, Jr. (New York, 1841), which is unusually full of errors. I should be strongly inclined to quote here from the pages of Murray's *Impartial History of the present War*," etc., to show that British opinions were as strongly pronounced in their expressions against the reported acts of Butler, and that they held the authorities who permitted him to bear a commission responsible, were it not that I find so many pages in this book identical with *An Impartial History of the War in America*, which was published about the same time in Boston, that I am at a loss to determine which was the original book. The two books are not in all respects the same. The one purports to be an English composition, the other an American recital. Phrases in which the enemy are alluded to in the one are reversed in the other, while topics which are elaborated in one are barely mentioned in the other; still, there are enough pages identical in the two, except for the toning down of the adjectives, to make me doubtful of the authorship of the Rev. James Murray. The bibliography of these books is examined elsewhere in this *History*.

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massacre will be found in Girardin's continuation of Burk's *History of Virginia* (iv. of the series, p. 314 *et seq.*), based upon the shocking tales of the fugitives. The popular account was repeated in the *History of the Revolution* which purported to have been written by Paul Allen.[1]

Isaac A. Chapman, the first of the local historians to touch the subject, prepared a manuscript, with a preface dated Wyoming, July 11, 1818; but the book was not published until after his death, as *A Sketch of the history of Wyoming*[2] (Wilkesbarre, 1830).

Charles Miner, the first to sift out the errors from the accepted accounts, after collecting from survivors their personal experiences, published a series of newspaper sketches which led to his *History of Wyoming, in a series of letters from Charles Miner to his son, William Penn Miner, Esq.*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1845). He carefully chronicled the antecedent history of the Connecticut colony, and gave the first trustworthy detailed account of the invasion, and the articles of capitulation granted to the several forts by Major John Butler. Mr. Miner's agent was apparently refused, at the foreign office, London, a copy of the report of Major Butler. This important document will be found in *Wyoming, its history, stirring incidents and romantic adventures*, by George Peck, D. D. (New York, 1858).[3] The author says in his preface: "Forty years since we first visited Wyoming, and from that period we have enjoyed rare advantages for the study of its history." He gives the report of Zebulon Butler to the board of war,[4] dated at Gnadenhütten, July 10, 1778 (p. 49), the report of Major John Butler to Lieut.-Col. Bolton, dated at Lackuwanak, 8th July, 1778 (p. 52); and there is a thorough résumé of the discussion as to Brant's presence at Wyoming (pp. 87, 88, 89). The report of Butler to Bolton was presumably the document which he received through the favor of Hon. George Bancroft, who cites it (*United States*, x. 138) in his account of the Wyoming invasion.[5]

[1] In order to show what has been accepted as history on this point, I quote a portion of the account in this history, which is typical: "After the savages had completed their work of slaughter in the field, they proceeded immediately to invest Fort Kingston, in which Col. Dennison had been left with the small remnant of Butler's troops and the defenceless women and children. In such a state of weakness the defence of the fort was out of the question; and all that remained to Dennison was to attempt to gain some advantageous terms by the offer of a surrender. For this purpose he went himself to the savage chief; but that inhuman monster, that Christian cannibal, replied to the question of terms that he should grant them *the hatchet*. He was more than true to his word, for when, after resisting until all his garrison were killed or disabled, Col. Dennison was compelled to surrender at discretion, his merciless conqueror, tired of scalping, and finding the slow process of individual murder insufficient to glut his appetite, shut up all that remained in the houses and barracks, and by the summary aid of fire reduced all at once to one promiscuous heap of ashes. Nothing now remained that wore the face of resistance to these savage invaders but the little fort of Wilksborough, into which about seventy of Col. Butler's men had effected their retreat, as has been said. These, with about the same number of Continental soldiers, constituted its whole force, and when their enemy appeared before them they surrendered without even asking conditions, under the hope that their voluntary obedience might find some mercy. But mercy dwelt not in the bosoms of these American Tories; submission could not stay their insatiable thirst of blood. The cruelties and barbarities which were practised upon these unresisting soldiers were even more wanton, if possible, than those which had been exhibited at Fort Kingston. The seventy Continental soldiers, *because* they were *Continental* soldiers, were deliberately butchered in cruel succession; and then a repetition of the same scene of general and promiscuous conflagration took place, which had closed the tragedy at the other fort. Men, women, and children were locked up in the houses, and left to mingle their cries and screams with the flames that mocked the power of an avenging God."

[2] Chapman's sketch, although it repeats many of the errors in the popular accounts, says that the women and children fled from the valley. It also gives a copy of the articles of capitulation at the final surrender (note ii.). This account is a long step towards the story as at present accepted.

[3] It is also given, with other official documents, in Dawson's *Battles*, i. ch. 38.

[4] This report is also given in a sketch of the life of Zebulon Butler, which forms a part of the article headed Edmund Griffin Butler, in Geo. B. Kulp's *Families of the Wyoming Valley* (Wilkesbarre, Pa., 1885, vol. i.).

[5] Bancroft has necessarily treated such events briefly, but the peculiar facilities which he has

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Col. William L. Stone treated the subject in a thorough manner in *The Poetry and History of Wyoming containing Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming, and the History of Wyoming from its discovery to the beginning of the present century*.[1] The book has passed through several editions, and the same historical materials are also used in his *Life of Brant*.[2]

The massacre at Cherry Valley has not, like Wyoming, an especial literature of its own. The event is described in the *Remembrancer*,[3] and in all the histories, and is fully treated in Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County* (ch. 5), in Simms's *Frontiersmen of New York*, and in Stone's *Life of Brant* (i. ch. 17). Both Campbell and Simms lived in this region, and it was the special field in which Brant was operating. This particular expedition was not under Brant's control. He had apparently concluded the season's work and joined Walter N. Butler's force reluctantly, being jealous of him for having command of the expedition. At Wyoming the soldiers were massacred, but the citizens were spared. At Cherry Valley most of the soldiers escaped, but in the first heat of the attack the citizens were indiscriminately slaughtered. It would have been better for Brant's reputation if he had been

enjoyed for gaining access to the papers in foreign archives give especial value to his statistics in connection with such incidents in the war as the battle of Oriskany and the destruction of Wyoming.

[1] In the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register* (xiv. p. 265) an article, "Mrs. Skinner and the Massacre at Wyoming," by D. Williams Patterson, opens with a quotation from Col. Stone's book, and then proceeds as follows: "The above account, which was probably taken by Col. Stone from a newspaper article, published soon after the death of Mrs. Skinner, contains so many errors that it seems proper to place on record a version of the story more nearly in accordance with facts." The facts stated are of a biographical and genealogical character.

[2] In a previous note I have reproduced one of the typical accounts of the Wyoming massacre, as the story was told by the earlier historians. The details given in accounts of that class were accepted for a long time without question. Fortunately for the good name of the human race, Butler, with all his responsibility for the wrongs done during the continuance of this border warfare, was not the inhuman wretch which he was represented to be, and the wholesale slaughter of the women and children turned out to be a pure invention. Horrors enough remain unchallenged to raise a doubt if even now all errors have been removed. I have not introduced any of these shocking stories in my narrative, but they can be found in Chapman, Miner, and Stone.

The story of the horrors of the night is told in Hubbard's *Life of Van Campen* in such a way as to make it seem more probable than the same story appears when read in some of the other accounts.

Among the more general accounts are those in Egle's *Pennsylvania;* Hollister's *Connecticut*, with a good account of the Connecticut colony in Pennsylvania; H. Hollister's *Lackawana Valley* (N. Y., 1857), following Miner closely; Stuart Pearce's *Luzerne County* (Philadelphia, 1860); Campbell's *Tryon County*, App.; Mrs. E. F. Ellet's *Domestic Hist. of the Amer. Rev.* (N. Y., 1850), ch. 13, and her *Women of the Amer. Rev.* (N. Y., 1856), ii. 165; Henry Fergus's *United States* in Lardner's *Cab. Cyclopædia*, reproducing the old erroneous accounts; and even so late a history as *Cassell's United States*, by Edmund Ollier, is little better. A marked instance of the heedless method of popular historians is J. A. Spencer's *United States* (N. Y., 1858), who seems to have followed at that late day Thacher as he found his account in Lossing, *Seventeen Seventy-Six* (*Hist. Mag.*, ii. 126–128), which author reasonably complained that if he were to be trusted at all, he should have been taken in the later research of his *Field-Book*, or even of his school history, since Dr. Spencer was fond of quoting such authorities.

Poole's *Index* gives references to several periodical articles. Chief among such contributions are those in the *Worcester Mag.*, i. 37; the reviews of Peck in the *Methodist Quarterly* (3d ser., xviii. p. 577, and the 4th ser., vol. xl.), and the paper in *Household Words*, xviii. p. 282; A. H. Guernsey in *Harper's Mag.*, xvii. 306 (also see vii. 613); L. W. Peck in *National Mag.*, v. 147; Erastus Brooks in the *Southern Lit. Messenger*, vii. 553.

The whole subject of the invasion of the valley was reviewed by Steuben Jenkins in an historical address, which is embodied in *A record of the one hundredth year commemorative observances of the battle and massacre*," etc., etc., edited by Wesley Johnson (Wilkesbarre, Pa., 1882).

The bibliography of Wyoming, by H. E. Hayden, is given in the *Proc. of the Wyoming Valley Hist. and Geol. Soc.* (1885).

[3] There are contemporary letters in the *Hist. Mag.*, x. 172.

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present at Wyoming rather than at Cherry Valley, — although so far as his influence is concerned it was evidently exerted to prevent excesses.[1]

Among the Sparks MSS. (no. xlvii.) in the Harvard College library, there are some extracts from the diary of Benjamin Warren, who was in the fort at Cherry Valley at the time of the attack. He says the attack on the fort was renewed early on the morning of the 12th, but was easily repelled.

The *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* of Dec. 7, 1778,[2] contains an account from an officer who was in the fort November 11th, when it was attacked. He says it rained hard that morning. The enemy "passed by two houses, and lodged themselves in a swamp a small distance back of Mr. Wells's house, headquarters; half past eleven A. M. Mr. Hamlin came by and discovered two Indians, who fired upon him and shot him through the arm. He rode to Mr. Wells's, and acquainted the colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, major, and adjutant. The two last (the house at this time being surrounded by Indians) got to the fort through their fire; the colonel was shot near the fort." The fort was subjected to a brisk fire for three hours and a half. On the 12th the enemy collected the cattle, and at sunset left. McKendry's account of the attack on Fort Alden agrees in substance with that of Benjamin Warren.[3]

The expedition of General Sullivan (1779) against the Indian towns in New York has proved a fertile field for discussion. Its policy has been assailed; its management condemned; its results belittled. There is no want of records of occurrences in the campaign,[4] but their interpretation has not been settled, and probably never will be. The account of Gordon is especially bitter against Sullivan, and he cuts down the number of villages from forty, as given by Sullivan, to eighteen.[5]

Thomas C. Amory, in his *Military Services of General Sullivan*, aims at a vindication of Sullivan by the use of material which was not known to his detractors, and he has diligently pursued this purpose elsewhere.[6] The character of the charges against Sullivan

[1] The story of Cherry Valley is one of the numerous incidents connected with the border war included in the *Historical Collections of the State of New York*, edited by John W. Barber and Henry Howe (New York, 1845). Such accounts in this work are generally transferred bodily from Campbell or Stone, but occasionally some old newspaper cutting is reproduced. At the celebration in 1840, addresses were made by William W. Campbell and by William H. Seward. They were published in pamphlet form, and Mr. Campbell printed his own address as a note to the 2d edition of the *Annals of Tryon County*.

The speeches made at centennial anniversary in 1878 were published in the *Centennial Celebration of the State of New York* (Albany, 1879). The main address was delivered by Major Douglass Campbell (p. 359). Cf. H. C. Goodwin's *Cortland County* (N. Y., 1859); Dawson's *Battles*, i. ch. 45; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 268, 297.

[2] *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1779, has a letter from Cherry Valley, dated Nov. 24, 1778.

[3] See *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1886. One hundred copies of McKendry's journal were privately printed from these proceedings in 1886, with the title, — *1779. Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians of New York*, edited by the writer of this chapter.

[4] [See note E, at the end of this chapter. — ED.]

[5] In a note, vol. iii. p. 312, he says: "Sullivan in his account says forty: but if a few old houses which had been deserted for years were met with and burnt, they were put down for a town. Stables and wood hovels and lodges in the field, when the Indians were called to work, these were all reckoned as houses." He charges that Sullivan was importunate in absurd demands for supplies, and amongst other things called for eggs to take upon his Indian campaign. This statement of Gordon undoubtedly rests upon something which he had seen in print. Is it not probable that his prejudice prevented him from seeing the humor in a newspaper squib inserted by some wag, in which Sullivan's slow movements and pertinacious demands for supplies are thus ridiculed? Cf. Eben Hazard in *Belknap Papers*, i. 23. The writers of "Allen's History" follow the same lead. "He lived during the march in every species of extravagance, was constantly complaining to Congress that he was not half supplied, and daily amused himself in unwarrantable remarks to his young officers respecting the imbecility of Congress and the board of war" (*Allen's Amer. Rev.*, ii. 277). Bancroft (x. 231) speaks of Sullivan as "wasting his time writing strange theological essays," and gives him credit for destroying only "eighteen towns."

[6] The attendant controversies touching Sul-

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has been partially indicated in the quotations already given. He has been attacked because he demanded so many troops for the expedition. Whether it would have been wise to venture with a smaller force so far into Indian country, which was within easy supporting distance of the outposts of the enemy, is a matter of opinion, concerning which no new facts have been recently brought to light. We know that Sullivan expected help from the Oneidas which he did not receive, and that he anticipated that the Indians would receive aid from Niagara, in which he was agreeably disappointed. I have already stated that in my judgment he had a right to expect formidable opposition, and the only explanation of his not meeting with greater resistance is to be found in the perplexity in Haldimand's mind occasioned by the boats which Clinton had collected in the Mohawk Valley. On this mental confusion Sullivan could not have counted.[1] The number of men demanded by Sullivan in the preliminary discussions about the campaign was much larger than the number actually furnished him. It was perhaps not out of place for him to secure, if he could, a force large enough to place his campaign beyond failure, but, taking into consideration the general condition of army matters, the number demanded was entirely disproportionate to the work to be performed. He wanted 2,500 men to march up the Susquehanna, and 4,000 men to invade the towns by way of the Mohawk (F. Moore, *Corresp. of Laurens*, N. Y., 1861, p. 136). In fact, he had 2,500 men in his own command, and Clinton's force brought the numbers up to 4,000.[2] He has been accused of making demands for supplies which were unreasonable, both as to quality and as to quantity, and it is evident from Washington's correspondence that he feared Sullivan was not willing to march light enough for such a campaign. While Sullivan was not familiar with Indian campaigns, and perhaps demanded more supplies at the outset than Brodhead, or Clarke, or Williamson would have asked for, the numbers of his command must not be forgotten. Nor must the fact be overlooked that the provisions which were delivered to him proved to have been put up in bad packages, and had spoiled.[3]

livan's career as a soldier and a legislator are examined in another place in this *History*, but reference may be here made to T. C. Amory's paper on this expedition in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iv. 420, and to another on the same subject in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 88.

[1] Quotations from Haldimand's correspondence and speeches are given elsewhere. The openness of Clinton's movements seemed to Washington such a complete betrayal of the whole scheme that on the 1st of July he wrote to Sullivan that Clinton "had transported, and by last accounts was transporting, provisions and stores for his whole brigade three months, and two hundred and twenty or thirty batteaux to receive them; by which means, in the place of having his design concealed till the moment of execution, and forming his junction with you, in a manner by surprise, it is announced" (Sparks's *Washington*, vi. p. 281). During the whole of this hazardous proceeding Clinton was not molested, nor did Haldimand seem to derive any conception of what it meant. Yet Washington was so far right in saying that the intention of the movement was "announced" that on the 5th of July the following appeared in the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*: "The stores are all arrived, and the greatest exertions are made by Gen. Clinton to transport them unto Lake Otsego, over a carrying-place of about thirty miles. Everything will be then ready to go down the Susquehanna and join Gen. Sullivan."

[2] The latest official figures given by Sullivan are those of July 21st, — 2,312 rank and file; the entire number given in the report footing up, according to Craft, 2,539. In the same estimate, Craft puts Clinton's force at 1,400, and the total marching column at 3,100 to 3,200 men. It was promised by Washington that Lieut.-Col. Pawling should join Clinton at Anaguaga with 200 men (Sparks's *Washington*, vi. p. 275). Stone says Clinton was joined at "Oghkwaga" by a detachment of Col. Pawling's levies from Wawarsing (*Brant*, ii. p. 18). Peabody in his *Life of Sullivan* makes the same statement. Bleeker in his order-book makes no mention of Pawling's regiment. Erkuries Beatty, August 16th, says: "Major Church marched to meet the militia here. Returned in the evening and saw nothing of them" (*Cayuga Co. Hist. Soc. Coll.* no. i. p. 64). McKendry in his journal corroborates this statement (*Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians*, p. 30). In a letter (Aug. 24, 1779) from Gen. Clinton to his brother, contained in the Sparks collection, the general states that the expected reinforcement by Pawling was not effected. *Geo. Clinton papers — Sparks MSS.*, no. xii. (Harvard Col. library).

[3] Washington in his instructions to Sullivan had insisted that Sullivan should dispense with

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Sullivan has also been found fault with for not protecting from Indian raids the neighborhood in which his army was stationed while waiting for supplies. His action in this respect was deliberate. He was of opinion that the blows struck along the border during this interval of time were intended to divert him from the purposes of the campaign, and that any attempts to check these desultory attacks, by sending out expeditions here and there, would simply be playing into the enemy's hands.[1] The charge of extravagant living during the march seems absurd. At a time when the army was on half rations and the men were using ingenious devices to take advantage of the growing crops, he could hardly have had much opportunity for riotous living. When the expedition started the corn was green and suitable to roast. As they advanced it became too mature for this, and the soldiers were compelled in other ways to prepare it for food.[2]

Curious differences of opinion prevailed in the several accounts as to the numbers of the enemy who opposed the army at Newtown. Some of the accounts place them as low as 700, while others put them as high as 1,500.[3]

Sullivan has been ridiculed for the language used in describing the Indian settlements; but his descriptions, though misleading, are the natural expressions of a man who found in these settlements evidences of a higher civilization than he had expected. A comparison of the entries in the various diaries and journals will show that many were surprised at the excellence of the Indian houses, while others saw only the discomforts of life under such surroundings.[4] General Sullivan has been assailed because he did not

everything possible, on the ground that the delays incident to the transportation of a great bulk of stores might balk the expedition (Sparks, vi. 264; *Hist. Mag.*, xii., Sept., 1867, p. 139). He was indignant when he heard that Clinton had taken so great a quantity of stores with him. Referring to this, Sullivan wrote to Clinton, July 11, 1779, saying: "Gen. Washington has wrote to me as he has to you, but I have undeceived him by showing him that in case you depended on our magazines for stores we must all starve together, as the commissaries have deceived us in every article" (Bleeker's *Order-book*, p. 15). Lt.-Col. Adam Hubley wrote to the President of Pennsylvania: "Our expedition is carrying on rather slow, owing to the delay in provisions, etc. I sincerely pity Gen. Sullivan's situation. People who are not acquainted with the reasons of the delay, I'm informed, censure him, which is absolutely cruel and unjust" (*Penna. Archives*, vii. p. 554). "The long stay at Wyoming was owing to the infamous conduct of the commissaries and quartermasters employed in furnishing the necessary provisions and stores. And finally, when the army did move, it was so scantily supplied that the success of the expedition is by that means rendered exceedingly precarious" (Diary of Jabez Campfield, surgeon, etc., *N. J. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d Series, iii. p. 118). "Various opinions prevailed about our proceeding any further on account of our provisions" (Hubley, in Miner's *History*, App., p. 97).

[1] Sullivan to Col. John Cook, July 30, 1779: "Nothing could afford me more pleasure than to relieve the distressed, or to have it in my power to add to the safety of your settlement; but should I comply with your requisition, it would most effectually answer the intentions of the enemy, and destroy the grand objects of this expedition" (*Penna. Arch.*, vii. p. 593).

[2] "We converted some old tin kettles, found in the Indian settlements, into large graters, and obliged every fourth man not on guard to sit up all night and grate corn, which would make meal, something like hominy. The meal was mixed with boiled squash or pumpkin, when hot, and kneaded into cakes and baked at the fire" (Nathan Davis, in *Hist. Mag.*, April, 1868, p. 203).

[3] Adam Hubley says 500 savages, 200 Tories (Miner's *History*, Appendix, p. 93); Daniel Livermore says 600 chosen savages (*N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. p. 308); Lieut. Barton, 200 whites, 500 Indians (*N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. p. 31); Daniel Gookin, 600 Indians, 14 regulars, 200 Tories (*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xvi. p. 27); Jabez Campfield, 1,000 strong, 300 or 400 of whom were Tories (*N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 2d Series, p. 124); George Grant, 1,500 (*Hazard's Reg.*, xiv. p. 74); Major Norris, 1,500 Indians (Jones's *New York*, vol. ii. p. 613); Gen. Sullivan, 1,500 (*Remembrancer*, ix. p. 158); Rev. David Craft, after a study of the subject, estimates the force at 200 to 250 whites, and probably not less than 1,000 Indians (*Centennial Celebration*, etc., p. 127, note). Cf. *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, iv. 420, and F. Barber's letter in *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. iii.

[4] Dr. Campfield says: "The Indian houses might have been comfortable had they made any convenience for the smoke to be conveyed out; only a hole in the middle of the top of the roof of the house. The Indians are exceedingly dirty; the rubage of one of their houses is enough to stink the whole country" (*N. J. Hist. Soc.*

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attack Niagara. There had been some discussion about a second campaign against Canada and an attempt on Niagara, but Washington's correspondence shows that it had been abandoned in connection with the campaign against the Indian towns, unless it could be accomplished through the Indians themselves. The instructions to Sullivan show this,[1] and a letter from Sullivan, given in the *Laurens Correspondence* (p. 141), shows that Sullivan did not conceive it to be a part of the campaign, even if he had deemed an attack on Niagara possible.

In his report to the Committee of Congress, January 15, 1779, Washington discusses the possibilities for the forthcoming campaign.[2] For the reduction of Niagara he estimates that an army of twenty to twenty-one thousand men would be required; thirteen thousand to remain in the East, and seven or eight thousand to operate against Niagara. The expenses incident to such a campaign, and the great number of men required, practically put it out of the question, and his conclusion was as follows: "It is much to be regretted that our prospect of any capital offensive operations is so slender that we seem in a manner to be driven to the necessity of adopting the third plan, — that is, to remain entirely on the defensive; except such lesser operations against the Indians as are absolutely necessary to divert their ravages from us." January 18 he wrote to General Schuyler: "It has therefore been determined to lay the Niagara expedition entirely aside for the present, and to content ourselves with some operations on a smaller scale against the savages and those people who have infested our frontier the preceding campaign."[3]

Proc., iii., 2d Series, p. 132). Erkuries Beatty, speaking of the houses at Onoguaga, says that they were good log houses, with stone chimneys and glass windows (*Cayuga Hist. Soc. Coll.*, no. i. p. 64). Van Campen says that the houses were generally built by fixing large posts in the ground, at a convenient distance from each other, between which poles were woven. This formed the covering of the sides. The roof was made by laying bark upon poles, which were properly placed as a support. To afford greater warmth the sides were plastered with mud. The houses that were found on the route were all of this description (John N. Hubbard's *Border Adventures of Major Moses Van Campen*, Bath, N. Y., 1842). "They were built chiefly with split and hewn timbers, covered with bark and some other rough materials, without chimneys or floors" (Norris in Jones's *New York*, ii. p. 613). Col. Dearborn (*MS. Journal*) uses almost identical language with Norris. "Newtown — here are some good buildings of the English construction" (Capt. Daniel Livermore, in *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, vi. pp. 308–335). The huts or wigwams were constructed of bark, and very narrow in proportion to their length, some being thirty or forty feet long, and not more than ten feet wide, generally with a bark floor, except in the centre, where there was a place for the fire (Nathan Davis, in *Hist. Mag.*, April, 1868, p. 202). According to Hubley, Chemung contained fifty or sixty houses built of logs and frames; Catharine's town, fifty houses, in general very good; Canadea, about forty well-finished houses, and everything about it seemed neat and well improved; Kanadalauga, between twenty and thirty well-finished houses, chiefly of hewn plank; Anayea, twelve houses, chiefly of hewn logs (*Penna. Archives*, 2d Series, vol. xi.). Nukerck describes the houses at "Kandaia" as "large and elegant; some beautifully painted" (Campbell, *Annals of Tryon County*, p. 155); speaking of "Kanandagua," he says: "This town, from the appearance of the buildings, seems to have been inhabited by white people. Some houses have neat chimneys, which the Indians have not, but build a fire in the centre, around which they gather" (*Ibid.* p. 157). McKendry speaks of the "cellars and walls" of the houses at "Onnaguago," and says it was a "fine settlement, considering they were Indians." This place had been destroyed fifteen years before by Capt. Montour, and Sir William Johnson then described it as having houses "built of square logs, with good chimneys" (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. p. 628). McKendry says some of the houses at "Appletown" were of "hew'd timber." At "Canondesago," some of them built with hewed timber and part with round timber and part with bark.

[1] Hildreth and others speak of Niagara as if it were Sullivan's objective point. John C. Hamilton (*History of the Republic*, i. p. 543) says: "Instructions from Hamilton's pen were addressed to Sullivan," etc. (p. 544). "A surprise of the garrison at Niagara and of the shipping on the lakes was to be attempted." By whom was Niagara to be surprised? Hamilton leaves it to be inferred that Sullivan was instructed to attempt it, whereas it was only mentioned as one of the possible advantages to be gained from the Indians in case they should sue for peace.

[2] Washington's letters in Sparks, and in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1879, p. 142.

[3] Ryerson in his *Loyalists of America*, etc., de-

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The details of the work performed by the New Jersey contingent have been fully set forth in *General Maxwell's Brigade of the New Jersey Continental line in the Expedition against the Indians in the year 1779.* By William S. Stryker, Adjutant-General of New Jersey (Trenton, 1885), a paper read before the New Jersey Historical Society, January 17, 1884.[1] Various order-books of the campaign have been preserved.[2]

The Centennial Celebration of General Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois in 1779. Held at Waterloo, September 3d, 1879 (Waterloo, N. Y., 1880), was edited by Diedrich Willers, Jr., and contains a carefully prepared and clearly written historical address by the Rev. David Craft, which the editor calls "the most complete and accurate history of General Sullivan's campaign which has yet been given to the public." The diligence of Craft in his search for the sources of authority for the campaign is shown

votes a chapter to the Sullivan campaign, which he terms "Revenge for Wyoming." He confounds Zebulon Butler with William Butler, which is not perhaps to be wondered at, for Campbell and Stone did the same thing, although the fact that there were two English officers of the name of Butler engaged in the border wars on the English side, and two American officers of the same name opposed to them in the same campaigns, and the further fact that at Wyoming the forces on each side were commanded by a Butler, were warnings enough that especial scrutiny should be observed in distinguishing these persons.

[1] General Stryker (p. 7) gives Clinton's force at 1,700, and Sullivan's at 3,500. He states that his account was compiled from twenty published (by typographical error, the compositor has put thirty) and five unpublished diaries. He suggests that Sullivan's delay may possibly have been a part of Washington's strategy. T. C. Amory shares this opinion.

Sullivan's fight at Newtown is thus described by H. C. Goodwin in *Pioneer History of Cortland Co.*, etc.: "The contest was one which has but few parallels. The enemy yielded inch by inch, and when finally forced at the point of the bayonet to leave their intrenchments and flee, terror-stricken, to the mountain gorges or almost impassable *lagoons*, the ground they had occupied was found literally drenched with the blood of the fallen victims." Accounts of varying length are given in other local histories: *Delaware County and Border Wars of New York*, etc., by Jay Gould (Roxbury, 1856); *Centennial History of Erie County, New York*, by Crisfield Johnson (Buffalo, 1876); *Annals of Binghamton and of the Country connected with it, from the earliest settlement*, by J. B. Wilkinson (Binghamton, 1840); *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and Morris reserve, etc.*, by O. Turner (Rochester, 1851); J. M. Parker's *Rochester* (1884, p. 236); Ketchum's *Buffalo* (ii. 318); Campbell's *Tryon County*; Simms's *Frontiersmen*, etc.

There is a monograph on the campaign by A. T. Norton, — *Hist. of Sullivan's Campaign* (1879), — and special chapters in Dawson (i. 537), and accounts in the more general works, like Stone's *Brant*; Ryerson's *Loyalists* (ii. 108), examining Stone's account; O. W. B. Peabody's *Life of Sullivan*; Hamilton's *Republic of the U. S.*; some local traditions in Timothy Dwight's *Travels* (iv. 204). Gen. J. Watts De Peyster has some essays on the campaign in the *N. Y. Mail*, Aug. 26, 29, and Sept. 15, 1879.

There are various letters respecting the campaign in the Gansevoort Papers, as copied by Sparks (*Sparks MSS.*, vol. lx.). Cf. the autobiography of Philip van Cortlandt in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 289, and William M. Willett's *Narrative of the military actions of Col. Marinus Willett* (N. Y., 1831).

[2] The New Jersey Historical Society has a MS. order-book kept by Lieutenant-Colonel Barber, of the Third New Jersey Regiment, who was also appointed deputy adjutant-general for the Western army. The last entry made is dated Sept. 6, 1779. In Hammersly, and in the roster compiled by General Stryker, Francis Barber is put down as lieutenant-colonel of this regiment. This order-book has been attributed by some to George C. Barber. The library of Cornell University owns one kept by Thomas Gee, quartermaster's sergeant in Col. John Lamb's regiment of artillery, which contains the orders of the day issued at Fort Sullivan from Aug. 27, 1779, to Oct. 2, 1779; also the return march to Easton, the last entry being Oct. 26, 1779. My knowledge of these MS. order-books was derived from Gen. John S. Clark, of Auburn, N. Y. I am indebted to Hon. Steuben Jenkins for details concerning the Barber order-book, and to Professor Moses Coit Tyler, of Cornell University, for a description of the Gee order-book. Dr. F. B. Hough edited the *Order-book of Capt. Leonard Bleeker, major of brigade in the early part of the expedition under Gen. James Clinton against the Indians in the Campaign of 1779* (N. Y., 1865). On Clinton's share in the expedition, see W. W. Campbell's *Services of James Clinton* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1839); Chaplain Gano's *Biog. Memoirs* (1806). For a portrait of Clinton, see Irving's *Washington*, 4° ed., v., and Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 112.

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in his "List of Journals, Narratives, etc., of the Western Expedition, 1779" [1] (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 673), in which the titles of nineteen journals, narratives, etc., which had at that time been published, are given, with information as to the places of deposit of the MSS., and as to the newspapers, magazines, or books in which they were published. The titles and what was known about the places of deposit of eight journals, etc., which had not been published, and of one journal which relates to the Onondaga expedition, and which had been published, are also given.[2] Of the journals which had not been published when Craft wrote, three, or portions of three, were used by Gen. John S. Clark in his account of the Sullivan campaign in the *Collections of the Cayuga Historical Society, Number One* (Auburn, 1879, — 250 copies), including the journal of Lieut. John L. Hardenburgh, of the Second New York Continental Regiment, from May 1 to October 3, 1779, with an introduction, copious historical notes, and maps of the battlefield of Newtown and the Groveland ambuscade. General Clark also makes use of "parts of other journals never before published," [3] which give the work of detachments, thus placing before the reader a complete account of the whole work of the expedition, in the words of those who participated in it, together with a list of journals, etc., similar to that of Craft, but sufficiently different in details to show independent work.

The remains of Lieutenant Boyd and those who fell with him, in their desperate attempt to cut their way through the enemy by whom they were surrounded, were in 1842 removed from their place of burial, and deposited with appropriate ceremonies at Mount Hope. A collection of the various proceedings on this occasion was edited by Henry O'Reilly, as *Notices of Sullivan's Campaign, or the Revolutionary Warfare in Western New York; embodied in the addresses and documents connected with the funeral honors rendered to those who fell with the gallant Boyd in the Genessee Valley, including the remarks of Gov. Seward at Mount Hope* (Rochester, 1842).

Brodhead's campaign against the Indian settlements on the Alleghany, in Western New York and Pennsylvania, was carried out while Sullivan was on his march. Like Van Schaick's raid on the Onondaga towns, although independently executed, it formed part of the scheme of the season's work. In Gay's *Popular History of the United States* (vol. iv.) there is a good general account of Sullivan's campaign, but in a note (p. 7) it is said that "Brodhead's expedition has usually been considered of little moment, and it has been denied, or doubted, by some writers, that it ever took place. Its incidents are for the first time collated and fully told by Obed Edson, in the *Magazine of* [*Amer.*] *History*, for November, 1879." As a matter of fact, however, there has never been occasion for investigators to doubt that this campaign had taken place, or to underestimate its value. The report of Brodhead was given to the public at the time,[4] and was published in full in the *Remembrancer* (ix. p. 152). Washington, in his letter to Lafayette, which has already been quoted, mentioned the work done by Brodhead with evident appreciation of its extent and value.[5]

[1] Craft, May 9, 1879, had already furnished a list of journals of the campaign, and had appealed to the public for further information (*Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. pp. 348, 349).

[2] [See note E, at end of chapter. — ED.]

[3] The journals thus used are Erkuries Beatty's, covering Clinton's movements; Thomas Grant's and George Grant's, covering the march up the east side of Lake Cayuga; and Henry Dearborn's, for the march up the west side of the same lake.

[4] *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, Nov. 1, 1779.

[5] The expedition is referred to by Gordon, Ramsay, and Marshall, each of these writers giving a brief account of the march and the work accomplished. On the 27th of October, 1779, Congress resolved that "the thanks of Congress be given to his excellency General Washington for directing, and to Colonel Brodhead and the brave officers and soldiers under his command for executing, the important expedition against the Mingo and Munsey Indians, and that part of the Senecas on the Allegheny River, by which the depredations of those savages, assisted by their merciless instigators, subjects of the King of Great Britain, upon the defenceless inhabitants of the Western frontiers have been restrained and prevented."

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The details of the Mohawk Valley invasions are given in the works by Stone, Simms, and Campbell, which have so frequently been quoted, and in the *Remembrancer*.[1] The joint expeditions in 1780 were separately treated by Franklin B. Hough in the *Northern Invasion of October, 1780* (New York, 1866, — no. 6 Bradford Club Series; 75 copies printed). The work is described as "a series of papers relating to the expedition from Canada under Sir John Johnson and others against the frontiers of New York, which were supposed to have connection with Arnold's treason, prepared from the originals, with an introduction and notes." Reference has already been made to the fact that Hough differed from Stone as to the cause for the removal of the Oneidas from their castles in the winter of 1779–1780, and their establishment near Schenectady. Hough says (p. 32): "Some of the Oneidas evinced a willingness to join the enemy. To prevent such a misfortune, four hundred of their people were removed to the neighborhood of Schenectady, and there supported at public cost." In a note he adds: "We find nothing among the Clinton Papers to justify the statement of Colonel Stone [2] (*Brant*, i. 55) relative to the destruction of the Oneida settlements by the enemy during the winter of 1779–80, and are led to believe that the removal of these people to a place of safety in the interior was a measure of policy rather than of actual necessity from the presence of the enemy." There is among the *Sparks MSS.* actual evidence that Hough's conclusion was correct. In a letter from General Haldimand, dated at Quebec, Nov. 2, 1779, he says: "He [Sir John Johnson] halted at Oswego, with an intention to cut off the Oneida nation, who have uniformly and obstinately supported and fought for the rebels, notwithstanding the united remonstrances and threats of the Five Nations, joined to every effort in our power to reclaim them. In this he has likewise been disappointed, the Indians of Canada refusing their assistance," etc.[3] A letter of Guy Johnson to Lord Germain makes the same statements.

[1] A descriptive article entitled "Mohawk Valley in the Revolution," by Harold Frederic, was published in *Harper's Magazine* (lv. p. 171). Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1879. The activity of the Tories and Indians in the Mohawk Valley gave rise from time to time to various rumors, some of which found their way into print. It was stated in 1779 that Fort Stanwix had surrendered to the English. This was repeated in a pamphlet of the day, a mere chronological register of events, published in 1783, and entitled *The American and British Chronicle of War and Politics; being an accurate and comprehensive Register of the most memorable occurrences in the last ten years of his Majesty's reign, etc. From May 10, 1773, to July 16, 1783.* The entry of Nov. 2, 1779, was, "Col. Butler, with some Indians, surprise and take Fort Stanwix, Mohawk River." In 1780 this rumor was repeated, and found its way into the *Remembrancer* (x. 347): "New York, Sept. 23. . . . We are informed that about a fortnight ago Fort Stanwix, after having been five or six weeks closely invested, was taken by 600 British troops commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, supposed to be the King's or 8th Regiment: Our faithful friend, Capt. Joseph Brant, with a party of Indians, shared in the glory of the conquest."

Occasionally we meet, in the accounts of the fighting in the Mohawk Valley and vicinity, with the statement that some Indian was present who was commissioned by the Continental Congress. In the *Journals of Congress* (v. 133) we find that on the 3d of April, 1779, the board of war submitted a report, whereupon it was resolved, "That twelve blank commissions be transmitted to the commissioners of Indian affairs for the Northern Department, and that they or any two of them be empowered to fill them up with the names of faithful chiefs of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, giving them such rank as said commissioners shall judge they merit." (Cf. *Remembrancer*, viii. p. 121.)

[2] Stone relied upon the statement of John T. Kirkland (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iv. p. 69): "In the year 1780, the hostile Indians, British troops, and refugees drove them from their villages," etc.

[3] *Sparks MSS.* (Harvard College library, — no. xiii. p. 281), where are various letters of John Butler, Brant, Lt.-Col. Bolton, etc., taken from the headquarters or Carleton Papers, and they include Brant's report on the Minisink affair and Butler's report of the Newtown fight. The letter of Guy Johnson is in Ketchum's *Buffalo* (i. 337).

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NOTES.

A. OPINIONS OF PROMINENT AMERICANS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN WAR.

IT is not easy to determine the position of prominent individuals on this question prior to the date when Congress had come to a conclusion. The passage of the Quebec Bill in 1774, and the ample powers which were conferred upon Carleton to suppress revolt, had occasioned alarm. Perhaps the circumstances justified suspicion, but there was no special cause for it. The language used in Carleton's commission was copied from the commission of James Murray. If there had been no change of governors, the powers conferred upon the governor could never have been supposed to have been specially directed against the rebellious colonies.[1] After the outbreak of hostilities, we meet, in the published correspondence of the day, with occasional expressions of opinion on the question of employing Indians. It must not be forgotten that when these letters were written rumors were current that the English in Canada were endeavoring to secure the services of Indians, and to the extent that the writers believed these statements their opinions were doubtless influenced by them. On May 14th, Joseph Warren wrote to Samuel Adams, saying: "It has been suggested to me that an application from your Congress to the Six Nations, accompanied with some presents, might have a very good effect. It appears to me to be worthy of your attention, etc." (Frothingham's *Warren*). On August 4th, Washington communicated to the President of Congress the opinion of a Caughnawaga chief, that if an expedition against Canada was meditated the Indians in that quarter would give all their assistance. On Sept. 21st, he reported to the honorable Congress that, "encouraged by the repeated declarations of Canadians and Indians, and urged by their requests," he had dispatched the Arnold expedition (Sparks's *Washington* and his *Corresp. of the Rev.*). On August 27th, Schuyler wrote to Washington that he was informed that "Carleton and his agents are exerting themselves to procure the savages against us." While he did not believe that Carleton would be successful except in procuring some of the remote Indians to act as scouts, he nevertheless added, "I should, therefore, not hesitate a moment to employ any Indians that might be willing to join us" (Lossing's *Schuyler*). Judge Drayton, of South Carolina, on September 25th addressed the Cherokee warriors at Congaree in the following words: "So should we act to each other like brothers; so shall we be able to support and assist each other against our common enemies; so shall we be able to stand together in perfect safety against the evil men who in the end mean to ruin you, as well as ourselves, who are their own flesh and blood." In January, 1776, Washington felt that the important moment had arrived when the Indians must take a side. He knew that if the Indians concerning whom he wrote did not desire to be idle, they would be "for or against us." "I am sensible," he added, "that no artifices will be left unessayed to engage them against us." On April 19th he wrote to the President of Congress: "In my opinion it will be impossible to keep them in a state of neutrality; they must, and no doubt soon will, take an active part either for or against us. I submit to Congress whether it would not be better immediately to engage them on our side." On July 13th he reported to the President of Congress that, without authority from Congress, he had directed Gen. Schuyler to engage the Six Nations in our interest on the best terms he and his colleagues could procure. "I trust," he added, "the urgency of the occasion will justify my proceeding to Congress." On the day of the Declaration of Independence he again wrote to Congress, submitting the propriety of engaging the Eastern Indians. Notwithstanding the various arguments against employing them, John Adams thought "we need not be so delicate as to refuse the assistance of Indians, provided we cannot keep them neutral." In June, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland said that the Indians were generally of opinion that it was impracticable for them to continue longer in a state of neutrality. Gen. Schuyler, notwithstanding his early expressions of readiness to "employ any Indians that might be willing to join us," seemed reluctant, when the time came, to avail himself of their services. He preferred to get decently rid of the offer of the Caughnawagas rather than

[1] As early as 1774 the minds of the colonists were turned inquiringly towards this question. Joseph Reed wrote on Sept. 25, 1774, to the Earl of Dartmouth, that "the idea of bringing down the Canadians and savages upon the English colonies is so inconsistent, not only with mercy, but justice and humanity of the mother country, that I cannot allow myself to think that your lordship would promote the Quebec Bill, or give it your suffrage, with such intention" (Reed's *Reed*, i. p. 79). The "full power to levy, arm, muster, command, and employ all persons whatsoever residing within our said province," and to "transport such force to any of our plantations in America," with which Carleton was commissioned, was but a renewal of the authority conferred upon James Murray in 1763 (*Parl. Reg.*, iv., App., "The New Commission of the Governor of Quebec," etc., pp. 8, 26). The same language was used in the commission of Sir Danvers Osborn, Bart., to be captain-general of New York in 1754 (*Ibid.* p. 48). In the XV. section of the charter granted by Charles II. to the Lords Proprietors of South Carolina, the grantees were authorized to levy, muster, and train "all sorts of men, of what condition, or wheresoever born," and to pursue enemies, "yea, even without the limits of the said province" (*Ibid.* p. 64). The clause is repeated in the second charter of Charles II. to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina (*Ibid.* p. 79). Lord Baltimore was authorized by Charles I. with the same general powers to levy and arm, and "to make war and pursue the enemies and robbers aforesaid, as well by sea as by land, yea, even without the limits of the said province, and (by God's assistance) to vanquish and take them." (Cf. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters*, etc., Washington, 1877, part ii. p. 1388, "Charter of Carolina, 1663, § 15.")

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to employ them. As to the Six Nations, he evidently felt that the utmost to be hoped for was to hold a portion of them quiet through the influence of such men as Kirkland and Deane.[1] Schuyler's labors as Indian commissioner had been in the direction of neutrality; and even after direct instructions from Congress to engage the Six Nations on the best terms that could be procured, he wrote in reply, with evident satisfaction, when the news of the disaster to our forces in Canada was spread among the Indians, that "our conduct in demanding a neutrality in all former treaties has been greatly applauded in all their councils." *The Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Sen., Governor of Connecticut*, by I. W. Stuart (Boston, 1859), gives particulars concerning the contact of this active participant in affairs with some of these questions of policy. Trumbull, as well as the Massachusetts committeemen, was in correspondence with Major Brown in Canada, and through him as well as through them information was conveyed to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay of rumors of a projected attempt to recapture Ticonderoga and Crown Point with a force of regulars and Indians.

B. EVENTS AT THE NORTH, NOT CONNECTED WITH THE SIX NATIONS.

Among the Western tribes, the Delawares were divided, but the majority of the Indians were unfriendly, and completely under the influence of the English commander at Detroit. At the East the attitude of the Indians was not so pronounced, and they were slow to move. On June 20, 1776, Washington wrote to Schuyler that he was "hopeful the bounty Congress had agreed to allow would prove a powerful inducement to engage the Indians in our service." From Schuyler he learned that "our emissaries among the Indians all agree that it would be extremely imprudent to take an active part with us, as they think it would effectually militate the contrary way." The reference in Washington's letter to bounties applies to the resolution of Congress to offer bounties, which had passed three days before the letter was written. With the same prompt attention he wrote to the General Court of Massachusetts, transmitting the resolve of Congress authorizing the employment of the Eastern Indians, exactly three days after its passage; at the same time he solicited the aid of that body in carrying it into execution. He designated five or six hundred as the number which he wished to have engaged. On the same day he wrote to the Continental Congress that he had communicated with the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, "entreating their exertions to have the Eastern Indians forthwith engaged and marched to join this army." It appears from the correspondence and from the proceedings at the conferences that he had already written a letter to these Indians, and it chanced that his letter to the Provincial Congress reached Watertown at about the same time that a delegation from the Eastern Indians reported there in consequence of his letter to them. When the Indians were called upon to state by what authority they spoke, they produced the letter from Washington, leaving it to be inferred that they were accredited upon their mission in consequence of the letter having been received. At the conference which was held with them they were full of high-sounding phrases of friendship. "We shall have nothing to do with Old England," they said, "and all that we shall worship, or obey, will be Jesus Christ and George Washington." The report of the conference states that "a silver gorget and heart, with the king's arms and bust engraved on them, were delivered to the interpreter to be returned to the Indians. He presented them to their speaker, but with great vehemence and displeasure he refused to take them, saying they had nothing to do with King George and England; whereupon the President told them they should have a new gorget and heart, with the bust of Gen. Washington and proper devices to represent the United Colonies." A treaty was exchanged with these Indians on July 17, 1776, whereby they agreed to furnish six hundred Indians to a regiment which was to be officered by the whites, and have in addition to the Indians two hundred and fifty white soldiers. As a result of all this, the Massachusetts Council subsequently reported that seven Penobscot Indians, all that could be procured, were enlisted in October for one year; and in November, Major Shaw reported with a few Indians who had enlisted in the Continental service. The Council of Massachusetts Bay expressed their regrets to Gen. Washington that the major had met with no better success. Washington's letter to the Eastern nations appears to have contained advice to them to keep the peace if they concluded it was to their advantage. These nations afterwards protested that the young men who in the character of chiefs made the treaty of war acted without authority, and they therefore returned the treaty. This practically ended efforts to secure alliance with Eastern Indians. There was further correspondence between Congress and Washington concerning the Stockbridge Indians, in which Congress first announced that the enlistment of these Indians must stop, and then at Washington's request permitted it to be renewed. Finally Congress was content to instruct the government agent to engage the friendship of the Eastern Indians, "and prevent their taking part in the unjust and cruel war against these United States."

[1] Samuel Kirkland was born at Norwich, Conn., Dec. 1, 1744; graduated at Princeton, 1765; became a missionary among the Indians. The hostility of Guy Johnson bore testimony to the influence of the missionary among the natives. Kirkland was afterward a chaplain in the army. In 1789 he received a grant of land two miles square, now the town of Kirkland, N. Y. He died in 1808. His life, by S. K. Lothrop, was published in Sparks's *American Biography*.

James Deane was born at Groton, Conn., Aug. 20, 1748; graduated at Dartmouth in 1773; and then went as missionary among the Indians. He was employed to pacificate the Northern Indians, and acted as interpreter on many important occasions. He was afterward a judge in Oneida County, N. Y., where he died in 1823. He was much esteemed. Gov. Trumbull said: "The abilities and influence of Mr. Deane to attach the Six Nations to the interest of these colonies is an instance of Divine favor."

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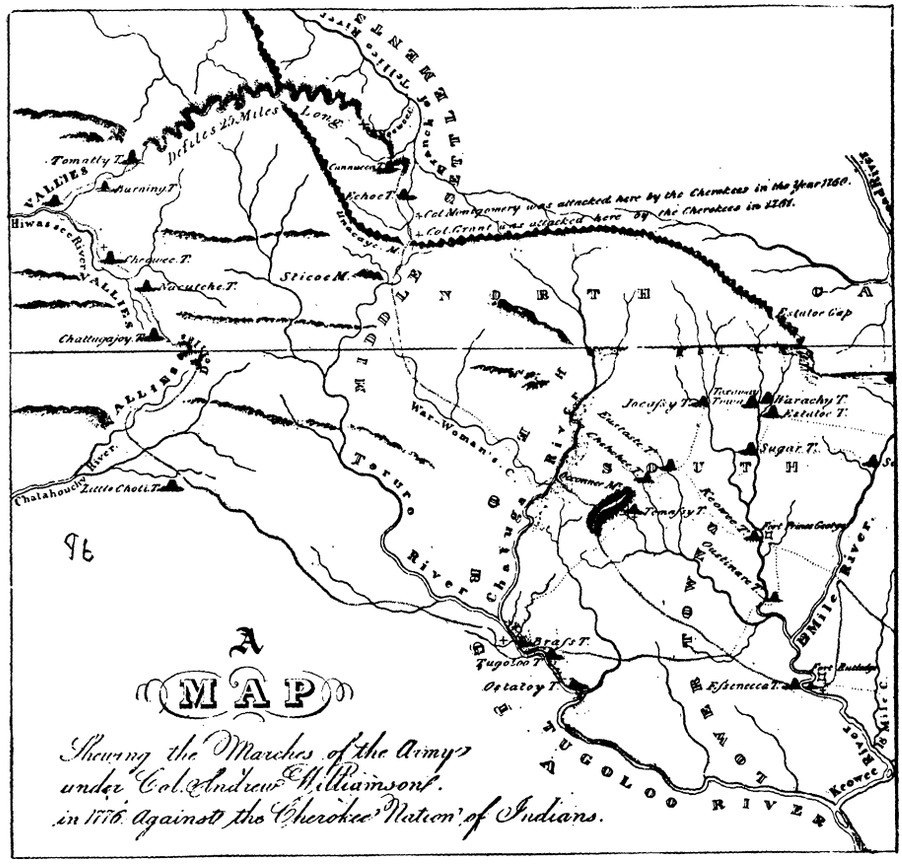
C. EVENTS AT THE SOUTH.

The first result of the struggle between Great Britain and the colonies for the friendship of the Indians was felt in the North at St. John's and the Cedars. The first aggressive movement within the limits of the colonies took place in the South. The correspondence of Sir James Wright traces the progress of events in that department. The "Liberty People," as he says, asserted in June, 1775, that Stuart was endeavoring to raise the Cherokees against them, and "all that Stuart could say would not convince them to the contrary." In July Sir James heard that the Provincial Congress had agreed to send 2,000 pounds of gunpowder into the Indian country as a present from the people, "not from the king, or from the government, or from the superintendent, or from the traders, but from the people of the province." This powder was seized by the royal-



[NOTE. — Portion of the map in Drayton's *Mem. of the Amer. Rev.*, ii. 343. KEY: Double dotted line shows the march of the army; the single dotted line shows the march of detachments; the + indicates battle-grounds.

There is among the Rochambeau maps (no. 36) a small but good plan (5×4 inches), called *An accurate map of North and South Carolina, with their Indian frontier, showing in a distinct manner all the mountains, rivers, swamps, marshes, bays, creeks, harbors, sandbanks, coasts, and soundings, with roads and Indian paths, as well as the boundary of provincial lines, the several townships and other divisions of the land in both the provinces, — from actual surveys by Henry Mouzon.* It is the same map given in Jefferys' *American Atlas* (1776, no. 23), and was republished in Paris in 1777 by Le Rouge, and is included in the *Atlas Amériquain.* The middle, upper, and over-hill towns are given on one of the sections of Arrowsmith's map (1795–1802), and also upon the *Carte des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, — Copiée et Gravée sur celle d'Arrowsmith, etc., etc. Par P. F. Tardieu,* à Paris, 1808.

Faden issued in 1780 a map of the northern frontiers of Georgia, by Archibald Campbell. — ED.]

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ists, but as an offset the annual presents of Stuart were seized at Tybee by the "Liberty People." It was stated that the best friends of Great Britain lived in the back parts of Carolina and Georgia. If the Indians were put in motion, they, and not the rebels, would suffer. Nevertheless, the first blow from the Indians came from that quarter. Early in July, 1776, news was received at Savannah, at Charleston, and at Fincastle, Va., that the Indians were at work upon the border, carrying destruction wherever they went. On the 7th of July, General Lee wrote to the president of the Virginia Convention that an opportunity offered for a coöperative movement. The Continental Congress, having received a report of the circumstances from the president of South Carolina, recommended, on the 30th of July (1776), the States of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia to afford all necessary assistance. As soon as the first intelligence of the outbreak in South Carolina reached Col. Andrew Williamson, who at the beginning of this campaign apparently ranked as major, he promptly rallied the inhabitants of the frontier of that State. By the middle of July he had collected a body of 1,150 volunteers. With this force he invaded the Indian territory, and during the remainder of the month of July and the first half of August he was occupied in destroying the Cherokee lower towns. On his return to his main camp from a raid with a detachment, about the middle of August, he found that a number of his men had gone home, and that many of those who remained were suffering for clothes and other necessaries. He erected a fort at Essenecca, which he named after President Rutledge, and furloughed a part of his force until August 28th.

At the same time that the depredations were committed which caused Col. Williamson to invade the Indian country, the settlements in Virginia and North Carolina, on the border of what we now know as Tennessee, were threatened by the Indians. The inhabitants along the border at once "forted" themselves. A small force collected at Eaton's station met a party of Indians on the 20th of July, and repulsed them, with a loss of thirteen of their warriors. Watauga, where 150 persons, of whom 40 were men, had assembled in the fort, was besieged by another band. The Indians hung about the fort for six days, and skulked in the woods for a fortnight longer, but left on the approach of a relief column. Other Indians went up the Holston to Carter's Valley, but accomplished nothing in that immediate vicinity.[1] The settlements in Virginia, in the Clinch Valley and for a long distance from this point, were, however, raided, and the surrounding country devastated.

Georgia performed her share of the season's work simultaneously with Colonel Williamson's first raid. An independent command, led by Major Jack,[2] operated against the lower towns beyond the Tugaloo, during the latter part of July.

The work performed by South Carolina and Georgia during the months of July and August was not considered complete. It was determined to inflict a blow which would be remembered. About the first of September Colonel Williamson again marched into the Indian country, this time at the head of about two thousand men. It was intended that on an appointed day in September he should effect a junction with General Rutherford of North Carolina, who at the head of twenty-four hundred men simultaneously marched from that State. Although the two columns met in Indian territory, the junction was not effected at the appointed date, and the work of destroying the middle towns and valley settlements was independently performed. Virginia sent out an expedition at the same time against the upper or over-hill towns. This force, after it was joined by some companies from the northwestern portion of North Carolina, numbered eighteen hundred men, and was commanded by Colonel William Christian. The purposes of this expedition were successfully accomplished.

The South Carolina troops had the misfortune to encounter nearly all the resistance that was offered by the Indians, and in the two expeditions lost 22 men killed, with 11 men mortally wounded, and 63 men otherwise wounded. They had the satisfaction, however, of knowing that the joint expedition had thoroughly performed its work. The Cherokee towns were burned, and the crops of the Indians were destroyed. The attack by the Indians consolidated the colonists and aroused their indignation. The Council of South Carolina asserted that they were now convinced of what they had before but little reason to doubt, "the indiscriminate atrocity and unrelenting tyranny of the hand that directs the British war against us." The Assembly spoke of it as a "barbarous and ungrateful attempt of the Cherokee Indians, instigated by our British enemies." The Cherokees accepted such terms of peace as their conquerors allowed. Next year separate treaties were made between representatives of the tribes and Virginia and North Carolina, and between other representatives and South Carolina and Georgia. In the treaty in which South Carolina participated, a portion of the Indian territory was ceded to that State on the ground of conquest. For several years thereafter the Indians kept so quiet that but little was heard from them in that portion of the country. As a sequel to the campaign it may be noted that, on the 25th of September, President Rutledge informed the Assembly of South Carolina that Colonel Williamson desired instructions as to whether the Indians taken prisoners should become slaves. Such an impression prevailed in camp, and one prisoner had already been sold as a slave.[3]

[1] See incidents of this border warfare in James Banks's *Hist. Address* (Fayetteville, N. C., 1859).

[2] The rank of this officer is sometimes given as colonel. The expedition is stated by Haywood, in his *History of Tennessee*, to have been led by Col. Leonard McBury. Capt. Leonard Marbury, who at that time commanded a company under Major Jack, is probably the officer referred to.

[3] [The experience of South Carolina in these border wars is exemplified in Alexander Gregg's *History of the old Cheraws: containing an account of the aborigines of the Pedee, the first white settlements, their subsequent progress, civil changes, the struggle of the revolution, and growth of the country afterward; extending from about A. D. 1730 to 1810, with notices of families and sketches of individuals* (N. Y., 1867).—Ed.]

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McCall, in his *History of Georgia*, is authority for the statement that General Rutherford was accompanied on his march by a small band of Catawba Indians. In Virginia the matter of enlisting Indians was considered in the Convention, and on the 21st of May, 1776, a resolution was passed to engage a number of warriors, not to exceed two hundred. A few days afterward, however, the execution of this resolution was postponed in such a way as to make it ineffective.

In January, 1777, Col. Nathaniel Gist was authorized by Congress to raise four companies of rangers, and was instructed to proceed to the Cherokee or any other nation of Indians, and to attempt to procure a number of warriors not exceeding five hundred, who were to be equipped by Congress and receive soldiers' pay.[1]

We have seen that in 1777 treaties were made with the Cherokees. The Indians at the Chickamauga settlements, which were clustered along the Tennessee, below the site of Chattanooga, and near where the river crosses the state line, had not participated in the treaties. In the interval between the joint campaign in the fall of 1776 and the spring of 1779 outrages had been committed by these Indians, and it was determined to punish them. A thousand volunteers from the back settlements of North Carolina and Virginia assembled on the banks of the Holston, in the northeastern part of Tennessee, a few miles above where Rogersville stands. Of these Col. Evan Shelby had command. They were joined by a regiment of twelve-months men which belonged to Colonel Clarke's Illinois expedition. On the 10th of April, 1779, this force embarked in dug-outs and canoes, descended the rapid running stream, surprised the Indians, killed a number of them, burned eleven of their towns, destroyed their provisions, and drove off or killed their cattle. All this having been accomplished without a battle, the troops returned.

In 1780 the contribution of men by the border settlements of North Carolina to the force which fought the battle of King's Mountain left those settlements exposed to Indian raids. As soon after the battle as possible some of the men were sent to Watauga. They learned upon arrival that news had been received of an Indian advance. Col. John Sevier organized an expedition against the Indians, and marched to meet them. The number of volunteers thus hastily gathered together reached about one hundred and seventy. At the end of the second day's march the Indians were discovered. They retreated, and the next day Sevier followed them. The customary ambuscade was prepared by the Indians, but the American leader was too wary to be deceived. On the contrary, he adopted their own tactics, and defeated them in a brief engagement at Boyd's Creek, in which twenty-eight Indians were killed. A few days after this Colonel Sevier was joined by Col. Arthur Campbell, with troops from Virginia. The united forces amounted to seven hundred men. They penetrated the country to the southward, burning a number of Indian towns, and held a council with a large body of Cherokees. After completing the expedition, a message was sent, on January 4, 1781, to the chiefs and warriors of the Indians. It was signed by Col. Arthur Campbell, Lieut.-Col. John Sevier, and Joseph Martin, agent and major of militia, and consisted of a summons to the Indians to send deputies to negotiate a treaty of peace at the Great Island within two moons.[2]

Towards the end of August, 1780, Colonel Williamson and Colonel Pickens, of South Carolina, raided the Indian territory and destroyed a large amount of stores. To prevent further depredations, the Indians were compelled to remove their habitations to the settled towns of the Creeks.

During the summer of 1781 the Cherokees invaded the settlements on Indian Creek. Colonel Sevier called for volunteers, and attacked them. He killed seventeen Indians and put the rest to flight.

Early in 1781 General Greene made a treaty with the Cherokees, by which they engaged to observe neutrality. This treaty having been violated by the Indians during the summer, Gen. Andrew Pickens, at the head of a mounted force of three hundred and ninety-four men, penetrated to the Cherokee country, burned thirteen towns, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a number of prisoners. McCall (*Georgia*, ii. 414) thus summarizes Pickens's method of campaigning: "The general's whole command could not produce a tent or any other description of camp equipage. After the small portion of bread which they could carry in their saddle-bags was exhausted, they lived upon parched corn, potatoes, peas, and beef without salt, which they collected in the Indian towns." Soon after this expedition some of the Creeks and Cherokees again invaded Georgia. They were met beyond Oconee River by Colonel Clarke and by Col. Robert Anderson, of Pickens's brigade, and were driven back. Major John Habersham was sent out by Wayne on an expedition, and his report, Feb. 8, 1782, is in *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 129. In February, 1782, Governor Martin addressed a letter to Colonel Martin and Colonel Sevier, instructing them to drive intruders off the Cherokee lands.

During the summer of 1782 a body of Indians crossed the State of Georgia without being discovered, and on the morning of the 24th of June surprised General Wayne's command. After the first flush of success attendant upon the surprise had been overcome by the Americans, they repulsed the Indians, with the loss of fourteen killed, among whom was one of their chiefs. The kind treatment of some prisoners who were taken aided in detaching the Indians from the British side.

In September, 1782, the upper-town Cherokees, in a talk, complained piteously of the intruders upon their lands, and said they had done nothing to break the last treaty. At the same time, other Indians of the same

[1] In a letter from Col. Charles Robertson, trustee of the Watauga Association, to his excellency Richard Caswell, etc., April 27, 1777, it is stated that on the 27th of March last Col. Nathaniel Guess brought letters from the governor of Virginia soliciting the Indians to come in to treat for peace. The Indians, in reply to pressure brought to bear upon them, said "they could not fight against their Father King George," etc. (Ramsey's *History of Tennessee*, p. 171).

[2] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, i. 415.

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tribes began depredations. Colonel Sevier, with one hundred volunteers, marched into the Indian country, held a conference with the friendly Indians, and punished those who were hostile by burning their villages.

The Southern campaigns against the Indians have not been treated as fully in local and general histories as those against the Northern tribes. The policy of the several leaders in these campaigns was not entitled, perhaps, to the same recognition as has been awarded to that which governed the Sullivan campaign. The several columns from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia each burned Indian towns and devastated Indian crops, but the plan was not directed by the general in command of the national armies. There have been but few local historians in the South who have searched for diaries, journals, and letters containing details of such affairs. At the time when the centennial anniversaries of these events might fitly have been celebrated by the publication of such original material as could be found, there was not the same disposition in the South to be grateful for the results of the Revolutionary War as then prevailed in the North. Further than that, the materials from which such contributions to history are generally made had been scattered and destroyed during the civil war. For these reasons, the number of books which treat of the border wars in the South is small.

The most complete accounts of the attacks upon the Cherokee settlements which have been published are to be found in the histories of Tennessee. John Haywood's *Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from its earliest Settlement up to the year 1796*, etc. (Knoxville, 1823), is an extensive collection of facts concerning the various raids of the Indians and the counter attacks upon their scattered settlements, which has been freely used by subsequent writers. J. G. M. Ramsey, in his *Annals of Tennessee to the end of the eighteenth Century: Comprising its settlement as the Watauga Association from 1769 to 1777; A part of North Carolina from 1777 to 1784* (Charlestown, 1853), relies to a great extent upon Haywood, and acknowledges his obligation by frequent references in his foot-notes. In the preparation of this work, Mr. Ramsey says that he had access to the journals and papers of his father, a pioneer of the country, and also to the papers of Sevier, of Shelby, the Blounts, and other public men. He examined the papers of all the old Franklin Counties and the public archives at Milledgeville, Raleigh, Richmond, and Nashville.

Haywood says the Georgia expedition was commanded by Col. Leonard McBury. Ramsey follows Haywood in this regard. All the other accounts say that Major or Colonel Jack was in command.

The campaign of the Virginia column is briefly described in Girardin's continuation of Burk's *History of Virginia*.[1] Brief allusions to this campaign are made in Wheeler's *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, and in Martin's *History of North Carolina*. The story is more fully told in an *Historical Sketch of the Indian War of 1776*, by D. L. Swain, which is reprinted from the *North Carolina University Magazine* (May, 1852) in the *Historical Magazine* (Nov., 1867, p. 273). This account states that there were "three armies simultaneously fitted out by Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina," but makes no mention of the work which the Georgia contingent had already performed.

A journal kept during the Williamson expeditions was published in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. xii. (Oct., 1867, p. 212), by Professor E. F. Rockwell, of North Carolina, as "Parallel and combined expedition against the Cherokee Indians in South and North Carolina in 1776." The writer describes the houses in the Cherokee towns as follows: "Their dwelling-houses is made some one way and some another. Some is made with saplings stuck in the ground upright; then laths tide on these with splits of cane or such like; So with daubing outside and in with mud merely, they finish a close warm building. They have no chimnies, and their fires are all in the middle of the houses."

C. L. Hunter, in *Sketches of Western North Carolina, Historical and Biographical, illustrating principally the Revolutionary period*, etc. (Raleigh, 1877), under "General Griffith Rutherford" gives a brief account of the march against the middle towns, and under "Colonel Isaac Shelby" he gives a paragraph to the expedition against the Chickamaugas in 1779.

It has been stated that the Cherokee outbreak in the South was the first aggressive movement made by the Indians during the Revolutionary War, and that this fact has caused the joint attack of the colonies to be noticed in the general histories of the times. It naturally finds a place in Moultrie's *Memoirs* and in Ramsay's *South Carolina*, but without detail. If we turn to Drayton's *Memoirs* we shall find an extended account of the expeditions of Colonel Williamson, who commanded the South Carolina troops, in the summer of 1776, when they ravaged the Cherokee settlements, — the campaigns being illustrated by a map of which a fac-simile is given herewith. Several letters are published in the Appendix as authorities. The movements of Major Jack in Georgia are given (*Ibid.* p. 353), and some account of the march of General Rutherford's army from North Carolina and of the attempts at coöperation. It is stated (*Ibid.* p. 353) that Virginia also raised an army, but no account of the movement of the troops is given.

The *American Archives* contain reprints of letters from several points in the South, which enable us to trace the history of most of these movements. We have rumors of the outbreak from various places scattered from Georgia to Virginia; stories of the siege of Watauga and of the gathering of the Indians in Carter's Valley; accounts of the desolation along the frontier; of the marches of Rutherford and of Williamson; of the speech of Rutledge, and of the replies of the Council and of the Assembly of South Carolina.

The *Remembrancer* also reprints some of these letters. Drayton, in his *Memoirs* (ii. p. 212), says that Col.

[1] See Vol. V. p. 280.

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Bull, in March, 1776, marched to Savannah with four hundred Carolina troops, "to awe the disaffected, to support the Continental regulations, and in particular to prevent the merchant ships from going to sea." These troops were accompanied by some Georgia militia and by "about seventy men of the Creek and Euchee Indians." In corroboration of this statement Drayton cites the *Remembrancer* (1776, Part ii. pp. 333, 334), where is a letter from Charleston, which opens, "By a remarkable Providence, the Creek Indians have engaged in our favour." It then goes on to describe how they became enraged with the Tories because they destroyed the house of a white man with whom the Indians were friendly, and adds that "they have brought down 500, who have killed several men of the fleet."

Another reference to the use of Indians by the Americans will be found in McCall's *Georgia* (ii. p. 82), where he says that General Rutherford was "joined by the Cataba Indians."

Various accounts of events connected with these campaigns will be found in the *Remembrancer* (Part ii., 1776, pp. 286, 319–334; and Part iii., 1776, pp. 50, 52–274, and 275), including a letter, Sept. 4th, which says: "The colonel's (Williamson's) next object will be the middle towns, where he expects to be joined by General Rutherford with 200 [2,000?] North Carolinians. Colonel Lewis, of Virginia, will go against the upper or over hill settlements, so that we have no doubt the savages will be effectually chastised."

The treaty at De Witt's Corner, May 20, 1777, between South Carolina, Georgia, and the Cherokees was printed in the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, Aug. 18, 1777.

A description of the Cherokee lower towns and of the siege of Watauga is given by Edmund Kirke (James R. Gilmore) in *Lippincott's Magazine* (July and August, 1855), in a paper on "The Pioneers of the South West." Bare mention is made of the fact that Georgia participated in the campaign of 1776, by Stevens in his *Georgia*, who follows Moultrie in assigning the command of the Georgia troops to Colonel Jack.

McCall, in his *History of Georgia*, gives a curious account of an attempt by a party of Americans to penetrate the Indian country and seize Cameron. Their leader, Capt. James McCall, had with him two officers, twenty-two Carolinians, and eleven Georgians. They were suspected by the Indians of treachery, and were themselves attacked. Their leader was captured and several of the men were killed, but the greater number escaped, and after severe sufferings reached the settlements. Drayton (*Memoirs*, ii. 338) states that this expedition of McCall's was forwarded in consequence of an agreement on the part of the Cherokees in June to permit the arrest of refugees in their towns. The attack was therefore a piece of treachery on the part of the Indians. McCall himself escaped shortly afterward, and joined the Virginia column of invasion. He again made an attempt to seize Cameron. This time he reached the Indian town where Cameron had his headquarters, but the latter had left for Mobile the morning that Captain McCall arrived at the town. McCall gives an account of a raid by General Pickens in the fall of 1782. This apparently is the same as the one described in 1781.

C. C. Jones's *Georgia* deals with the border wars to about the same extent as McCall. The precise time of Jack's raid is not given, but Jones has followed those who have spoken of it as simultaneous with the joint movement in Virginia and North and South Carolina, among whom we find Ramsay in his *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*. A letter to Gov. Bullock, from B. Rea, July 3, 1776 (*Remembrancer*, Part iii., 1776, p. 50), says: "I shall order the draft that has been made of this regiment to Broad River and Ogeechee as soon as possible, but not to go over the line till I receive your excellency's orders, which I shall wait for with impatience. I shall likewise be glad to know how far we are to act in concert with the Carolinians, or if we are only to guard our own frontiers." This shows that troops were put in the field by Georgia before the question of coöperation was raised, but that it immediately suggested itself as a possibility.

It will be inferred from what has been said that confusion of dates as to the movement of the troops exists. McCall tells the story as if Jack's march in the middle of July were part of a preconcerted plan, in which South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia participated. Jones, as has been seen, follows him in this respect. Ramsey, in his *Annals of Tennessee*, says Christian went into the field on the 1st of August. Williamson, on his second raid, and Rutherford started out about the 1st of September. Christian's march was evidently in coöperation with them, and doubtless at the same time, although in Foote's *Sketches of Virginia* it is said (pp. 118, 119) that Col. William Christian's campaign against the Cherokees was in October. It is probable that he did not return to the settlements until that month.

It is evident that the attack upon the lower towns of the Cherokees by the Georgia militia was not regarded at the time as a part of the joint concerted movement. On the 5th of August President Rutledge issued a proclamation requiring the Legislative Council and General Assembly to meet at Charleston on the 17th of September, at which time his excellency congratulated them on the success of the troops under Colonel Williamson, and added, "It has pleased God to grant very signal success to their operations; and I hope by his blessings on our arms, and those of North Carolina and Virginia, from whom I have promises of aid, an end may soon be put to this war." In the replies of the Council and of the Assembly recognition is made of the coöperative movements of the North Carolina and Virginia forces. No reference is made in any of these proceedings to the Georgia contingent.

The *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, Sept. 16, 1776, contains an account of the outbreak in North Carolina, which says: "The ruined settlers had collected themselves together at different places and forted themselves: 400 and upwards at Major Shelby's, about the same number at Captain Campbell's, and a considerable number at Amos Eaton's." It then describes the relief of Watauga by Colonel Russell with three

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hundred men. The acts of these men and the first raid of Williamson were the spontaneous movements of the frontier inhabitants. The participation of Georgia was inspired from headquarters at Augusta, with intelligent comprehension of the value of coöperation. The campaigns of the month of September were concerted.

The raid of Gen. Andrew Pickens is described in Ramsay's *South Carolina* and in Henry Lee's *Memoirs*, the account in the latter being copied in Cecil B. Hartley's *Heroes and Patriots of the South* (Philad., 1860). The raid of Col. Arthur Campbell is described in Girardin's continuation of Burk's *Virginia* (iv. p. 472). Campbell's report, in the *Calendar of the State Papers of Virginia* (i. p. 434), says that he destroyed upwards of one thousand houses, and not less than fifty thousand bushels of corn and a large quantity of other provisions.

D. CONNECTICUT SETTLERS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

In 1768, the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania secured an Indian deed for the territory already claimed by the Susquehanna Company of Connecticut, and a lease was executed, which vested in certain enterprising individuals the rights of the Proprietaries to this region, whether gained by royal grant or by purchase. This was followed by simultaneous preparation on the part of the Pennsylvanian lessees and of the Connecticut Company for the occupation by settlers, who were expected to defend their rights against other claimants. The Pennsylvanians were first on the ground, and in January, 1769, built a block-house on the land which had been improved by former Connecticut settlers. Early in February the first detachment of colonists from Connecticut arrived, and then began the contest for possession, which was waged, with success alternating on either side, until the fall of 1771. Houses were burned, crops were laid waste, cattle were driven off and killed, and there was some bloodshed during the progress of these hostilities. Proclamations were put forth by the governor of Pennsylvania, and warrants were issued by the courts of that province for the arrest of the Connecticut leaders for the crime of arson. The several military expeditions of the Pennsylvanians were generally accompanied by a sheriff, whose mission was supposed to be to execute the laws. The citizens of that province do not appear to have been in sympathy with the lessees of the Proprietaries. If they had been, it would have been easy to have crushed the Connecticut colony. This settlement was not at the outset recognized as a part of Connecticut. Permission had been given the company to apply to his majesty for a separate charter. The expectation that an independent government might perhaps be formed, and the opposition to the movement already expressed at London, explain the supineness of the mother colony. The Susquehanna settlement depended for its life upon the efforts of the company. Five townships were laid out, and liberal offers of shares in the lands were made to the first settlers in each of them. Three more townships were subsequently settled on the same plan. These inducements had attracted settlers in such numbers that the Pennsylvanian lessees could not dispossess them. In the autumn of 1771 the Pennsylvanians withdrew, leaving the Connecticut colonists, for the time, in undisturbed possession. Some correspondence followed between the authorities of the colonies, in which the government of Pennsylvania sought to ascertain how far the colony of Connecticut backed up the emigrants; and the governor of that colony in reply denied having authorized any hostile demonstration, but carefully avoided saying anything which could be interpreted as a relinquishment on the part of the colony of its rights under the charter to the land. During the next two years the settlement, although looked upon by Pennsylvania as an invasion and not as yet acknowledged by Connecticut, increased in numbers and prospered. Meetings of the Proprietors were occasionally held, at which the affairs of the towns were adjusted in a general way, authority being delegated to a committee of settlers to act in the intervals between the meetings. In June, 1773, the company adopted at Hartford a form of government for the settlers, stating in the preamble that "we have as yet no established civil authority residing among us in the settlement." In October the Connecticut Assembly resolved that the colony would "make their claim to these lands, and in a legal manner support the same." Commissioners were appointed, and fruitless negotiations were opened with Pennsylvania. In January, 1774, the territory of Susquehanna Company was incorporated into the town of Westmoreland, and became temporarily a part of the county of Litchfield, Connecticut. Almost simultaneously, proclamations were issued by the governors of the two colonies, each prohibiting settlements on the disputed territory except under authority of the colony which he represented. Meantime the settlements in the valley increased. In September, 1775, about eighty settlers, who had just arrived on the west branch of the Susquehanna, were attacked by the Pennsylvania militia. One man was killed; several were wounded; and the men of the Connecticut party were taken prisoners to Sunbury. Upon receipt of this news the Continental Congress, in November, passed resolutions urging the two colonies to take steps to avoid open hostilities. This was, however, of no effect. Boats from Wyoming, loaded with the property of settlers, were seized and confiscated at Fort Augusta. During the fall, extensive preparations were made by the Pennsylvanians for an invasion of Wyoming, under authority from Governor Penn, for the purpose of enforcing the laws of Pennsylvania. In December, Congress expressed the opinion that all appearance of force ought to stop until the dispute could be decided by law; but at the time that the resolution expressing this opinion was under consideration, an army of Pennsylvanians, accompanied by a sheriff, was already invading the valley. The Connecticut people, having been forewarned, successfully resisted this military posse. Several lives were lost in this attempt of the Pennsylvanians to dispossess the colonists. With this failure the attempts of Pennsylvania to expel the Connecticut settlers by force ended. The Revolutionary War was now in progress. Connecticut needed her able-bodied men. She now forbade further settlement on the disputed territory unless licensed by her Assembly.

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The Trumbull MSS. in possession of the Mass. Hist. Soc. contain copies of the papers connected with the discussion of the title of the colony to its settlement in the Susquehanna Valley. There is probably no single collection of papers so rich in this direction.

E. JOURNALS AND DIARIES OF THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION.

[A list of the journals of Sullivan's expedition was prepared by the writer of this chapter for publication in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1886, and this list in an extended and revised form was to be appended here; but the repetition is rendered unnecessary by the publication of an elaborate volume by the State of New York, *Journals of the military expedition of Major-General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779, with records of Centennial Celebrations*, — compiled by George S. Conover, under the direction of Frederick Cook, Secretary of State. It reprints, and in some cases gives for the first time in type, the journals of twenty-six participants, pertaining either to the main expedition or to that against the Onondagas. An enumeration is also given of the journals known to have existed, but no longer to be found.

Appended to the journals are the reports of Sullivan, Brodhead, and a roster of the expeditionary army. The main historical narrative is an elaborate account, compacted from four centennial addresses, given by the Rev. David Craft in 1879, and revised from the original publication in the *Centennial Proceedings* of the Waterloo (N. Y.) Library and Historical Society. In a note it is shown that a collation of all the journals supports Sullivan's statements in his official report, making his total loss in the campaign 41 men, while 41 Indian settlements or towns were destroyed.

The portraits of the book are those of Sullivan (with the spear), General Clinton (profile), Gansevoort (by Stuart), and Philip Van Cortlandt. The rest of the volume describes the various centennial celebrations in 1879, at Elmira, Waterloo, Geneseo, and Aurora, with the addresses, principal among which is one by Erastus Brooks on "Indian History and Wars," and another by Major Douglass Campbell on "The Iroquois and New York's Indian policy."

The maps include one by Gen. John S. Clark of the battlefield of Newtown (not far from Elmira) and the Chemung Ambuscade; another, by the same, of the Groveland Ambuscade, near Conesus Lake, and the route thence to the Genessee; five maps of as many sections of Sullivan's route, surveyed by Lieutenant Benjamin Lodge, the originals of which make a part of the collection of maps made by Robert Erskine, the topographical engineer of the Continental army, and by his successor, Simeon De Witt, and now in the cabinet of the N. Y. Hist. Society. Gen. J. S. Clark, in describing these maps, says that the route of Dearborn on the west side of Cayuga Lake, and General Clinton's descent of the N. E. branch of the Susquehanna, do not appear to have been surveyed, but that Clinton's route is well illustrated in a sketch of Col. William Butler's march (Oct.–Nov., 1778) made by Capt. William Gray, which is also included in the volume. The five maps above referred to are reproductions from the originals, with some names added from the rough preliminary sketches, also preserved in the same collection. A rough plan of Tioga, in fac-simile of a drawing in the journal of Capt. Charles Nukerck, is also given. — ED.]

F. BOUNTIES FOR SCALPS.

It has been stated in the narrative that the colonies themselves were partially responsible for the low estimate in which Indians were held by the inhabitants of the frontiers. Bounties had been so frequently offered for the destruction of wild animals and of Indians that the border settlers might well infer that the law drew no distinction between the savage and the brute. Mrs. Jackson, in her *Century of Dishonor* (App. p. 406), quotes from Gale's *Upper Mississippi* (p. 112) a vigorous denunciation of the acts of the governments in granting bounties for scalps: "In the history of the Indian tribes in the Northwest, the reader will at once perceive that there was a constant rivalry between the governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States as to which of them should secure the services of the barbarians to scalp their white enemies, while each in turn was the loudest to denounce the shocking barbarities of such tribes as they failed to secure in their own service. And the civilized world, aghast at these horrid recitals, ignores the fact that nearly every important massacre in the history of North America was organized and directed by agents of some one of these governments." One or two instances, taken from the records by way of illustration, will suffice to show how the settlers along the frontier and legislators reciprocally viewed this subject. In November, 1724, John Lovewell, Josiah Farwell, and Jonathan Robbins, presented a "Humble Memorial" to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, in which they set forth that they, with forty or fifty others, were "inclinable to range and keep out in the woods for several months together, in order to kill and destroy their Indian enemy, provided they could meet with incouragement suitable." For five shillings a day, and such other reward as the government should see cause to give them, they would "employ themselves in Indian hunting one whole year." On the 17th of November, the General Court by vote authorized the formation of the company, the men to receive "two shillings and sixpence per diem, the sum of one hundred pounds for each male scalp, and the other premiums established by law to volunteers without pay or subsistence" (Kidder's *Captain John Lovewell*, pp. 11, 12). Col. Johnson, in 1747, was "quite pestered every day with parties returning with prisoners and scalps, and without a penny to pay them with" (Stone's *Sir William Johnson*, i. 255, 342). For the outlay made in this

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behalf Col. Johnson was ultimately reimbursed by the province of New York. In the memorial or representation of their case, submitted by the rioters who murdered the Conestegoe Indians to the authorities at Philadelphia, it is written: "Sixthly. In the late Indian war, this Province, with others of his Majesty's colonies, gave rewards for Indian scalps, to encourage the seeking them in their own country, as the most likely means of destroying or reducing them to reason; but no such encouragement has been given in this war, which has damped the spirits of many brave men, who are willing to venture their lives in parties against the enemy. We therefore pray that public rewards may be proposed for Indian scalps, which may be adequate to the dangers attending enterprises of this nature." On the 12th of June, 1764, the authorities of Pennsylvania offered bounties for scalps, presumably in response to this petition (*Penna. Col. Rec.*, ix. 141, 189).

On the 27th of September, 1776, a committee reported to the South Carolina Assembly, that it was "not advisable to hold Captive Indians as Slaves, but as an encouragement to those who shall distinguish themselves in the war against the Cherokees, they recommended the following rewards, to wit: For every Indian man killed, upon certificate thereupon given by the Commanding Officer, and the scalp produced as evidence thereof in Charlestown by the forces in the pay of the State, seventy-five pounds currency; For every Indian man prisoner one hundred pounds like money" (*American Archives*, 5th ser., iii. 32).

It is true that bounties had previously been offered in New York for scalps taken from the "enemy," but at the time of the Revolution New York and Massachusetts had apparently abandoned the policy of offering bounties for scalps. Abundant records show that they had been committed to this policy in earlier times. The Act of Assembly in South Carolina, the previous legislation in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia, and the subsequent legislation in Pennsylvania and Illinois, were directed exclusively against Indians. *Penna. Colonial Records* (xii. 311; xii. 632; xiii. 201). *Laws of the Colonial and State Governments relating to Indians and Indian Affairs from 1633 to 1831 inclusive, with an appendix containing the proceedings of the Congress of the Confederation and the laws of Congress from 1800 to 1830 on the Same Subject* (Washington city, 1832), p. 239. In the *Pennsylvania Archives* (iii. p. 199) there is a curious letter from the superintendent of Indian affairs in the Southern Department to the governor of Maryland, dated June 30, 1757, in which he says that several of the colonies are becoming fond of giving large rewards for scalps. If these rewards were confined to their own people he should consider it laudable, but as they are offered chiefly to Indians the case is very different. He says the Indians make several scalps out of one. The Cherokees in particular make four scalps out of one man killed. "Here are now," he adds, "twenty scalps hanging out to publick view which are well known to have been made out of five Frenchmen killed. What a sum (at £50 each) would they produce if carried to Maryland, where the artifice would not probably be discovered!" In early times in Maryland, the proof required from persons who had killed Indians, in order that the reward might be claimed, was the production of the right ear of the dead Indian. There was less opportunity to subdivide the ears, and thus multiply the bounties. The charge that the English paid bounties for scalps thus found its way naturally into the histories, and the officers who had been disciplined in the previous wars were probably ready to make such offers. Doddridge (*Notes*, 274) expresses the belief current on the frontier when he says, "The English government made allies of as many of the Indian nations as they could, and they imposed no restraint on their savage mode of warfare. On the contrary, the commandants at their posts along our Western frontiers received and paid the Indians for scalps and prisoners, thus, the skin of a white man's or even a woman's head served in the hands of the Indian as current coin, which he exchanged for arms and ammunition, for the further prosecution of his barbarous warfare." This belief found expression at the time, and worked its way into print. The *Remembrancer* gives a letter from Capt. Joseph Bowman "at a place called Illinois Kaskaskias, upon the Mississippi," dated July 30, 1778, in which we read: "The Indians meeting with daily supplies from the British officers, who offer them large bounties for our scalps" (*Remembrancer*, viii. p. 83). There is, however, better authority than rumors of this class to justify those authors who repeat this statement. When Governor Hamilton was captured at Vincennes, he was sent to Williamsburg, and his conduct was investigated by the Council of Virginia. In their report the Council say, "The board find that Governor Hamilton gave standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners, which induced the Indians, after making the captives carry their baggage into the neighborhood of the fort, there to put them to death, and carry in their scalps to the governor, who welcomed their return and success by a discharge of cannon" (*Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Boston, 1830; 2d ed., vol. i. p. 456). Thus the official sanction of a board composed of prominent men of good reputation has been given to the statement. In weighing the value of this decision we must not forget that Hamilton was the special object of hatred to the Virginians. Col. George Rogers Clarke, in an official communication to the governor of Virginia, from Kaskaskia, Feb. 3, 1779, speaks of "A late meneuvr of the Famous Hair Buyer General Henry Hamilton, Esqr., Lieut.-Governour of De Troit," etc., etc. (*Calendar of the State Papers of Virginia*, p. 315). C. W. Butterfield edited a reprint of *A Short Biography of John Leith* (Lancaster, Ohio, 1831) as *Leith's Narrative* (Cincinnati, 1883), and in this new edition (p. 39) we find an account of a brutal murder, by Indians, of a prisoner at Sandusky: "They knocked him down with tomahawks, cut off his head, and fixed it on a pole erected for the purpose; when commenced a scene of yelling, dancing, singing, and rioting." To this part of Leith's narrative the annotator attaches a note, in which he states that a part of the "importance of this recital is in a historical sense;" "that captives were brought to the points contiguous to Detroit, and then tomahawked and scalped, the direct

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result of Hamilton's barbarous policy of offering rewards for scalps, but paying none for prisoners." The language of the note is ambiguous, but a natural interpretation of its purpose would be that the statement in the text was relied upon to prove the charges against Hamilton. I presume this prisoner was scalped, — it would probably have been recorded by Leith as a remarkable event if he had escaped being scalped, — but a statement which omits mention of the fact can hardly be cited as evidence against Hamilton.

The Virginia Council, while they published no evidence bearing upon the question of Hamilton's buying scalps, were more explicit when it came to his inciting Indians to acts of war: —

"Williamsburgh, Va. In Council, June 16, 1779. Case of Hamilton, Dejaine La Mothe." "They find that Hamilton has executed the task of inciting the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the citizens of these States, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, with an eagerness and activity which evince that the general nature of his charge harmonized with his particular disposition; they should have been satisfied, from the other testimony adduced, that these enormities were committed by savages acting under his commission, but the number of his Proclamations, which at different times were left in houses, the inhabitants of which were killed, or Carried away by Indians, one of which Proclamations, under the hand and seal of Governor Hamilton, is in possession of the Board, puts the fact beyond doubt," etc. (*Remembrancer*, viii. p. 337). "The narrative of the Capture and treatment of John Dodge by the English at Detroit" was made public about the same time (*Remembrancer*, viii. p. 73). The portion of Dodge's story which relates to the reception by Hamilton of Indians returning with scalps and prisoners, bears a striking resemblance to the report of the Council. Dodge states that Hamilton became so enraged at him that the governor "offered £100 for his scalp or his body." In another place he says: "These sons of Britain offered no reward for prisoners, but they gave the Indians twenty dollars a scalp," etc., etc.; and again: "One of these parties returning with a number of women and children's scalps and their prisoners, they were met by the commandant of the fort, and after the usual demonstrations of joy, delivered their scalps, for which they were paid."

Some correspondence passed between Jefferson and the governor of Detroit on the question of Hamilton's treatment as a prisoner, in which Jefferson dwells at length upon Hamilton's responsibility for the acts of the Indians, but it is to be remarked that no charge is made against Hamilton of paying bounties for scalps (*Calendar of State Papers of Virginia*, i. p. 321). Before the British government is finally convicted of having offered bounties for scalps, it is just that other evidence should be adduced than such affidavits as that of Moses Younglove (Campbell, *Tryon County*, 2d ed., p. 116), who swears that he "was informed by several sergeants-orderly for General St. Leger that twenty dollars were offered in general orders for every American scalp." The mere showing of scalps at headquarters does not necessarily imply that the Indians were to be paid for them (*Ibid.* p. 307). According to Campbell (*Ibid.* p. 117), Col. Gansevoort, in a letter, confirms the statement that twenty dollars were offered by St. Leger for every American scalp. Col. Gansevoort, besieged in Fort Stanwix, relied of course upon some other person for this statement. It is probably the Younglove story in another shape. It must not be forgotten that St. Leger ordered Lt. Bird "not to accept a capitulation, because the force of whites under Bird's command was not large enough to restrain the Indians from barbarity and carnage."

It adds little force to the evidence that we find similar allegations against the British in the class of books represented by Seaver's *Life of Mary Jemison* (p. 114), (various editions, — see Field's *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 1,380–81). In a similar manner, Simms (*Frontiersmen*, i. p. 10) cites a letter-writer as saying that the price per scalp was eight dollars; and Jenkins (*Wyoming Memorial*, p. 151) charges Burgoyne with opening a market for scalps at ten dollars each. Simms (*Schoharie County*, p. 578) says that a certificate, signed by John Butler, concerning certain scalps taken by "Kayingwaarto, the Sanakee chief," was found upon the body of an Indian killed during the Sullivan campaign. The details of the descriptions easily enable us to identify the scalps referred to in the certificate. An excellent local authority (Ketchum's *Buffalo*, i. 327, 329) analyzes the story thus: "Gi-en-gwah-toh in Seneca is identical with Say-en-qua-ragh-ta in Mohawk, and is another spelling of the name in the certificate. . . . It is historically certain that the age, if nothing else, would preclude the possibility of Sayenquaraghta's being the person who wounded and scalped Capt. Greg and his corporal near Fort Stanwix in 1778. And it is equally certain that Sayenquaraghta was not killed by a scouting party of Sullivan's army in 1779, but was alive and well at Niagara in 1780, and came to reside at Buffalo Creek in 1781." The incident sought to be identified with this receipt was not only one of the most striking among the events of the border war, but the Indian actor appears to have been equally prominent. Butler makes especial mention of Brant and Kiangarachta — probably the same name as Gi-en-gwah-toh or Sayenquaraghta — in his account of the battle of Newtown (*Sparks MSS.*).

If we are forced to such evidence as this against the British government, we unfortunately find ourselves confronted with testimony of a like character against the Americans. Guy Johnson writes to Germain (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii. 740): "Some of the American colonies went further by fixing a price for scalps." Again it is said (*Amer. Archives*, 4th, v. 1102): "Seneca sachems assert that Oneidas want Butler's scalp, and that General Schuyler offered $250 for his person or scalp." Thomas Gummersall declared at Staten Island, Aug. 6, 1776 (*Amer. Archives*, 5th, i. 866), that "Mr. Schuyler, a rebel general, invited Sir John Johnson down, promising him protection, and at the same time employed the Indian messenger, "in case he refused, to bring his scalp, for which he was to have a reward of one hundred dollars." It might, perhaps, be claimed that the bounties offered by South Carolina justified the first of these counter-assertions by the English, but I presume

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there would be no hesitation in classing these statements, as a whole, among those which were especially prepared for the purpose of influencing public opinion.

Before leaving this subject, the reader may need to be warned against a fabrication of Franklin, which has deceived many. Sparks speaks of Franklin "occasionally amusing himself in composing and printing, by means of a small set of types and a press he had in his house, several of his light essays, *bagatelles*, or *jeux d'esprit*, written chiefly for the amusement of his friends. Among these were the following, printed on a half-sheet of coarse paper, so as to imitate as much as possible a portion of a Boston newspaper," which he gave out as a *Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle* of March 12, 1782. This pretended newspaper contained what purported to be an extract from a letter from Captain Gerrish, of the New England militia, dated Albany, March 7, 1782, which reads as follows: "The peltry taken in the expedition will, you see, amount to a good deal of money. The possession of this booty at first gave us pleasure; but we were struck with horror to find among the packages eight large ones, containing scalps of our unhappy country-folks, taken prisoners in the three last years by the Seneka Indians from the inhabitants of the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and sent by them as a present to Colonel Haldimand, governor of Canada, in order to be by him transmitted to England. They were accompanied by the following curious letter to that gentleman;" which is given under the signature of James Crawfurd, and affords a detailed account of the contents of each package. This fictitious Supplement was reprinted as genuine in Almon's *Remembrancer*. In the first edition of Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County* it was printed in the Appendix as genuine, and copied from a newspaper published in Dutchess County during the Revolution (*Ibid.*, 2d ed., 307). It was also reprinted in *Rhode Island Historical Tracts* (no. 7, p. 94, note 1). It was exposed by Sparks, by Parton in his *Life of Franklin* (ii. p. 437), by Campbell in his second edition of the *Annals of Tryon County*, and by Col. Stone in the Introduction to his *Brant* (i. p. xvi.). In a note Col. Stone spoke of the document as "long believed and recently revived and included in several works of authentic history." There are copies of the original fabrication in the Stevens Collection of Franklin iana (Dept. of State at Washington; Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 168); and in the Boston Public Library (*Franklin Collection*, p. 12).

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CHAPTER IX.

THE WEST,

FROM THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH FRANCE, 1763, TO THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH ENGLAND, 1783.

BY WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL.D.
Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

THE treaty of peace signed at Paris, February 10, 1763, marks perhaps the most important epoch in the political and social history of North America.[1] It settled forever a question which had been in doubt for a century, — whether the rule and civilization of France or of Great Britain were to shape the destinies of the western continent. It was the culmination of a seven years' war, in which the vigorous administration of William Pitt had crushed the allied forces of France and Spain. The capture of Quebec by Wolfe, and the surrender of the French army to Amherst at Montreal, were but incidents in the general humiliation which France and Spain had experienced on the continent of Europe, in India, in the West Indies, and on the ocean. They could fight no longer, and were glad to accept any terms of peace which Great Britain might dictate.[2]

The Treaty of Paris made a strange transformation of the political map of North America, and for the first time brought under British sway the territory which now comprises the Western States of the American Union. Great Britain in the preceding century had granted in the charters of her American colonies boundaries extending from ocean to ocean; but her actual possessions until 1763 were a fringe of country along the Atlantic coast, and extending west to the crests of the Alleghanies. Spain was in possession of Florida and Mexico, and the remainder of the continent was in the real or nominal possession of France. Her imperial domain extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Alleghanies to undetermined limits beyond the Rocky Mountains. By the

[1] The definitive treaty is in Hansard, xv. (1753–65) p. 1291; *Lond. Mag.*, 1763, p. 149; and the preliminary articles signed at Fontainebleau, Nov. 3, 1762, are in Hansard, xv. p. 1240; *Lond. Mag.*, 1762, p. 657. [There are in the archives of the Dept. of Foreign Affairs in Paris several vols. (nos. 444–449) of papers respecting the negotiation between France and England which led to the treaty of 1763. Cf. *Report*, 1874, or the Canadian archives. Cf. Vol. V. 614. — ED.]

[2] See Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii. 383 413; Green's *Hist. of the English People* (Lond., 1880), iv. 193; Macaulay's "Earl Chatham," *Ed. Rev.*, lxxx. 549, also in his *Essays*; *Olden Time*, i. 329. [Cf. Vol. V. ch. viii. — ED.]

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Treaty of Paris, Canada and that portion of Louisiana between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi came to Great Britain. In a secret treaty with his Bourbon ally, Carlos III. of Spain, made November 3, 1762, the day when the preliminary articles of peace were signed,[1] Louis XV. ceded to Spain that part of Louisiana which lay west of the Mississippi, with the island on which New Orleans is situated. France therefore, in this desperate crisis, parted with all her American possessions on the main land, and her name nearly disappeared from the map of North America.[2] Spain in the war had lost Havana, and in order to recover this key to her other West India possessions she gave up to Great Britain Florida in exchange for Havana.

Severer terms than these would have been exacted by Great Britain from both the allies, except for the recent accession of George III. to the throne, and the changes he made in his cabinet and policy. In the midst of the negotiations of the treaty, Pitt resigned in disgust, and they were concluded by his successor, the Earl of Bute, and by the Duke of Bedford. The transfers of the immense territories ceded by the treaty were not immediate, and several years elapsed before they came into possession of their new rulers.

In the discussions by the new cabinet as to the terms of the treaty, a question arose which was alarming to the American colonies. Should Canada or the Island of Guadaloupe be restored to France? The sugar trade of the latter, it was claimed, was more important to Great Britain than the Canadian fur trade. It was further claimed that, if the colonies were relieved from the menace of the French and their savage allies, they would cover the continent, become a great nation, manufacture their own goods, and eventually declare themselves independent.[3] Many pamphlets appeared in England advocating and opposing the restoration of Canada to France, but there was no abler advocate of the retention of Canada than Dr. Franklin, who was then in London.[4]

[1] "The treaty of cession to Spain was never published, and the terms of it remain a secret to this day" (Stoddard's *Louisiana*, 1812, p. 72).

[2] Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi* (New York, 1848), vol. i., has a map showing the territorial possessions before the treaty. [For later maps showing the treaty lines, see Vol. V. p. 615. — ED.]

[3] The Duc de Choiseul, in conducting the negotiations on the part of France, suggested that the English colonies would not fail to shake off their dependence the moment Canada should be ceded (Parkman's *Montcalm*, ii. 403); and Kalm, the Swedish botanist, who visited America in 1748–49, made a similar prediction in his *Travels*: "The English government has, therefore, the sufficient reason to consider the French in North America as the best means of keeping the colonies in their due submission" (London, 1772, i. 207). [As to the spurious Montcalm letters, see Vol. V. p. 606. — ED.]

[4] A satirical article on restoring Canada to the French appeared in *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1759, p. 620, which has the flavor of Dr. Franklin's style: "Canada ought to be restored in order that England may have another war; that the French and Indians may keep on scalping the colonists, and thereby stint their growth; for otherwise the children will be as tall as their mother; that, though we ought to keep faith with our allies, it is not necessary with our children. We must teach them, according to Scripture, not to 'put trust in princes.' Let 'em learn to trust in God. If we should not restore Canada, it would look as if our statesmen had courage like our soldiers. What have statesmen to do with courage? Their proper character is wisdom." [Franklin's serious and avowed tract is considered in Vol. V. p. 615. — ED.]

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On the 7th of October, 1763, George III. issued a proclamation,[1] providing for four new governments or colonies, namely: Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and defining their boundaries. The limits of Quebec did not vary materially from those of the present province of that name, and those of East and West Florida comprised the present State of Florida and the country north of the Gulf of Mexico to the parallel of 31° latitude.

It will be seen that no provision was made for the government of nine tenths of the new territory acquired by the Treaty of Paris, and the omission was not an oversight, but was intentional. The purpose was to reserve as crown lands the Northwest territory, the region north of the great lakes, and the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and to exclude them from settlement by the American colonies. They were left, for the time being, to the undisputed possession of the savage tribes.[2] The king's "loving subjects" were forbidden making purchases of land from the Indians, or forming any settlements "westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the West and Northwest," "and all persons who have wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands" west of this limit were warned "forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements." Certain reasons for this policy were assigned in the proclamation, such as "preventing irregularities in the future, and that the Indians may be convinced of our justice," etc.; but the real explanation appears in the Report of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in 1772, on the petition of Thomas Walpole and others for a grant of land on the Ohio. The report was drawn by Lord Hillsborough, the president of the board. The report states: —

"We take leave to remind your Lordships of that principle which was adopted by this Board, and approved and confirmed by his Majesty, immediately after the Treaty of Paris, viz.: the confining the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the sea-coast as that those settlements should lie within reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, . . . and also of the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction which was conceived to be necessary for the preservation of the Colonies in a due subordination to, and dependence upon, the mother country. And these we apprehend to have been the two capital objects of his Majesty's proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763. . . . The great object of colonizing upon the continent of North America has been to improve and extend the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of this kingdom. . . . It does appear to us that the extension of the fur trade depends entirely upon the Indians being undisturbed in the possession of their hunting-grounds, and that all colonizing does in its nature, and must in its consequences, operate to the prejudice of that branch of commerce. . . . Let the savages enjoy their deserts in quiet. Were they driven from their forests the peltry-

[1] This document is in the *London Mag.*, 1763, p. 541; *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., i. 172, and in other places [given in Vol. V. p. 615. — ED.] Its terms were the subject of constant reference and discussion for the next twenty years.

[2] "Many reasons may be assigned for this apparent omission. A consideration for the Indians was, we presume, the principal, because it might have given a sensible alarm to that people if they had seen us formally cantoning out their whole country into regular establishments" (*Annual Register*, 1763, p. 20). The writer of the very able and interesting political articles in this volume was Edmund Burke (Robertson's *Burke*, p. 18).

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trade would decrease; and it is not impossible that worse savages would take refuge in them." [1]

Such in clear and specific terms was the cold and selfish policy which the British crown and its ministers habitually pursued towards the American colonies; and in a few years it changed loyalty into hate, and brought on the American Revolution.[2]

Before the royal proclamation of 1763 had been issued, or even drafted, a new and fierce Indian war, which is known in history as the Pontiac War, was raging on the frontier settlements. With the conquest of Canada and the expulsion of France as a military power from the continent, the English colonists were abounding in loyalty to the mother country, were exultant in the expectation of peace, and in the assurance of immunity from Indian wars in the future; for it did not seem possible that, with the loose system of organization and government common to the Indians, they could plan and execute a general campaign without the co-operation of the French as leaders.

This feeling of security among the English settlements was of short duration. A general discontent pervaded all the Indian tribes from the frontier settlements to the Mississippi, and from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The extent of this disquietude was not suspected, and hence no attempt was made to gain the good-will of the Indians. There were many real causes for this discontent. The French had been politic and sagacious in their intercourse with the Indian. They gained his friendship by treating him with respect and justice. They came to him with presents, and, as a rule, dealt with him fairly in trade. They came with missionaries, unarmed, heroic, self-denying men, who labored without pay for what they deemed the highest welfare of their dusky brethren. Many Frenchmen married Indian wives, dwelt with the native tribes, and adopted their customs. To the average Englishman, on the other hand, Indians were disgusting objects; he would show them no respect, nor treat them with justice except under compulsion. To him the only good Indians were dead Indians, and hence he shot savages as he would wild beasts.[3] So

[1] Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 303–323. Dr. Franklin made an extended and vigorous reply to this report (*Idem*, iv. 324–374); and when the matter came up for action in the Privy Council, and his reply was read, the prayer of the petitioners was granted. Lord Hillsborough was so much offended by the decision that he resigned. The Doctor, writing to his son, July 14, 1773, said: "Mr. Todd told me, as a secret, that Lord Hillsborough was much chagrined at being out of place, and could never forgive me for writing that pamphlet against his report about the Ohio" (*Works*, viii. 75).

[2] See *ante*, chap. i.

[3] Sir William Johnson, the superintendent of Indian affairs, writing to Secretary Conway, June 28, 1766, said: "Our people in general are very ill calculated to maintain friendship with the Indians; they despise in peace those whom they fear to meet in war. This, with the little artifices used in trade, and the total want of that address and seeming kindness practiced with such success by the French, must always hurt the colonists. On the contrary, could they but assume a friendship, and treat them with civility and candor, we should soon possess their hearts, and much more of their country than we shall do in a century by the conduct now practiced"

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long as the English had the French as competitors for the good-will of the Indian, they treated him with some measure of tact and justice; but when this competition was withdrawn, it was a sad day for both races. The fur trade, by which the Indians obtained their necessary supplies, had been mainly in the hands of the French; and when it was cut off, the Northern and Western Indians, as they had lost the use of bows and arrows, and needed firearms and ammunition in order to take their game, were often in distress for want of food. When the military posts in the West were in possession of the French, the Indians were habitual visitors, and they loitered about the forts. The French tolerated the custom, and treated the intruders with kindness, although their indolent and filthy habits greatly taxed the patience of the garrisons. When these posts came into possession of the English, the visitors were insulted and driven away, and they were fortunate if they were not clubbed.[1]

The French had shown little disposition to make permanent settlements; but the English, when they appeared, came to stay, and they occupied large tracts of the best land for agricultural purposes. The French hunters and traders, who were widely dispersed among the native tribes, kept the Indians in a state of disquietude by misrepresenting the English, exaggerating their faults, and making the prediction that the French would soon recapture Canada and expel the English from the Western territories.

Pontiac, the chief of the Ottawas, was the Indian who had the motive, the ambition, and capacity for organization which enabled him to concentrate and use all these elements of discontent for his own malignant and selfish purposes. After the defeat of the French, he professed for a time to be friendly with the English, expecting that, under the acknowledged supremacy of Great Britain, he would be recognized as a mighty Indian

(*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 836). The outrageous conduct of the English traders towards the Indians is a constant theme of complaint by Sir William Johnson in his letters to the Lords of Trade (see *Idem*, vii. 929, 955, 960, 964, 987). He speaks (vii. 965) of the contrast between the French and English traders. The former are gentlemen in character, manners, and dress; the latter, "for the most part, men of no zeal or capacity; men who often sacrifice the credit of the nation to the basest purposes. Can it otherwise happen but that the Indians' prejudices must daily increase, when they are on the one side seduced by men of abilities, influence, and address; and on the other, see such low specimens of British abilities, honor, and honesty? What, then, can be expected but loss of trade, robbery, murder of traders, and frequent general ruptures?" See also *Diary of Siege of Detroit*, ed. by Hough, preface, xiii., and Dr. Hall's tract on *The Dutch and the Iroquois*.

[1] Sir William Johnson, writing Dec. 26, 1764, to the Lords of Trade, said: "Indeed, it is not to be wondered that they should be concerned at our occupying that country, when we consider that the French (be their motive what it will) loaded them with favors, and continue to do so, accompanied with all outward marks of esteem, and an address peculiarly adapted to their manners, which infallibly gains upon all Indians who judge by externals only; and in all their acquaintance with us [the English] upon the frontiers, have never found anything like it; but, on the contrary, harsh treatment, angry words, and, in short, everything which can be thought of to inspire them with a dislike for our manners and jealousy of our views. I have seen so much of these matters, and am so well convinced of the utter aversion our people have for them in general, and of the imprudence with which they constantly express it, that I absolutely despair of ever seeing tranquillity established until I may have proper persons to reside at the posts, whose business it shall be to remove their prejudices, and whose interests it becomes to obtain their esteem and friendship" (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 689).

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prince, and be assigned to rule over his own, and perhaps a confederacy of other tribes.[1] Finding that the English government had no use for him, he was indignant, and he devoted all the energies of his vigorous mind to a secret conspiracy of uniting the tribes west of the Alleghanies to engage in a general war against the English settlements. In the autumn of 1762 he sent messengers with war-belts to the tribes living north of the great lakes, to those in the Ohio and Illinois countries, and they went as far south as the mouth of the Mississippi. His scheme was to make a simultaneous attack on all the Western posts in the month of May, 1763; and each attack was assigned to the neighboring tribes. His summer home was on a small island at the entrance of Lake St. Clair; and being near Detroit, he was to conduct in person the capture of that fort.[2]

On the 6th of May, 1763, Major Gladwin,[3] in command at Detroit, had warning from an Indian girl that the next day an attempt would be made to capture the fort by treachery. When Pontiac, on the appointed morning, accompanied by sixty of his chiefs, with short guns concealed under their blankets, appeared at the fort, and, as usual, asked for admission, he was startled at seeing the whole garrison under arms, and that his scheme of treachery had miscarried. For two months the savages assailed the fort, and the sleepless garrison gallantly defended it, when they were relieved by the arrival of a schooner from Fort Niagara, with sixty men, provisions, and ammunition.

Fort Pitt, on the present site of Pittsburg, Pa.,[4] was in command of Captain Ecuyer, another trained soldier, who had been warned of the Indian

[1] Cf. Major Robert Rogers's *Concise Account*, 1765, pp. 240–243. It was the opinion of Rogers that if the English had used common sagacity in their treatment of Pontiac, the colonies would have been spared the horrors of the Pontiac War.

[2] The fort at Detroit was a stockade on the west side of the Detroit River, twenty-five feet high, with a bastion at each corner, and a block-house over each gateway, the whole enclosing about a hundred small houses. A few pieces of light artillery were mounted on the bastions. The garrison consisted of eight officers, one hundred and twenty soldiers, and forty-five fur traders, under the command of Major Henry Gladwin, an experienced and gallant officer. Two small armed schooners were anchored in the stream. The white cottages of the Canadian farmers lined both banks of the river. About a mile below the fort, on the western bank, was a village of the Pottawattamies, and on the opposite shore a Wyandot village. Four miles above the fort were the lodges of the Ottawas (Parkman's *Pontiac*, i. 212–222). Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac* is one of the most entertaining monographs in American history; and no writer can treat the subject without acknowledging his indebtedness to the accurate and scholarly investigations of that distinguished historian. The reader of this brief summary of events will find full details in the charming narrative of Parkman. [He says of the Bouquet and Haldimand Papers, in the British Museum, that they contain "several hundred letters from officers engaged in the Pontiac War, some official, others personal and familiar." These he availed himself of in his last revision (1870), but he had collected 3,400 MS. pages of unprinted documents for his original edition (1851). All these MS. collections are now in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society. — ED.]

[3] A biographical notice of Major Gladwin (who became major-general in 1782) by Dr. O'Callaghan is in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 961. Parkman spells the name "Gladwyn." [Detroit was now the chief post of this new Northwestern government. Amherst, in a letter to Egremont, Nov. 30, 1762, had recommended the place as the proper headquarters (Shelburne Papers, vol. 48, *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. 217). — ED.]

[4] See plan in Vol. V. p. 532.

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conspiracy by Major Gladwin in a letter written May 5th. Captain Ecuyer, having a garrison of three hundred and thirty soldiers and backwoodsmen, immediately made every preparation for defence. On May 27th, a party of Indians appeared at the fort under the pretence of wishing to trade, and were treated as spies. Active operations against Fort Pitt were postponed until the smaller forts had been taken.

Fort Sandusky was captured May 16th; Fort St. Joseph (on the St. Joseph River, Mich.), May 25th; Fort Ouatanon (now Lafayette, Ind.), May 31st; Fort Michillimackinac (now Mackinaw, Mich.), June 2d; Fort Presqu' Isle (now Erie, Pa.), June 17th; Fort Le Bœuf (Erie County, Pa.), June 18th; Fort Venango (Venango County, Pa.), June 18th; and the posts at Carlisle and Bedford, Pa., on the same day. No garrison except that at Presqu' Isle had warning of danger. The same method of capture was adopted in each instance. A small party of Indians came to the fort with the pretence of friendship, and were admitted. Others soon joined them, when the visitors rose upon the small garrisons, butchered them, or took them captive. At Presqu' Isle the Indians laid siege to the fort for two days, when they set it on fire. At Venango no one of the garrison survived to give an account of the capture.[1]

On June 22d, a large body of Indians surrounded Fort Pitt and opened fire on all sides, but were easily repulsed. The next day they informed Captain Ecuyer[2] that every other English fort had been taken, and that all the tribes were coming to take Fort Pitt. If he and his garrison would then leave, they would assure him a safe conduct to the English settlements; but otherwise they would be unable to protect him from the bad Indians who would soon arrive. The commander thanked them for their kind solicitude in his behalf, and informed them that he had plenty of men, provisions, and ammunition, and could hold the fort against all the Indians in the woods. He told them also that an army of six thousand English would soon arrive at Fort Pitt, and that another army of three thousand had gone up the lakes to punish the Ottawas and Ojibwas. "Therefore," he said, "take pity on your women and children, and get out of the way as soon as possible." The Indians departed the next day, and did not reappear until July 26th, when they repeated their old story of "love for the English," and grieved that "the chain of friendship had been broken." The following night they surrounded the fort, and with knives dug burrows in the river banks, from which they threw fire-arrows into the fort and shot bullets whenever they had sight of a soldier above the parapets. This sort of warfare was more dangerous to the besiegers than to the besieged.

[1] Some years later, an Indian who was present described the scene to Sir William Johnson. A party of Senecas gained admission to the fort by treachery, and murdered all the garrison except the commander, and him they later put to death by roasting over a slow fire (Parkman, ii. 20).

[2] Capt. Simeon Ecuyer was in the English service during the Revolutionary War, and is mentioned with high terms of praise, as "Major" Ecuyer, in "Journal of the most remarkable Occurrences in Quebec, from Nov. 14, 1775, to May 7, 1776" (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1880, p. 232).

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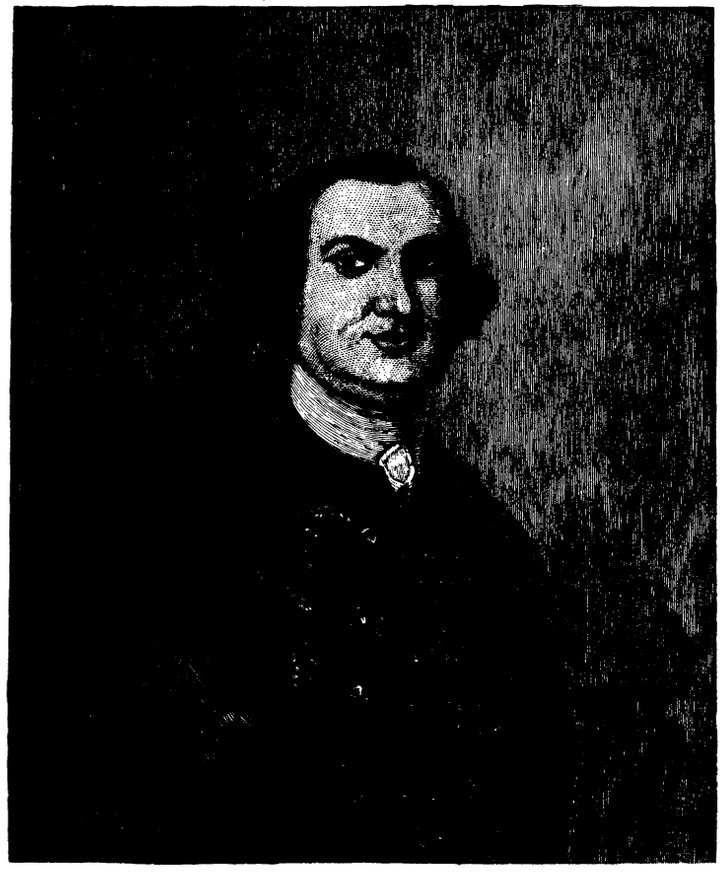
During five days and nights of ceaseless attack the losses of the Indians were more than twenty killed and wounded. In the garrison seven were slightly wounded, and none killed. The Indians then disappeared in order to intercept the expedition of Colonel Bouquet, which was approaching from the east with a convoy of provisions for the relief of Fort Pitt.

It was fortunate for the country that there was an officer stationed at Philadelphia who fully understood the meaning of the alarming reports



HENRY BOUQUET.[1]

which were coming in from the Western posts. Colonel Henry Bouquet was a gallant Swiss officer who had been trained in war from his youth, and whose personal accomplishments gave an additional charm to his bravery and heroic energy. He had served seven years in fighting American Indians, and was more cunning than they in the practice of their own artifices.[2] General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, was slow in appreciating

[1] From an original by Benjamin West, in the gallery of the Penna. Hist. Society.

[2] A biographical sketch (in French) of Col. Bouquet, by C. G. F. Dumas, is prefixed to the Amsterdam edition, 1769, of Bouquet's second expedition, 1764. The same (in English) is pre-

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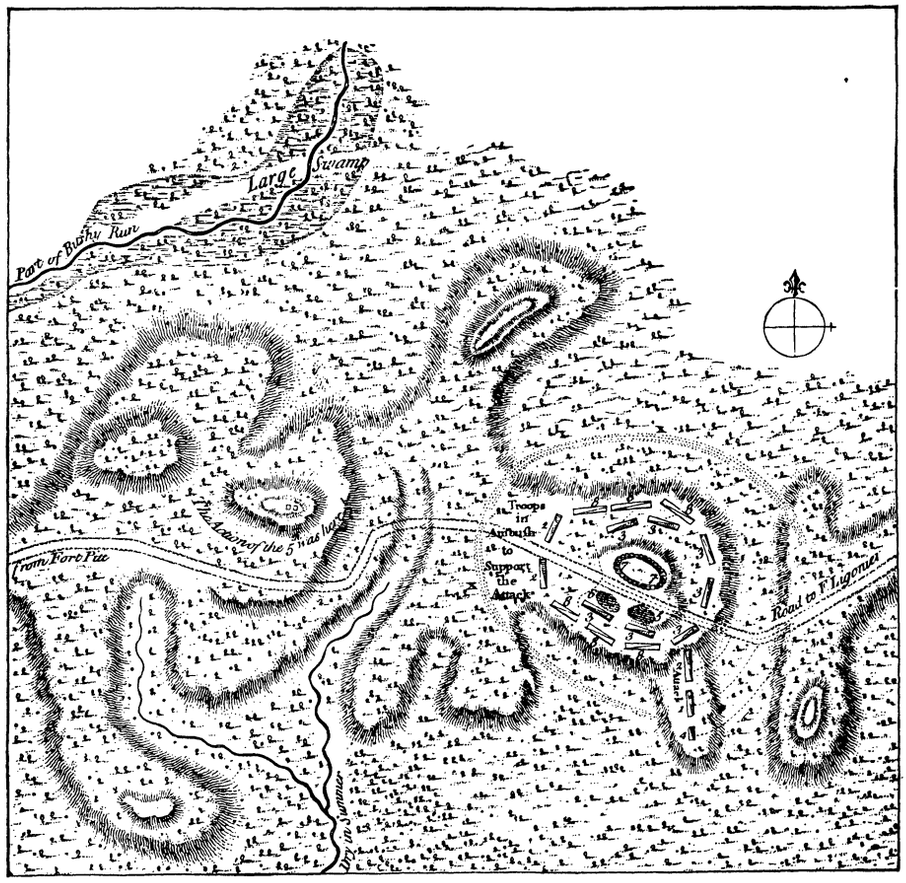
the importance and extent of the Western conspiracy;[1] yet he did good service in directing Colonel Bouquet to organize an expedition for the relief of Fort Pitt. The promptness and energy with which this duty was performed,



BUSHY RUN BATTLE, AUG. 5 AND 6, 1763.[2]

fixed to Robert Clarke's reprint in the *Ohio Valley Series*, 1868. A different and fuller translation of Dumas's sketch is in *Olden Time*, i. 203, and is preceded (p. 200) by a sketch by another writer. George H. Fisher, in *Penna. Mag.*, iii. 121–143, gives the life, with an excellent portrait, of Col. Bouquet, and his letters to Anne Willing, a young lady with whom he had tender relations, but whom he did not marry. J. T. Headley, in *Harper's Mag.*, xxiii. 577 (Oct., 1861), has an illustrated article on Col. Bouquet. [The Bouquet Papers, 1757–1765, were given by the heirs of Gen. Haldimand, in 1857, to the British Museum. There is a synopsis of them in Brymner's *Report on the Canadian Archives*, 1873. — ED.]

[1] [Brymner, the Canadian archivist, in examining the papers in the Public Record Office in London, was denied access to the volume of the "America and West Indies" series, which contains the correspondence of Amherst, Jan.—Nov., 1763. — ED.]

[2] Slightly reduced from a plate in the London edition of *An Historical Account*, as "surveyed by Thos. Hutchins, assistant engineer." KEY: 1, grenadiers; 2, light infantry; 3, battalion men; 4, rangers; 5, cattle; 6, horses; 7, intrenchment of bags for the wounded; 8, first position of the troops; X, the enemy. The small squares on the hillock near "the action of the 5th" mark "graves." The map is also in Jefferys' *Gen. Topog. of N. Amer., etc.* (London, 1768), and in I. D. Rupp's *Early Hist. of Western Penna.* (Pittsburg, 1847).

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under the most embarrassing conditions, make the expedition one of the most brilliant episodes in American warfare. The only troops available for the service were about five hundred regulars recently arrived from the siege of Havana, broken in health, and many of them better fitted for the hospital than the field.[1] Orders for collecting supplies and means of transportation had been sent to Carlisle; but when the colonel arrived with the troops, nothing had been done towards their execution. Such, however, was his energy and sagacity that in eighteen days the horses, oxen, wagons, and provisions needed had been collected, and he was ready to march. As the long train moved out of Carlisle towards the west, where lay the bleaching bones of Braddock's army, the inhabitants looked on in anxious silence. The sight of sixty invalid soldiers conveyed in wagons did not add to the cheerfulness of the scene. Bouquet's most efficient soldiers were the 42d regiment of Highlanders, whom he used as flankers.[2]

On the 25th of July he reached Fort Bedford, where he left his invalids to recuperate, and engaged thirty backwoodsmen as guides. All communication with Fort Pitt, one hundred and five miles distant, was cut off, and the woods were filled with prowling savages. On August 2d he reached Fort Ligonier, fifty miles from Bedford, where he left his draught-oxen and wagons, and went on with three hundred and fifty pack-horses. About a day's march further west lay the defiles of Turtle Creek, where he expected the Indians would lay an ambuscade. He therefore determined to proceed as far as a small stream called Bushy Run, rest till night, and pass Turtle Creek under cover of darkness. At one o'clock in the afternoon of August 5th, when the train was half a mile from Bushy Run, a report of rifles was heard at the front, indicating that the advanced guard was engaged. Two companies were ordered forward to support it. The woods were quickly cleared, when firing was heard in the rear, and the troops were ordered back to protect the baggage train. Forming a circle around the convoy, the troops kept up the fight gallantly until night. As they were exposed in the open field, while the Indians were under cover in the woods, their loss was heavy compared with that of the enemy. Several officers and about sixty soldiers were killed or wounded, and the situation had become desperate. They had no choice but to camp on the hill where the engagement had taken place, and without a drop of water. Sentinels and outposts were stationed to guard against a night attack, and the morrow was awaited with anxious solicitude. During the night Colonel Bouquet wrote to General Amherst: "Whatever our fate may be, I thought it necessary to give your excellency this information. . . . I fear insurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provisions, being already so much weakened by the losses of this day in men and horses."

[1] Sir Wm. Johnson (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 962) gives the number of men in Bouquet's command as 600.

[2] He soon found that even they had the bad habit of losing themselves in the woods. He wrote to Amherst, July 26th: "I cannot send a Highlander out of my sight without running the risk of losing the man, which exposes me to surprise from the skulking villains I have to deal with" (Parkman, ii. 56).

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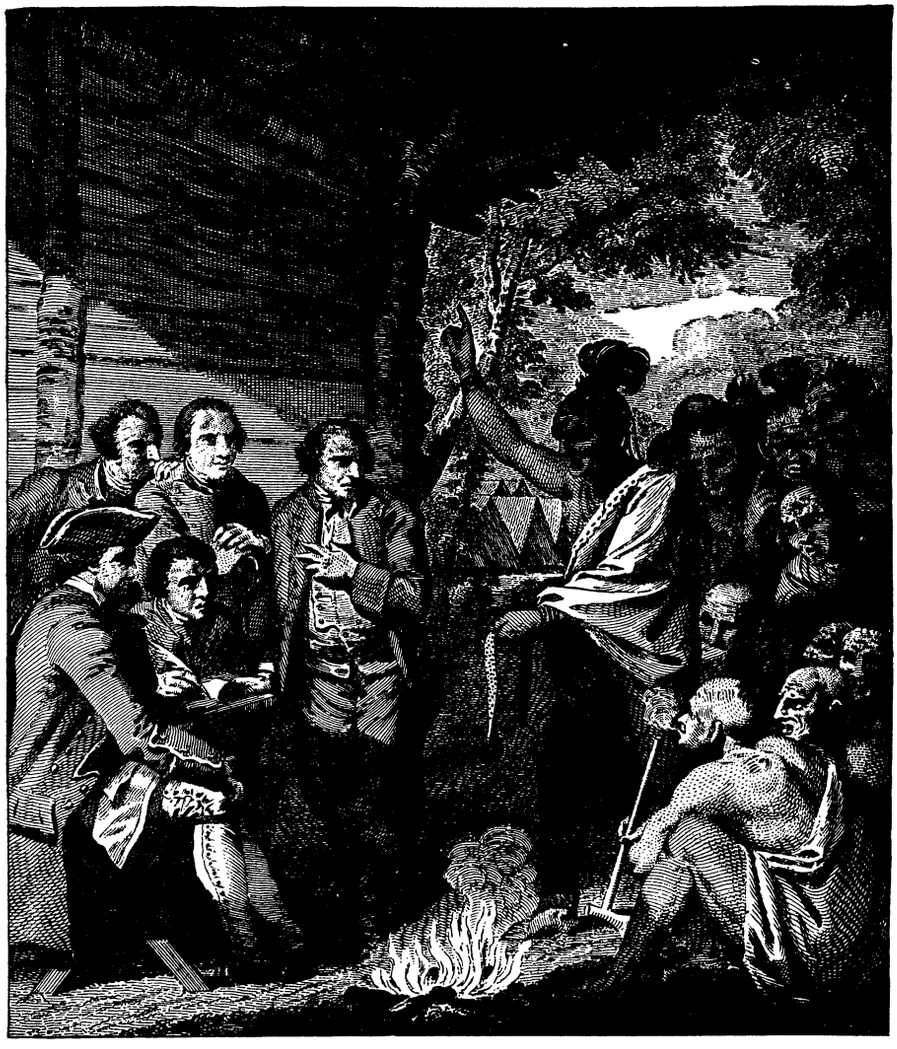
With the early morning light the woods rang with the exultant war-cries of the Indians. The battle was renewed, and the savages, seeing the distress of the troops, pressed closer and closer, expecting an easy victory.



BOUQUET'S COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS.[1]

Colonel Bouquet, with a quick perception of the situation and full knowledge of the Indian character, saw that his only hope of escaping the fate of Braddock's army was to draw the enemy from their cover and bring

[1] This follows in fac-simile a plate in the London edition of the *Historical Account* (1766), drawn by Benjamin West; and as that artist painted the portrait of Bouquet given on another page, the sitting figure in the left of the plate may safely be considered not unlike that soldier. This plate was reëngraved by Paul Revere, in the *Royal Amer. Mag.*, Dec., 1774.

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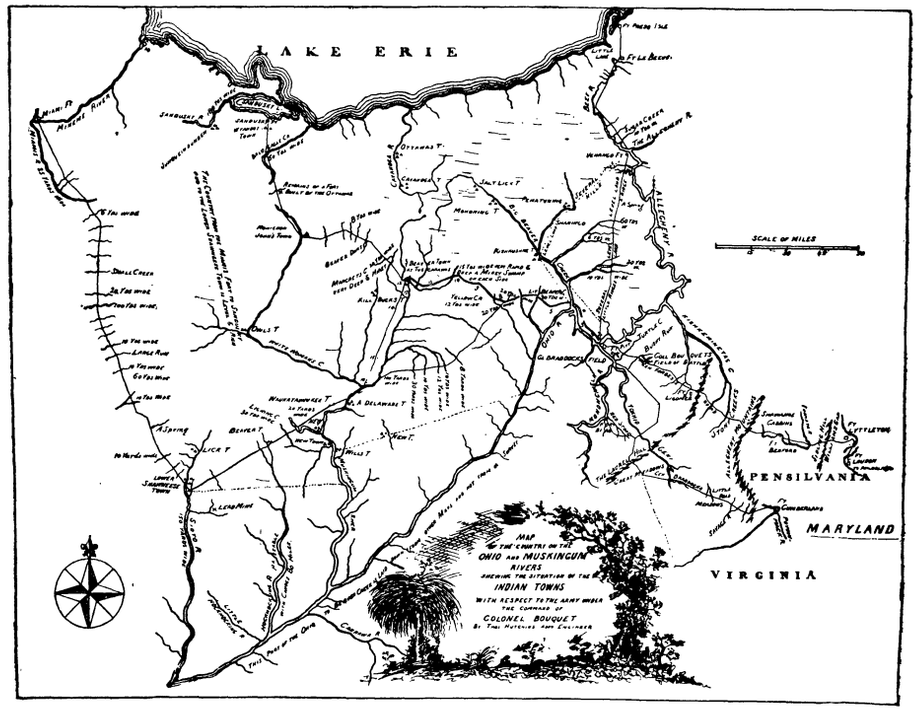
them into close engagement with his regulars. This he did by a stratagem. He ordered his most advanced troops, when in action, to fall back suddenly, as if in retreat, behind a second line lying in ambush. The Indians he expected would follow, eager to seize the train. The line in ambush would then open fire, and in the surprise and confusion of the savages the remaining troops would charge upon them. The stratagem was a complete success. As the advanced line retreated, the Indians rushed out of the woods, supposing they were victors. When the line in ambush had delivered its



BOUQUET'S CAMPAIGN.[1]

fire and stopped the progress of the Indians, the retreating line had changed direction and were ready to make a charge upon the flank. The ambuscading line then rose and fell upon the enemy in front, who fled, leaving sixty of their number on the field, and among them several prominent chiefs. The pursuit was continued, and the victory was complete.[2] The next day

[1] Reduced from Smith's *Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians*, London, 1766. It is also included in Jefferys' *Gen. Topog. of N. Amer., etc.* (London, 1768). It is reproduced in full size fac-simile, in the Cincinnati edition, 1868, and is reëngraved in the Amsterdam edition and in Parkman's *Pontiac*, vol. ii.

[2] The reports of Colonel Bouquet to General Amherst, Aug. 5th, 6th, and 11th, give the losses in both actions as 50 killed, 60 wounded, and 5 missing (*Gent. Mag.*, 1763, p. 486; *Lond. Mag.*, 1763, p. 545; *Mag. of Western Hist.*, ii. 650; *Annual Register*, 1763, p. 31). Parkman (ii. 68) makes the losses "8 officers *and* 115 men." The officers were included in the above enumeration. Of the losses by the Indians, General Amherst wrote (*Gent. Mag.*, 1763, p. 489): "The number of the savages slain was about 60, and a great

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the expedition, carrying their wounded on litters, moved on towards Fort Pitt, twenty-five miles distant, and arriving four days after the fight, to the great joy of the beleaguered garrison.

The battle of Bushy Run, both for its military conduct and its political results, deserves a place among the memorable battles in America. The Indians fought with a courage and desperation rarely seen in Indian warfare, and the English troops with a steadiness and valor which was due to their training as regulars and the direction of so able a commander. The tidings of this victory broke the spirit of the Indian conspiracy, and the reports were received with rejoicing in all the English colonies.[1]

The ultimate purpose of Colonel Bouquet's expedition, after relieving Fort Pitt, was to invade the Ohio country, punish the Shawanese, Delawares, and other tribes, extort from them treaties of peace, and recover the English captives in their possession. On account of his losses of men, horses, and supplies at Bushy Run, he was unable to carry out this design until he was reinforced, and it was now too late in the season to expect that his wants could be supplied from the East. His Ohio expedition was therefore postponed until the next year.

On the 29th of July Detroit was reinforced by two hundred and eighty men under Captain Dalzell, who in June had left Fort Niagara in twenty-two barges, with several cannon and a supply of provisions and ammunition. The day after his arrival, Captain Dalzell proposed, with two hundred and fifty men, to make a night attack on Pontiac's camp and capture him. Major Gladwin discouraged the attempt, but finally, against his judgment, consented. Some Canadians obtained the secret and carried it to Pontiac, who waylaid the party in an ambuscade. Twenty of the English were killed and thirty-nine wounded. Among the killed was Captain Dalzell himself.[2] Pontiac could make no use of this success, as the fort

many wounded in the pursuit. The principal ringleaders who had the greatest share in fomenting the present troubles were killed." As to the number of Indians engaged, Sir William Johnson (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 962) states on the best authorities of white men who were with the Indians, and of several different Indians, who all agree, that the true number of Indians who attacked Colonel Bouquet at Bushy Run was only ninety-five. This statement seems hardly probable, in view of the number killed and the accounts given by the officers engaged.

[1] "His Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify to the commander-in-chief his royal approbation of the conduct and bravery of Col. Bouquet and the officers and troops under his command in the actions of the 5th and 6th of August" (General Orders from headquarters in New York, January 5, 1764).

An excellent description of Bouquet's expedition of 1763 and of the battle of Bushy Run is in *Annual Register*, 1763, pp. 27–32. It was doubtless written by Edmund Burke from authentic information furnished by some of the officers engaged. Another account is in the introduction to Bouquet's second expedition of 1764, in which the writer (Dr. William Smith) uses freely the account in the *Annual Register*. Cf. T. J. Chapman on the siege of Fort Pitt in *Mag. of Western Hist.*, Feb., 1886.

[2] See Parkman's *Pontiac*, i. 305–317; *Annual Register*, 1763, p. 26; and General Amherst's report in *Gent. Mag.*, 1763, p. 486; *Lond. Mag.*, 1763, p. 543; *Mag. of West. Hist.*, ii. 648. He concludes his detailed "Return of killed and wounded" with "Total, 19 killed and 42 wounded." The name of Captain Dalzell, whom he had previously reported as killed, is not included in the return, and the wounded named number only 39. The *Annual Register* gives the loss as "only seventy men killed, and about forty wounded"!

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was strongly garrisoned and well supplied with provisions and ammunition. Elsewhere there was nothing to encourage him. The battle of Bushy Run and the arrival of Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt alarmed the Western tribes and ruptured the Pontiac confederation. In October some of the chiefs who beleaguered the fort at Detroit sued for peace, and in November the siege was raised. All hope of capturing Fort Pitt had vanished, and the warriors returned to their hunting-grounds. There was quietness on the frontiers during the winter of 1763–64.

In the spring of 1764 scattered war parties were again ravaging the borders. Colonel Bouquet was recruiting in Pennsylvania, and preparing an outfit for his march into the valley of the Ohio. In June, Colonel Bradstreet, with a force of twelve hundred men, was sent up the great lakes. On arriving at Fort Niagara he found assembled a large body of Indians whom Sir William Johnson had summoned into council, using threats when they did not readily respond to his summons. It was apparent that the haughty spirit of the tribes was broken. Treaties of peace were concluded, and a strip of land between the lakes Erie and Ontario, four miles wide on each side of the river Niagara, was ceded to the British government.[1]

Bradstreet proceeded up Lake Erie, and near Presqu' Isle made, on his own authority, an absurd treaty of peace with some alleged deputies of the Ohio Indians who had made the Western settlements so much trouble; and he added to his folly by writing to his superior officer, Colonel Bouquet, that the Colonel need not march into the Ohio country, as the business of pacifying the Western Indians had been attended to. Bradstreet went on to Sandusky; and instead of punishing the Wyandots, Ottawas, and Miamis, as he was instructed to do, accepted their promise to follow him to Detroit and there make treaties. He arrived in Detroit on the 26th of August. Pontiac had departed, and sent messages of defiance from the banks of the Maumee.[2]

Colonel Bouquet met with every obstacle in raising troops and collecting supplies for his Ohio expedition, from the stubborn Quakers in the Assembly of Pennsylvania. It was not until September 17th that his convoy arrived at Fort Pitt. Early in October he marched with fifteen hundred men and a long train of pack-horses into the valley of the Muskingum. Wherever he appeared with his strong force the Indian tribes were ready, after much talk, to make treaties of peace and deliver up their white captives, two hundred of whom, and some with reluctance, were taken back to

[1] An orderly-book of Bradstreet's campaign, June–Nov., 1764, is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

[2] [Bradstreet sent Capt. Thomas Morris on a mission to Pontiac, and an account of Morris's experience and his capture by the Indians is given in his *Miscellanies in prose and verse* (London, 1791). See Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 1,095, and Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 854. Morris's original journal, sent to Bradstreet, is in the Public Record Office, London. He extended the copy from which he printed. A letter from Morris to Bradstreet is among the papers of Sir William Johnson in the State Library at Albany (Parkman, ii. 195). The Parkman MSS. (Mass. Hist. Soc.) have minutes of the council held by Bradstreet with the Indians at Detroit, Sept. 7, 1764, and the Shelburne Papers (vol. 50) show similar records (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.*, v. 218). — ED.]

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the settlements.[1] Colonel Bouquet marched to the forks of the Muskingum,[2] meeting with no opposition, and, having accomplished his purposes, retraced his march, and arrived at Fort Pitt on the 28th of November. The success of the expedition and the return of the captives to their homes were the occasion of joy through the whole country. The assemblies of Pennsylvania and Virginia passed votes of thanks to Colonel Bouquet, and the king conferred on him the rank of brigadier-general. Early in the summer of 1765 he was put in command of the Southern district, and died of fever at Pensacola, September 2, ten days after his arrival.[3] Had he lived he would have made a brilliant record in the war of the Revolution.[4]

[1] Sir William Johnson (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 686), writing to the Lords of Trade, Dec. 26, 1764, and having spoken with much severity of Bradstreet's bad management of his expedition, says: "On the other hand, Col. Bouquet, under all the disadvantages of a tedious and hazardous land march with an army little more than half that of the other, has penetrated into the heart of the country of the Delawares and Shawanese, obtained above two hundred English captives from amongst them, with fourteen hostages for their coming here [Johnson Hall] and entering into a peace before me in due form; and I daily expect their chiefs for that purpose." A touching account of the English captives, the reluctance of some of them to part from their captors and savage life, and the joy of others again to meet their relatives, is in Dr. Smith's *Historical Account*, pp. 75–80 (ed. 1868), and in Parkman, ii. 231–240. An engraving, after Benj. West, representing the delivery of the English captives at the forks of the Muskingum, is in some of the editions (p. 72) of the *Historical Account*, described in a following note.

[2] Cf. a paper on the forks of the Muskingum in the *Mag. of West. Hist.*, Feb., 1885, p. 283.

[3] *Pennsyl. Mag.*, iii. 134. An obituary notice of him appeared in the *Pennsyl. Journal*, Oct. 24, 1765. In the Haldimand Coll. (Canadian Archives), p. 21, appears: "June 5, 1765. Bouquet waiting for a vessel to Florida. Nov. 17. Gen. Gage appoints Lieut.-Col. Taylor to act as Brig.-Gen. in room of Brig. Bouquet, deceased." Among army promotions, in *Gent. Mag.*, Jan., 1766, is "Aug. Provost, Esq., Lieut.-Col. of the 60th Reg., in room of H. Bouquet, deceased."

[4] *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the Year 1764, under the command of Henry Bouquet, Esq., Colonel of Foot, and now Brigadier-General*, appeared from the press of William Bradford, Philadelphia, in 1765 (Wallace's *William Bradford*, p. 85). The authorship has been ascribed by Rich, Allibone, and others to Thomas Hutchins, later geographer of the United States; but it is now known that the writer was Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia. It is a quarto, pp. xiii+71, with three maps by Thomas Hutchins, Asst. Engineer, viz.: (1) "Map [of the route of Col. Bouquet's expedition of 1763, and] of the country on the Ohio and Muskingham Rivers; also, on the same sheet, separated by a line, a map of the country traversed in his expedition of 1764; (2) plan of the Battle of Bushy Run; and (3) the order of march. The work has been several times reprinted: (I.) In London, 1766, 4°, pp. xiii+71, with the plates named reengraved, and two additional plates inserted, after designs by Benj. West, viz.: (4) conference of Indians with Col. Bouquet, engraved by Gregnion; and (5) Indians delivering up the English captives to Col. Bouquet, engraved by Canot. (II.) At Amsterdam, 1769, 8°, pp. xvi+147+ix, a French translation, with the same plates very neatly reëngraved, the two maps on the first plate being engraved separately, making in all six plates. (III.) At Dublin, 1769, by John Millikin, pp. xx+99, no plates. (IV.) In *Olden Time*, i. 203–221, 241–261, no plates. (V.) In the *Ohio Valley Series*, Cincinnati, 1868, with preface by Francis Parkman, and photo-lithographic copies of the plates in the London edition. The last two editions have translations (not the same, however) of C. G. F. Dumas's biographical sketch of Col. Bouquet, which is prefixed to the Amsterdam edition. The first two maps are prefixed to Hildreth's *Western Pioneer*, and extracts from the work are given (pp. 46–64). The map of the expedition of 1763 is in Parkman's *Pontiac* (ii. 199). (Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 1,065, etc.)

The *Historical Account* has an introduction giving a summary of Col. Bouquet's expedition of 1763, and supplementary matter, viz., Reflections on the War with the Savages in North America; and five appendixes: (I.) Construction of Forts in America; (II.) Account of the French Forts ceded to Great Britain in Louisiana; (III.) Route from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt; (IV.) Indian Towns on and near the Ohio River; (V.) Names of Indian tribes in North America. The supplementary matter, and doubt-

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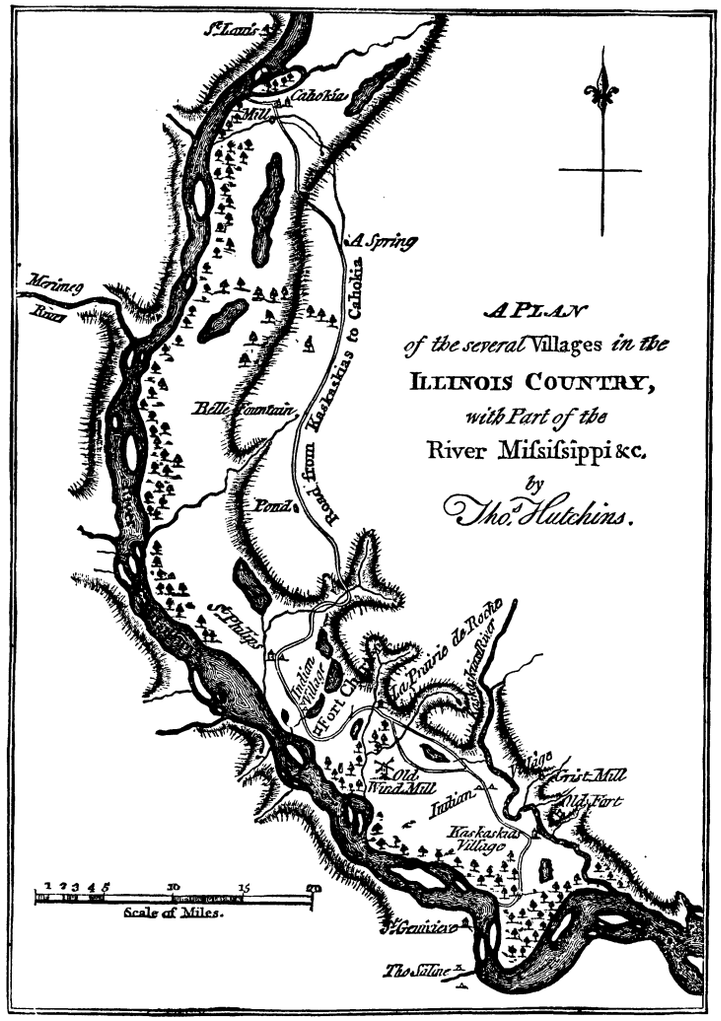
The Pontiac War, so far as battles and campaigns were concerned, was ended; but Pontiac was still at large and as untamed as ever. His last hope was the Illinois country, where the foot of an English soldier had never trod. Thither he went, and applying to M. Neyon, in command of Fort Chartres, for aid, was refused. He returned to his camp on the Maumee,



VICINITY OF FORT CHARTRES.[1]

less some of the narrative, were furnished by Col. Bouquet himself, as Dr. Smith, in writing to Sir William Johnson, said: "I drew up [the work] from some papers he favored me with." Cf. on the expedition of 1764, Col. Whittlesey's *Cleveland*, p. 105; Darlington's ed. of Col. James Smith's *Remarkable Occurrences*, pp. 107, 177; Hildreth's *Pioneer Hist. of Ohio Valley*, p. 46; *Western Reserve Hist. Soc. tracts*, nos. 13, 14, 25.

[1] [Reproduced from Thomas Hutchins's *Historical narrative and topographical description of Louisiana and West Florida, comprehending the river Mississippi with its branches* (Philad., 1784). The same map is in his *Topographical description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, comprehending the rivers Ohio, Kenhawa, &c., the climate, soil; the mountains, latitudes, &c., and of every part, laid down in the*

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and collecting four hundred of his own warriors, and as many of other tribes as would join him, reappeared at Fort Chartres. M. Neyon had left the country in disgust, with many French residents of the Illinois country, and M. Saint Ange de Bellerive was his successor in command of the fort. His visitors, with a mob of Illinois Indians, clamored for weapons and ammunition to fight the English. St. Ange's position was embarrassing, if not dangerous; but he acted with prudence and sagacity. He was under orders to deliver up the fort whenever a British force arrived. He refused to comply with the demands of the Indians, but pacified them with pleasant words and a few presents. The most agreeable sight to this worthy Frenchman, at that time, would have been the arrival of a regiment of British infantry.

Pontiac, again baffled, sent an embassy of warriors down the Mississippi, with an immense war-belt, and with instructions to show it at every Indian village on the river, and to procure from the French commandant at New Orleans the aid he could not get at Fort Chartres. The warriors reached New Orleans soon after the distressing news had come that Western Louisiana had been ceded to Spain by the secret treaty of November 3, 1762. The health of the governor, D'Abbadie, had given way under the intelligence that a Spanish governor and garrison might arrive any day. The governor gave the Indians one hearing, and postponed the interview until the next day. Before the hour named had arrived he was dead.[1] M. Aubry, his successor, received the warriors, and said he could do nothing for them. Sullen and disappointed, they paddled their canoes northward, and the last hope of the conspiracy expired.[2]

An attempt was made early in 1764 to take possession of the Illinois country by sending English troops up the Mississippi River. Major Arthur Loftus, with four hundred regulars, ascended two hundred and forty miles above New Orleans, where Indians in ambuscade fired on them, killed six men, and wounded six others.[3] The expedition turned back, and returned

annexed map. Published by Thomas Hutchins. With a plan of the rapids of the Ohio, a plan of the several villages in the Illinois country, a table of the distances between Fort Pitt and the mouth of the Ohio. And an appendix, containing Mr. Patrick Kennedy's Journal up the Illinois river (Boston, 1787). From this edition Parkman reproduced the map in his *Pontiac*, vol. ii. The map was reëngraved in the French edition, *Description topographique de la Virginie*, etc., Paris, 1781. The original edition was published in London in 1778. It is reprinted in Imlay's *Western Territories*, 3d ed., p. 485. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliography of Ohio*, no. 625. — ED.]

[1] M. D'Abbadie died in February, 1765. Pittman, p. 16.

[2] The Pontiac War is treated in Doddridge's *Notes* (ed. 1876), p. 220; Kercheval (taken largely from Doddridge), p. 258; Monette, i. 326; Stone's *Sir William Johnson*, ii. 191; Perkins's *Western Annals* (ed. 1851), p. 66; Davidson and Struve's *Illinois*, p. 137; Silas Farmer's *Detroit and Michigan* (1884); Sheldon's *Michigan;* Blanchard's *North West*, 119, with a map; Schweinitz's *Zeisberger*, p. 274; and in an illustrated article by J. T. Headley, *Harper's Mag.*, xxii. 437. [Munsell published at Albany in 1860, as edited by F. B. Hough, and no. 4 of Munsell's "Historical Series," a *Diary of the siege of Detroit in the war with Pontiac. Also a narrative of the principal events of the siege, by Major R. Rogers; a plan for conducting Indian affairs, by Col. Bradstreet; and other authentick documents, never before printed.* Rogers's MS. diary is noted in the *Menzies Catal.*, no. 1,715. There was a *Life of Pontiac* published in N. Y. in 1860. See also *Poole's Index* for reviews of Parkman's admirable work. — ED.]

[3] Gage's despatch, May 27, 1764 (*Haldimand Coll.*, p. 18). Major Loftus arrived at New Orleans from Mobile with the 22d regiment, Feb. 12, 1764. The French governor "gave him a very

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to Pensacola. Captain Philip Pittman [1] arrived at New Orleans a few months later with the same design, and ascertaining the temper of the Western Indians, did not make the attempt.[2]

General Gage, who in November, 1763, succeeded General Amherst as commander-in-chief, saw that there would be no permanent peace with the Western Indians until Fort Chartres and the Illinois country were occupied by British troops, and he resolved to send a force by way of Fort Pitt and the Ohio River. Before executing the plan he thought it advisable to send a messenger in advance, who would visit the tribes, ascertain their dispositions, and allay their enmities if he could not secure their friendship. George Croghan was the person selected for this responsible and dangerous mission. He was deputy-superintendent of Indian affairs under Sir William Johnson. As a fur-trader he had been on friendly relations with the Western tribes, and spoke their language. Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, who spoke French, was to accompany him. They arrived at Fort Pitt in February, 1765, where Croghan was delayed for three months, holding councils with Indians.[3]

Croghan left Fort Pitt on the 14th of May, in two bateaux, with a few soldiers and fourteen [4] Indian deputies, Shawanese, Mingos, and Delawares,

bad account of the disposition of the Indians towards us [the English], and assured him, unless he carried some presents to distribute amongst them, that he would not be able to get up the river" (Gage to Earl Halifax, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 619). The attack on the command of Major Loftus was made on the 20th of March, 1764, by the Tonicas Indians, a few miles above the mouth of the Red River: first from the west bank, and later from the east bank, of the Mississippi. The spot is indicated on Lieut. Ross's *Map of the Mississippi*, 1765 (pub. 1775), by the legend "Where the 22d regiment was drove back by the Tunicas, 1764;" and on Andrew Ellicott's *Map of the Mississippi*, 1814 (*Journal*, p. 25), by "Loftus's Heights," on the east bank. Pittman (p. 35) gives some particulars of the attack, and says, "They killed five men and wounded four."

[1] Capt. Pittman was the author of *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi, with a Geographical Description of that River; illustrated by* [*eight*] *plans and draughts* (London, 1770, 4to). It is the earliest English account of those settlements, and, as an authority in early Western history, is of the highest importance. He was a military engineer, and for five years was employed in surveying the Mississippi River and exploring the Western country. The excellent plans which accompany the work, artistically engraved on copper, add greatly to its value. They are: (1) Plan of New Orleans; (2) Plan of Mobile; (3) Draught of River Ibbeville to Lake Ponchartrain; (4) Plan of Fort Rosalia; (5) Plan of Cascaskies [Kaskaskia]; (6, 7, 8) Draught of the Mississippi River from the Balisle to Fort Chartres (in three sheets). [Cf. Vol. V. pp. 47, 71. — Ed.]

[2] Sir William Johnson, hearing of the failure of the English troops to reach the Illinois country by way of the Mississippi, attributed the result to a conspiracy existing between eighteen tribes of Indians to prevent it, which he charged to the intrigue of the French residing in New Orleans and the Illinois (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 776).

[3] Fraser, "being too zealous," as Sir William Johnson wrote in July, 1765, "set out before Mr. Croghan had effected the necessary points with the Indians;" and "with two or three attendants" (Stone's *Life of Johnson*, ii. 247) floated down the Ohio, and arrived at Fort Chartres without casualty. Here he was courteously received by the French commander; but he and his attendants were ill treated by drunken Indians, and their lives were saved by the interposition of Pontiac in their behalf. The story of Fraser's troubles came to Sir William in another form, and he wrote: "From late accounts from Detroit there is reason to think that Fraser has been put to death, together with those that accompanied him, by Pontiac's party" (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 746). Fraser, finding the Illinois country at that time an unsafe place of residence, took a passage in disguise down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and thence to Mobile.

[4] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 746, 765. The Shawanese, in their treaty of July 7, stipulated to send ten deputies (*Ibid.* 752); and the Delawares, in

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as evidence and pledge that there was peace between the English and the Western tribes. On the 23d he arrived at the mouth of the Scioto, where the Shawanese delivered to him seven French traders. On the 6th of June he came to the mouth of the Wabash,' where there were indications of the presence of hostile Indians. He dropped down the Ohio six miles further and encamped. On the morning of the 8th his party was fired into by eighty Kickapoos and Mascoutins, and two white men and three of the Shawanese deputies were killed. Croghan himself, and all the rest of the party except two white men and one Indian, were wounded.

RUINS OF MAGAZINE AT FORT CHARTRES.[1]

They were robbed of their outfit, and carried as prisoners to Vincennes.[2] Here Croghan found Indian acquaintances and friends who treated him and his party with kindness, and rebuked their assailants.[3] At Post Ouatanon [4]

their treaty of May 8, agreed "to send with Mr. Croghan proper persons to accompany and assist him" (*Ibid.* 739).

[1] After a photograph. The magazine is now used by a farmer for the storage of vegetables, etc.

Description at the time of the surrender to the English in 1765: "Four toises [25.6 feet] in front, with its gate in cut stone, furnished with two doors, one of sheet iron and the other of wood, furnished with their iron-work; five toises and a half [35.2 feet] wide, six toises [38.4 feet] long; one building, two toises [12.8 feet] high; one window above, in cut stone, furnished with its shutters in wood, and one of iron" (*N. Y. Col Doc.*, x. 1164).

[2] Then called Post Vincent, and later simply "The Post" and "O'post." It was often erroneously written "*St.* Vincent."

[3] The savages apologized, saying they supposed the Indians of the party were Cherokees.

[4] Now Lafayette, Indiana.

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Croghan found more of his Indian acquaintances; and his captivity being ended, he resumed his official character of ambassador, received deputations from the neighboring tribes, held councils, heard and made speeches, and smoked the pipe of peace. He here received a message from St. Ange, requesting him to visit Fort Chartres, and arrange matters there, which had become exceedingly annoying. He started for the Illinois country on the 18th of July, accompanied by the chiefs of the neighboring tribes. He soon met Pontiac and the deputies from the Illinois tribes on their way to visit him. Both parties returned to the fort and held a council. Pontiac and the Illinois tribes agreed to make peace with the English, as the other nations had done.[1]

[1] George Croghan's journals (for there are several) of his journey to the Illinois country in 1765 are important documents in the history of the West. "This journal," says Parkman (ii. 296), "has been twice published, — in the appendix to Butler's *History of Kentucky*, and in the *Pioneer History* of Dr. S. P. Hildreth," — implying that they were publications of the same journal. Dr. Hildreth, in a note appended to his version (p. 85), makes a statement from which it is evident that he supposed they were the same journal: "The above journal was copied from an original MS. among Col. [George] Morgan's papers, and not copied from Butler's *History of Kentucky*, which had not been seen by the writer at that time." It is an important fact that these journals are not the same, no paragraph in one being the same as a paragraph in the other. Their subject matter is different, and yet they are in no instance contradictory. The one printed by Dr. Hildreth may be regarded as an official report, and the one printed by Butler as a descriptive account. The former gives the details of the official business which he was sent to transact; the latter is such a journal as any traveller would keep, giving from day to day the incidents of the journey, describing the scenery and topography of the country, the fertility of the soil, the game, and omitting wholly to speak of public business, or what was done at councils with the Indians. He describes his being wounded and captured by the Indians, near the Wabash, as a personal misfortune, but makes no mention of conferences with the Indians at Ouatanon, or of his meeting Pontiac and making peace with him. Butler (p. 365, ed. 1834; p. 459, ed. 1836) states that "the following journal, so curious and little known, is extracted from the *Monthly American Journal of Geology and Natural Science*, December, 1831, by G. W. Featherstonhaugh, Esq., Philadelphia, and purports to be from the original, in possession of the editor." This text was reprinted at Burlington, New Jersey, 1875, in a tract of 38 pages (Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 285). A third version of Croghan's journal is in the letters of Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 779–788). With some variations it is the same as that printed by Dr. Hildreth. Each contains passages and paragraphs which are not in the other. In the Johnson text, words and passages are omitted, as illegible, which are given in the *Pioneer History*. Sir William, writing Nov. 16, 1765, says: "A few days ago [Oct. 21] Mr. Croghan arrived here, and delivered me his journal and transactions with the Indians, from which I have selected the principal parts, which I now inclose to your lordships. The whole of his journal is long and not yet collected; because after he was made prisoner and lost his baggage, etc., he was necessitated to write it on scraps of paper procured with difficulty at Post Vincent [Vincennes], and that in a disguised character, to prevent its being understood by the French, in case through any disaster he might again be plundered" (*Ibid.* 775). Sir William, from May 8 to Sept. 28, 1765, frequently reports that he has heard from Croghan, and mentions incidents and details which are not contained in either of the three versions named (*Ibid.* 746, 749, 765). Being at Post Ouatanon on the 12th of July, Croghan said: "I wrote to Gen. Gage and Sir William Johnson, to Col. Campbell at Detroit, Major Murray at Fort Pitt, and Major Farmar at Mobile, or on his way up the Mississippi, and acquainted them with everything that had happened since my departure from Fort Pitt" (Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, p. 71; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 781). In the Butler journal, writing from the same place, July 15, he said: "From this post the Indians permitted me to write to the commander at Fort Chartres [St. Ange]; but would not suffer me to write to anybody else (this, I apprehend, was a precaution of the French, lest their villainy should be perceived too soon), although the Indians had given me permission to write to Sir William Johnson and to Fort Pitt on our march, before we arrived at this place." In the summary of his report to

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The object of his visit being accomplished, Croghan turned his face homeward, and reached Detroit on the 17th of August. Here he called the Ottawas and the other neighboring tribes into a council, which continued for several days. The Indians acknowledged that they now saw that the French were indeed conquered; that henceforth they would listen no more to the whistling of evil birds, but would lay down the hatchet, and sit quiet on their mats. Pontiac was present, and said: "Father, I declare to all nations that I had made my peace with you before I came here; and I now deliver my pipe to Sir William Johnson, that he may know that I have made peace, and taken the King of England to be my father in the presence of all the nations now assembled." [1]

From Detroit, Croghan communicated to the commander at Fort Pitt tidings of the complete success of his Western mission; and a company of the 42d regiment of Highlanders, the veterans of Quebec, Ticonderoga, and Bushy Run, under the command of Captain Thomas Stirling, was dispatched in boats for Fort Chartres. Captain Stirling arrived early in October,[2] and on the 10th relieved St. Ange from his embarrassing command.[3] These were the first English troops who ever set foot in the Illinois country.[4]

Sir William, he said: "In the situation I was in at Ouatanon, with great numbers of Indians about me, and no necessaries, such as paper and ink, I had it not in my power to take down all the speeches made by the Indian nations, nor what I said to them, in so particular a manner as I could wish." It is evident that Croghan wrote many accounts of his journey, and only three of them, as now appears, are accessible. A biographical sketch of George Croghan, by Dr. O'Callaghan, is in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 982, 983. [For earlier traces of Croghan see Vol. V. 10, 596, 610. — ED.]

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 783; Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, p. 75. Pontiac kept his promise, visited Sir William Johnson in the spring, concluded a peace, and departed laden with presents. He returned to his village on the Maumee, and little is known of him for the next three years. He then reappeared in the Illinois country, and visited his old friend M. St. Ange, who was in command of the post of St. Louis, then under Spanish rule. Like other Indians, Pontiac indulged at times in the excessive use of intoxicating liquors. Against the advice of his friend, St. Ange, he attended an Indian drinking carousal, at which he was waylaid and brained with a hatchet by a Kaskaskia Indian, who had been paid a barrel of rum by an English trader, named Williamson, to commit the deed. St. Ange claimed the body, and buried it with the honors of war, in an unknown grave near the fort of St. Louis. J. N. Nicollet, in his sketch of St. Louis (p. 82), says: "This murder, which roused the vengeance of all the Indian tribes friendly to Pontiac, brought about the successive wars and almost total extermination of the Illinois nation. Pontiac was a remarkably well-looking man, nice in his person, and full of taste in his dress and in the arrangement of his exterior ornaments. His complexion is said to have approached that of the whites. His origin is still uncertain, for some have supposed him to belong to the Ottawas, others to the Miamis, etc.; but Col. P. Chouteau, senior, who knew him well, is of the opinion that he was a Nipissing." (Reprinted in *Olden Time*, i. 322.)

[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 808.

[3] The account of St. Ange's "Surrender of Fort Chartres to M. Stirling on the 10th of Oct., 1765," with a detailed description of the fort, from the French archives, is in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, x. 1161–1165. See also Stone's *Life of Sir Wm. Johnson*, ii. 252. [There are documents about Fort Chartres referred to in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. 216. Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, viii. 257, and H. R. Stiles's *Affairs at Fort Chartres, 1768–1781* (Albany, 1864), being letters of an English officer at the close of the war. — ED.]

[4] Nicollet (p. 81) states that "Capt. Stirling, at the head of a company of Scots, arrived unexpectedly in the summer of 1765;" and Parkman (ii. 298), that "Capt. Stirling arrived at Fort Chartres just as the snows of early winter began to whiten the naked forests." The articles of surrender are conclusive as to the fact that the English troops arrived and took possession of the Illinois country, October 10. Capt. Stirling was relieved by Major Robert Farmar, of the 34th regiment, about the time of which Parkman speaks. Sir William, writing March 22, 1766, says: "Just now I have heard that Major

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Croghan left Detroit on the 26th of November, visited Fort Niagara, and arrived at Fort Stanwix, October 21, where he prepared his report to Sir William Johnson, which Sir William transmitted to the Lords of Trade, November 16, 1765.[1]

For the next decade, the discreet management of the native tribes by Sir William Johnson secured the Western settlements from Indian depredations. During this period there was a constant emigration from Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania into the country between the mountains and the Ohio River, and explorations were begun in Kentucky. The treaty of Fort Stanwix, made with the Six Nations and their dependants in the autumn of 1768, transferred to the British crown the Indian title to what is now the State of Kentucky east of the Tennessee (then Cherokee) River, and a large part of Western Virginia. To the province of Pennsylvania it ceded an extensive tract on its western borders, and defined the boundaries between the English settlements and the Indian territory.[2] In making this important treaty, Sir William was acting under instructions from the crown, and was furnished with a map[3] indicating the boundaries desired, for which concessions the crown would give money and presents. He summoned the deputies of the Six Nations and their dependent tribes to meet him in council at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.), on the 20th of September, 1768. By the 22d, 2,200 Indians had arrived,[4] and when the council opened on the 24th, 3,102[5] deputies were present. For seven weeks

Farmar, who proceeded by the Mississippi, arrived there [the Illinois] the 4th of December, and relieved Capt. Stirling" (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 816; Stone's *Johnson*, ii. 251). Monette (i. 411) states that "Capt. Stirling died in December; that St. Ange returned to Fort Chartres, and not long afterward Major Frazer, from Fort Pitt, arrived as commandant." These errors have been repeated scores of times, and the last repetition I have seen is in F. L. Billon's *Annals of St. Louis in early Days*, 1886, p. 26. Capt. Stirling lived until 1808: served in the Revolutionary War, became colonel in 1779, and later brigadier, major-general, lieut.-general, general, and was created a baronet. For a biographical sketch of him, by Dr. O'Callaghan, see *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 786; and for one of Major Farmar, *Ibid.* 775. F. S. Drake (*Biog. Dict.*) records Capt. Stirling's extraordinary feat of marching his company of Highlanders overland 3,000 miles, from Fort Chartres to Philadelphia, without losing a man. The facts were that Capt. Stirling floated his company in boats down the Mississippi to New Orleans; thence they sailed to Pensacola, and later to New York, where they arrived June 15, 1766. Gen. Gage, in a letter of that date, wrote to Gov. Penn announcing their arrival, stating that they would march on the 17th for Philadelphia, and asking that quarters be assigned them (*Penna. Col. Rec.*, ix. 318). No officer of the name of Frazer was ever in command at Fort Chartres. Fort Chartres, built by the French in 1720, was in its time the strongest fortress in America. Its ruins are on the left bank of the Mississippi, now a mile from the river, in Randolph County, Ill., 50 miles south of St. Louis, and 16 miles northeast of Kaskaskia. It was abandoned in 1772, in consequence of a portion of it being undermined by a Mississippi flood. See Edw. G. Mason's *Old Fort Chartres*, in Fergus's Historical Series, no. 12; Pittman, p. 45; Reynolds, *My own Time*, p. 26, ed. 1879; also his *Pioneer History*, p. 46, ed. 1887, with plan, from Beck's *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*. [For a plan of the fort, see Vol. V. p. 54; and Mr. Davis's collation of authorities regarding its position, p. 55. — ED.]

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii. 775.

[2] The Six Nations claimed by conquest the supremacy of all the tribes west of the Alleghanies and as far south as the Cherokees, with whom the Northern tribes were in perpetual warfare. See Monette, i. 323; [and Huske's map in Vol. V. p. 84. — ED.]

[3] A fac-simile of this map is in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. 31; and of the map as the treaty was finally made, *Ibid.* 136. [See *ante*, p. 610.— ED.]

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 2.

[5] *Haldimand Col.*, p. 103.

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Sir William fed[1] and hospitably entertained this immense concourse of savages, conducting their deliberations, making speeches in their own languages, humoring and repressing their wayward dispositions, and bringing them reluctantly to accept his terms.[2]

DANIEL BOONE.[3]

Open hostilities between the Indians and settlers on the Western frontier, which had been suspended since 1765, broke out anew in the spring of 1774,[4] and raged for a few months in what has been called "Cresap's War,"

[1] Stone's *Life of Johnson*, ii. 306. "I was much concerned," Sir William wrote, "by reason of the great consumption of provisions and the heavy expenses attending the maintenance of those Indians, each of whom consume daily more than two ordinary men amongst us, and would be extremely dissatisfied if stinted when convened for business" (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. 105).

[2] Sir William's full report of the council at Fort Stanwix, with the treaty, which he transmitted to Lord Hillsborough, is in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. 111–137. In the appendix to Mann Butler's *History of Kentucky*, 1834, p. 378–394, is an abstract of the proceedings of the council, with the treaty, for which the author expresses his obligations to Hon. Richard M. Johnson. The treaty and map are also in *N. Y. Doc. History*, i. 587.

[3] From a picture by Chester Harding, in the Mass. Hist. Society's gallery. Cf. *Proc.*, v. 197.

[4] [In this interval between 1765 and 1774 there was a revival of the purpose of settlements in the country watered by the Ohio and its tributaries. The breaking up by the war of the earlier enterprise of the Ohio Company (see Vol. V., *ante*; Sparks in his *Washington*, ii. 483, says its papers were entrusted to him fifty years ago by Charles Fenton Mercer, of Virginia) had led to a plan to buy out the French settlers in

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but is now more properly known as the "Dunmore War." Lord Dunmore was then governor of Virginia, and commander of the English forces en-

Illinois (Sparks's *Franklin*, vii. 356; Bigelow's *Franklin*, i. 537, 547; ii. 112); and this being abandoned, the earlier project had been merged in the scheme known at first as Walpole's Grant, and subsequently as the Colony of Vandalia, which had derived some impetus immediately after the conclusion of peace in 1763 by the publication in London of *The Advantages of a Settlement upon the Ohio* (now rare; copies in Harvard College library; in *Carter-Brown Catal.*, iii. 1363; Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 7), and in Edinburgh of *The Expediency of securing our American Colonies by settling the Country adjoining the Mississippi River and the Country upon the Ohio Considered* (Harvard College library, 6373. 33). The scheme had the countenance of Lord Shelburne, and the Shelburne MSS., as calendared in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. p. 218 (vol. 50), show various papers appertaining. Professor H. B. Adams, in the *Maryland Fund Publications*, no. xi. p. 27, has marked the growth of the perception of the importance of these lands.

The grant was not secured till 1770, nor ratified till 1772 (account in Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 233, and *Washington*, ii. 483). Franklin had interested himself in securing the grant against the opposition of Hillsborough. See Franklin's letters in *Works*, iv. 233; the adverse report of the Lords of Trade (p. 303), and Franklin's reply to it (p. 324). These last papers are also included in *Biog. lit. and polit. Anecdotes of several of the most Eminent persons of the present Age* (London, 1797), vol. ii. Provision was made for securing out of this grant the lands promised to the Virginia soldiers, in which Washington was so much interested. The coming on of the Revolution jeopardized the interests of the grantees, and in 1774 they petitioned the king that the establishment of a government for Vandalia be no longer delayed. Walpole, in May, 1775, was anxious at the turn of affairs (*Hist. Mag.*, i. 86), and in 1776 the plan was abandoned. A memorial of Franklin and Samuel Wharton, dated at Passy, Feb. 26, 1780, tracing the history of these lands, is in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xvii.

On the early settlers of Ohio at this time, see S. P. Hildreth's *Biog. and Hist. Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio* (Cinn., 1852); James W. Taylor's *Hist. of Ohio*, 1650–1787 (Sandusky, 1854); and a paper by Isaac Smucker on the first pioneers, in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1885, p. 326. The position of the Delawares in this region during the war is discussed by S. D. Peet in the *American Antiquarian*, ii. 132.

The Filson Club of Louisville has published (1886) Thomas Speed's *Wilderness road, a description of the route of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky*, their previous publication having been Reuben T. Durrett's *Life and Writings of John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky* (1884), which gives in fac-simile the earliest special map of Kentucky, after a copy in Harvard College library, — most copies of the book being without it, — for while the *Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke* was printed in 1784, at Wilmington, Del., the map was printed in Philadelphia, and was an improvement upon the general maps of Charlevoix, Evans, Hutchins, Pownall, and others. Filson's book was issued in French, at Paris, in 1785, and reprinted in English in Imlay's *Topog. Description of North America* (London, 1793 and 1797), in conjunction with Imlay; again by Campbell in New York, in 1793. Filson first presented to the world the story of the adventures of Daniel Boone in the appendix of his book, and from that it has been copied and assigned to Boone himself, in the *Amer. Museum*, Philadelphia, Oct. 1787, and in Samuel L. Metcalfe's *Collection of some of the most interesting narratives of Indian Warfare in the West* (Lexington, Ky., 1821, — Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 818). The life of Boone embodies much of the history of the pioneer days of Kentucky. His subsequent biographers, J. M. Peck (in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*), E. S. Ellis, G. C. Hill, H. T. Tuckerman (in his *Biog. Essays*), C. W. Webber (in *Hist. and Rev. Incidents*, Phil., 1861), Lossing (in *Harper's Mag.*, xix.), and others, have depended upon Filson. E. C. Coleman has told the story as it is centred about Simon Kenton (*Ibid.* xxviii.), and J. H. Perkins has given it more general bearings in his "Pioneers of Kentucky," in *No. Amer. Rev.*, Jan., 1846, included in his *Memoir and Writings*, ii. 243. Cf. Marshall Smith's *Legends of the War of Independence and of the Earlier settlements in the West* (Louisville, 1855), and the old fort at Lexington, Ky., in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1887, p. 123.

What is now Tennessee was known after 1769 as the Settlements of the Watauga Association, and so continued till 1777, when, during the rest of the Revolutionary War, it was a part of North Carolina (J. E. M. Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, Charleston, 1853; Philad., 1853, 1860; Sabin, xvi. no. 67, 729).

There are documents on the Illinois country during this quiet interval among the Shelburne Papers, as noted in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. pp. 216, 218 (vols. 48 and 50). Cf. John Reynolds, *Pioneer Hist. of Illinois* (1852); Breese's

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gaged in the brief campaign. As to the specific cause of the Dunmore War there has been much controversy. The killing of Logan's family, wrongly charged upon Captain Michael Cresap, was one of the causes assigned. Another was the conduct of Dr. John Connolly, the agent of Lord Dunmore in West Virginia, who was charged with being concerned in a plot to bring on a conflict between the settlers and the Indians, in order to serve British interests in the Revolutionary War which was then coming on.[1] Lord Dunmore was suspected at the time of being in the plot,[2] and the charge was probably as groundless as that made against Captain Cresap. The occasion of the outbreak lay upon the surface of events, — the growing disquietude and jealousy of the Indians in view of the advancing settlements of the whites, which had reached the eastern bank of the Ohio and was moving farther west. The Shawanese and Delawares had been robbing traders and scalping settlers, whenever an opportunity occurred, ever since they had made a treaty of peace with Colonel Bouquet in 1764. Sir William Johnson's letters to the home government during these nine years are full of narratives of these outrages, and forebodings that another Indian war might break out at any time. More white persons were killed by these Indians during this period of nominal peace than in the whole campaign of the Dunmore War.

A bitter controversy between Virginia and Pennsylvania for possession of the country between the mountains and the Ohio added to the complications arising from the Indian troubles.[3] Virginia held Fort Pitt and was

Early Hist. of Illinois, and the other later histories (see Vol. V., *ante*, p. 198). Cf. Arthur Young's *Observations on the present State of the waste lands of Great Britain, published on occasion of the establishment of a new Colony on the Ohio* (London, 1773).

Several journals of voyages and explorations along the Ohio and its tributary streams, which were made during this period, are preserved to us, such as that of Capt. Harry Gordon, from Fort Pitt to the Illinois in 1766, which is printed in Pownall's *Topog. Description* (London, 1776), and of which the original or early copy seems to be noted in the English *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. p. 216; that of Washington, who visited the Ohio region in 1770 to select lands for the soldiers of the late wars, and which is printed in Sparks's *Washington* (vol. ii. 516, beside letters in *Ibid.* 387, etc. Cf. Irving's *Washington*, i. 330, and some letters in Read's *George Read*, p. 124); and those of Matthew Phelps, who was twice in this Western country between 1773 and 1780, and whose account is given in the *Memoirs and adventures, particularly in two voyages from Connecticut to the river Mississippi, 1773–80. Compiled from the original journal and minutes kept by Mr. Phelps. By Anthony Haswell* (Bennington, Vt., 1802).

The diary of Rufus Putnam, who explored the lower regions of the Mississippi Valley between Dec. 10, 1772, and Aug. 13, 1773, is preserved in the library of Marietta College. (Cf. *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii. 230.) — ED.]

[1] Connolly was arrested as a Tory in November, 1775, and held as a prisoner until exchanged in the winter of 1780–81. He then planned a scheme with Tories and Indians to capture Fort Pitt. See *Olden Time*, i. 520; ii. 93, 105, 348; Craig's *Pittsburg*, 112, 124; Perkins's *West. Annals*, 140, 148; Jacob's *Cresap*, 75–91; *Am. Archives*, 4th ser., i. 774.

[2] Botta's *Am. War*, i. 250; Doddridge's *Notes*, (ed. 1876), 238; *Olden Time*, ii. 43.

[3] Concerning this controversy, see Craig's *Pittsburg*, 111–128. [The right of Pennsylvania to land beyond the Alleghanies is examined in a paper (1772) entitled "Thoughts on the situation of the inhabitants on the frontier," by James Tilghman, printed in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, x. 316. Cf. also Daniel Agnew's *History of the Region of Pennsylvania north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny River, of the Indian purchases, and of the running of the southern, northern, and western State boundaries; also, an account of the division of the territory for public purposes, and of the lands, laws, titles, settlements, controversies, and litigation within this region* (Philadelphia, 1887). — ED.]

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in possession of the country. In 1774 the tide of emigration was setting strongly towards Kentucky, which had been explored by Daniel Boone in 1769, and later by other parties.[1] In April, a party of eighty or ninety Virginians made a rendezvous at the mouth of the Little Kanawha, with the intention of descending the Ohio and making a settlement in Kentucky. George Rogers Clark, whose name is to appear later in more important transactions, then twenty-one years of age, was one of the party. In a letter,[2] written some years later, to Dr. Samuel Brown, professor in Transylvania University, he gives a clear account of the manner in which the Dunmore War began. While camping at the rendezvous, "reports," says Clark, "from the Indian towns were alarming, which caused many to decline meeting. A small party of hunters below us had been fired on by the Indians, which led us to believe that the Indians were determined to make war." They resolved to surprise an Indian town on the Scioto, but had no competent leader. "We knew of Captain Cresap being on the river, about fifteen miles above us, with some hands, settling a plantation, and intending to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed his people. We also knew he had experience in a former war.[3] It was proposed, and unanimously agreed on, to send for him to command the party." The messenger met Cresap on his way to Clark's camp. "A council was called, and to our astonishment our intended general was the person who dissuaded us from the enterprise, alleging that appearances were suspicious, but there was no certainty of a war; that if we made the attempt proposed, he had no doubt of success, but that a war would be the result, and that we should be blamed for it, and perhaps justly. He was asked what measure he would recommend to us. His answer was that we should return to Wheeling to obtain intelligence of what was going forward; that a few weeks would determine the matter; and if we should find the Indians not hostilely disposed, we should have full time to prosecute the intended settlements in Kentucky. This measure was adopted, and in two hours we were under weigh."

On arriving at Wheeling, the people, being in a state of alarm, flocked into their camp from every direction. All the hunters and men without families joined them, and they became a formidable party. From Pittsburg they received a message from Dr. Connolly requesting them to keep their position until the messengers returned who had been sent to the Indian towns. Before an answer could be received, a second message, addressed to Captain Cresap, arrived by express from Pittsburg, stating that war was

[1] No Indian tribes had their homes in Kentucky. The territory was the common hunting and fighting ground of the Ohio Indians on the north and the Cherokees and Chickasaws on the south. See Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 8.

[2] Brantz Meyer's *Logan and Cresap*, 1867, p. 149. Clark's letter is also printed in *The Hesperian* (Columbus, Ohio), 1839, ii. 309; Jacob's *Life of Cresap*, pp. 154–158, and portions of it in Perkins's *Western Annals*, 143–146.

[3] Capt. Cresap was then thirty-two years of age, was a trader, and had had no experience in a former war. His father, however, — Col. Thomas Cresap, — was a noted Indian fighter. Clark and his party evidently supposed it was the father, and not the son, they were sending for. The Cresaps were a Maryland family, and the party who wanted a leader were Virginians.

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inevitable. Cresap was entreated to use his influence with the party to cover the country until the inhabitants could fortify themselves. "The time of the reception of this letter," says Clark, "was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. The war-post was planted, a council called, the letter read, the ceremonies used by the Indians on so important an occasion acted, and war was formally declared. The same evening two scalps were brought into camp. The following day some canoes of Indians were discovered descending the river, taking advantage of an island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased by our men fifteen miles down the river. They were forced ashore, and a battle ensued. A few were wounded on both sides, and we got one scalp only."

The more important charge brought against Cresap, of killing Logan's family, George Rogers Clark disposed of in the same letter, as follows: —

"On our return to camp [from Grave Creek] a resolution was formed to march next day and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio [at Baker's Bottom, opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek], about thirty miles above Wheeling. We actually marched about five miles, and halted to take refreshment. Here the impropriety of executing the proposed enterprise was argued; the conversation was brought on by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions, as it was a hunting party, composed of men, women, and children, with all their stuff with them. . . . In short, every person present, particularly Cresap, upon reflection, was opposed to the projected measure. We returned, and on the same evening decamped and took the road to Redstone. It was two days after this that Logan's family was killed; and from the manner in which it was done, it was viewed as a horrid murder by the whole country."

The killing of Logan's family was done by a party of whites living in the vicinity, under the lead of one Greathouse, who was not a member of the party of Cresap, nor, so far as appears, had he any acquaintance with Cresap.[1] The "Speech of Logan," which Jefferson printed in his *Notes on Virginia* (1787, p. 105), and accompanied with the comment that Cresap was "a man infamous for his many murders he had committed on these injured people,"[2] has perpetuated an unmerited stigma upon the memory of an innocent and patriotic man. The speech for a century has been

[1] A few days before, a canoe from Pittsburg, coming down the river, was fired on by Indians, near Baker's Bottom, two white men killed and one wounded. Baker's family had been warned, and were preparing to leave for one of the forts. Baker kept tavern, sold rum, and the Indians across the river were his habitual customers. Fearing an attack, he called in his neighbors. Twenty-one of them responded, but kept out of sight. A party of Indians appeared, and all with the exception of Logan's brother became very drunk. Logan's brother was drunk enough to be insolent, and he attempted to strike one of the white men. As he was leaving the house with a coat and hat which he had stolen, the white man whom he had abused shot him. The neighbors rushed from their concealment and killed the whole Indian party, except a half-breed child whose father was Gen. John Gibson. The Indians on the opposite shore, hearing the firing, came over in canoes. They were also fired on, and twelve of them were killed. (See the statements of John Sappington and others in Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, App. iv., 1800, and later editions; and Withers's *Border Warfare*, p. 113.)

[2] This comment Jefferson cancelled in his edition of 1800.

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regarded as a choice specimen of Indian eloquence, and the youth of the land have worn it threadbare as a declamation exercise.[1]

[1] "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. . . . Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature," etc.

Col. Thomas Cresap, well known in the West as an Indian fighter, was the father of Capt. Michael Cresap, and it is not strange that the rank of the father should have been given to the son. Public attention was not directed to Logan's speech, or the comments of Jefferson on the character of Capt. Cresap, until 1797, when Luther Martin, an ardent Federalist and the Attorney-General of Maryland (who had married a daughter of Capt. Cresap), addressed a public letter to an elocutionist, objecting to his reciting "Logan's Speech," on the ground that it was a slander on a noble man and patriot. The speech itself, he stated, was probably never made by Logan; and the letter had sneering allusions to the claim that Jefferson was a philosopher. Martin's letter is in *Olden Time*, ii. 51. Jefferson's letter to Gov. Henry of Maryland, of Dec. 31, 1797 (*Writings*, viii. 309), shows that he attributed Martin's attack to political motives, and that his feelings were greatly disturbed. He immediately set about collecting testimony (1) to prove the genuineness of Logan's speech, and (2) to justify the charges he had made against Cresap. On the first point, it was easy for him to show that he had not invented the speech; that it was common talk in Dunmore's camp; that he took it, as he printed it, from the lips of some person in Williamsburg in 1774, and that it was printed at the time in the *Virginia Gazette*. It appears that the speech was printed in the *Gazette* at Williamsburg, Feb. 4, 1775, and that twelve days later the speech, with important variations, was sent by Madison to his friend William Bradford, and was printed in a New York newspaper. Both versions are in *Amer. Archives*, 4th series, i. 1020. (See also Rives's *Madison*, i. 63, and Mayer's *Logan and Cresap*, p. 177.) The fact that the speech as printed was actually delivered was more difficult to prove, as it depended wholly on the statement of Gen. John Gibson, the interpreter. It will never be known what part of it was Logan's and how much of it was Gibson's. Jefferson was not successful in justifying the charges he had made against Cresap. Such of the collected evidence as answered his purpose he printed in Appendix iv. in the edition of his *Notes* of 1800 (Philadelphia). Some copies of the appendix were printed separately, and it was first mentioned on the title-page in the edition printed at Trenton, 1803. (See *Writings*, viii. 457–476.) Such of the testimony as did not answer his purpose he suppressed. One of these suppressed statements is the letter of George Rogers Clark to Dr. Samuel Brown, already quoted. It was found among his papers purchased by the United States in 1848, and is now in the State Department at Washington. Brantz Mayer vindicated Cresap in a paper read before the Maryland Historical Society in 1851, on *Logan the Indian and Cresap the Pioneer*, and more fully in *Tah-Gah-Jute, or Logan and Cresap* (Albany, 1867); Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 805, 806. Dr. Joseph Doddridge, in his *Notes*, 1824 (reprinted 1876, and used by Kercheval, Winchester, Va., 1833), made severe strictures on Cresap, but did not charge him with killing Logan's family. An extract from Doddridge, with other matter, called *Logan, Chief of the Cayuga Nation*, was published in Cincinnati by Wm. Dodge in 1868. Doddridge's attack on Capt. Cresap caused the Rev. John J. Jacob, who in youth had been Cresap's clerk, and had accompanied him in his Western expeditions, to write his *Life* (Cumberland, Md., 1826; reprinted, with notes and appendix, for Wm. Dodge, Cincinnati, 1866; Field's *Ind. Bibliog.*, nos. 769, 770; Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 640–1). With slight claim to literary merit, and much inaccuracy as to dates, it contains some important documents, and is an earnest vindication of Cresap's character. Charges of baseness and cruelty against Cresap were older than any publication of Logan's speech. The early accounts which came to Sir William Johnson charged the origin of the war upon him. Writing June 20, 1774, Sir William says: "I received the very disagreeable and unexpected intelligence that a certain Mr. Cressop [*sic*] had trepanned and murdered forty Indians on the Ohio, . . . and that the unworthy author of this wanton act is fled. . . . Since the news of the murders committed by Cressop and his banditti, the Six Nations have sent me two messages," etc., and much more of the same character (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. 459, 460, 461, 463, 471, 477; a biographical sketch of Cresap by Dr. O'Callaghan is on p. 459). The subject is treated in *Olden Time*, ii. 44, 49–67; Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, xi. 187; *Old and New*, x. 436; *New Eclectic*, vi. 169; *Annual Report, 1879, of the Sec. of State*, Ohio, Columbus, 1880; Stone's *Sir William Johnson*, ii. 370; Dillon's *Indiana* (1859), p. 97; Atwater's *Ohio*, p. 116; Monette, i. 384; Jacob's *Cresap* (1866), 92–125; *Amer. Jour. Science*, xxxi. 11; Withers's *Border War-*

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The savagery and miseries of a border war now burst upon the Western frontier. The settlers left their homes and took refuge in the forts, and many new stockades were constructed. Roving bands of Indians swept over the country, pillaging the farms and murdering every white person they found. The Virginia government took prompt action in raising two armies to invade the Indian country. One assembled at Lewisburg, in Greenbriar County, under General Andrew Lewis; and the other at Fort Pitt, under Lord Dunmore. General Lewis had orders to march to the mouth of the Great Kanawha; and Lord Dunmore, descending the Ohio, promised to meet him there. Early in June, while these forces were collecting, Colonel Angus McDonald, with four hundred men, dropped down the Ohio from Wheeling, and landing at Grave Creek, marched against the Indians on the Muskingum, and found their village deserted. The Indians, expecting the whites would cross the river in pursuit, were prepared to receive them in an ambuscade; but finding that the whites were now as well skilled in woodcraft as they, came in and proposed terms of peace. Five chiefs were required of them as hostages. One of these was liberated under the promise that he would bring in the chiefs of other tribes to make peace. A second was sent out to find the first, and neither returning, Colonel McDonald burnt their town, destroyed the crops, and went back to Wheeling with the three hostage chiefs, whom he sent to Williamsburg as prisoners.[1]

General Lewis took up his march with eleven hundred men on the 11th of September, and arriving at Point Pleasant, near the mouth of the Great Kanawha, on the 6th of October, found that Lord Dunmore was not there. On the 9th a despatch was received from his lordship, stating that he had changed his plans, and should land at the mouth of the Big Hockhocking. Lewis was ordered to cross the Ohio and meet him near the Indian towns. The Indians had this information, doubtless, before it was received by General Lewis, and resolved to attack his camp forthwith before a junction of the two armies was made. The battle came on the next morning while General Lewis was preparing to cross the river, and was fought with the highest courage and skill on both sides until evening, when the Indians were surprised by a flank movement which they supposed was a reinforce-

fare, p. 118; *Amer. Pioneer*, i. 7–24, 64, 188, 331. The *Amer. Pioneer*, 1842–43, was the organ of the "Logan Historical Society," the object of the society being to erect a monument to Logan, on which "his speech as given by Thomas Jefferson shall be fully engraved in gilt letters." The title is a full-page woodcut, representing Logan and Gen. Gibson sitting on a log, the former making his "speech" and the latter taking it down.

Capt. Cresap, in June, 1775, enlisted a company of one hundred and thirty riflemen in Maryland, twenty-two of whom were his old companions-in-arms from the country west of the Alleghanies, and marched them to Boston in twenty-two days. Here his health gave way, and he was compelled to return. He reached New York, and there died, Oct. 18, 1775, at the age of thirty-three. His gravestone is in Trinity churchyard, New York city, opposite the door of the north transept. An accurate woodcut of his gravestone is in Mayer's *Logan and Cresap*, p. 144, and in *Harper's Mag.*, Nov., 1876, p. 808. A view of his house is in *Harper's Mag.*, xiv. 599.

[1] See Withers's *Border Warfare;* Monette, i. 374; Dillon's *Indiana*, 93; *Amer. Archives*, 4th series, i. 722.

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ment. They gave way and retreated across the river. The Indians were commanded by the noted chief Cornstalk.[1] The battle of Point Pleasant ranks with Bushy Run as one of the most plucky and evenly contested battles ever fought between Indians and white soldiers. The losses of the Virginians were seventy-five killed and one hundred and forty wounded. The losses of the Indians, who fought under cover, were probably about the same, but were not ascertained, as they threw their dead into the river.[2]

Reinforced by several companies under Colonel Christian, General Lewis crossed the river, with the intention of joining Lord Dunmore near Chillicothe. At Salt Licks (now Jackson, Ohio) he had orders to halt his troops. Suspecting the motives of Lord Dunmore, he disregarded the orders and pressed on. Near Chillicothe Dunmore made a treaty with the Ohio Indians, who promised not to hunt south of the Ohio, and not to molest voyagers on the river. Lord Dunmore's conduct in changing the plan of the campaign, which left General Lewis exposed to a separate attack, and his subsequent conduct in making peace with the Indians before he had punished them for their breach of former treaties, were regarded by the soldiers engaged as premeditated treachery. This impression was confirmed by the plot he later made with Indians to ravage the settlements of Virginia, and by his hasty departure from the colony. His real motives will never be known. The initial scenes in the drama of the Revolutionary War were in progress. His position as a Tory governor was embarrassing, and naturally inspired suspicion in the minds of the colonists.[3]

While the Dunmore War was in progress, the "Quebec Bill" was discussed and enacted by the British Parliament. The bill so enlarged the boundaries of the province of Quebec that it made the Ohio and Mississippi rivers its southern and western limits, and the whole Northwest territory a part of Canada. The bill in its passage did not escape the protest of Lord Chatham, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, Colonel Barré,

[1] Accounts of Cornstalk by W. H. Foote are in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, xvi. 533, and by M. M. Jones in Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, v. 583. See Withers, pp. 129, 136, 156. Cornstalk's tragical death is described in Doddridge, p. 239, and Kercheval, p. 267; also in J. P. Hale's *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, p. 328.

[2] See *Amer. Archives*, 4th series, i. 1016; *Olden Time*, ii. 33; Monette, i. 376–380; Perkins's *Annals*, p. 149; *Amer. Pioneers*, i. 381, by L. C. Draper; *Virginia Hist. Reg.*, i. 30; v. 181; narrative of Capt. John Stuart in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 668, in *Virginia Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., and separately as *Memoirs of Indian Wars* (Richmond, 1833); John P. Hale's *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers* (Cincinnati, 1886), p. 174; and a paper by S. E. Lane in *Mass. Mag.*, Nov., 1885, p. 277. [What purports to be a contemporary account in J. L. Peyton's *Adventures of my Grandfather* (London, 1867), p. 142, is not without suspicion. — Ed.]

[3] For particulars concerning the Dunmore War, see *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., i. 345, 435, 468, 506, 774, 1013–1020; ii. 170, 301; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, viii. 459, 461; *St. Clair Papers*, i. 296, etc.; C. W. Butterfield's *Washington-Crawford letters* (Cinn., 1877), pp. 47, 86; Morgan's autobiographic letter in *Hist. Mag.*, xix. 379; De Haas's *West. Virginia*, 142; Doddridge, pp. 229–239; Kercheval, p. 148; Withers, 104–138; Perkins's *Annals*, pp. 140–151; Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, pp. 86–94; Monette, i. pp. 368–385; Atwater's *Ohio*, pp. 110–119; Walker's *Athens Co., Ohio*, p. 8; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 91; and Schweinitz's *Zeisberger*, p. 399. [Col. Charles Whittlesey has treated the subject in his *Discourse relating to the expedition of Dunmore* (Cleveland, 1842); in the *Olden Time*, ii. 8, 37; and in his *Fugitive Essays* (Hudson, Ohio, 1852). — Ed.]

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and the corporation of the city of London.[1] The colonies, at the time of the enactment of the Quebec Bill, made complaint concerning it "for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government) of the neighboring colonies."[2] Its real purpose and effect, however, of robbing the American colonies of 240,000 square miles of territory which had already been ceded to them in their charters, and establishing the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers as Canadian boundaries, in case of war and a separation of the Eastern colonies from the mother country, were not mentioned, and seem not to have been considered. The colonies then had little interest in, and scarcely a thought of, the country beyond the Alleghanies. During the war, however, they learned something of the value of the West; and in the negotiations for peace, in 1782–3, the Quebec Bill was often recurred to as one of the principal causes of the Revolution.[3]

For several years after the close of the Dunmore War the Western Indians were again quiet. They heard with satisfaction of the opening battles of the Revolution, and were not in haste to take the war-path for either side. Except at the British post of Detroit, the sentiments of the settlers west of the mountains were intensely anti-English. The Eastern colonies were too much occupied in their own defence to give any attention to what was happening at the West. The hardy pioneers, left to themselves, conducted their own campaigns. They were not enrolled in the Continental army, and they knew little of, and cared less for, the Continental Congress and the great commander-in-chief of the army. They recognized only the authority of Virginia; and, as voluntary and patriotic rangers, they achieved some of the most important and brilliant victories of the war, concerning which the official proceedings of Congress, and the voluminous correspondence of Washington and of other prominent actors in the war, make scarcely a mention.

The northeastern portion of Kentucky was explored by Dr. Walker in 1747, the central portion by Daniel Boone and others in 1769, and the northwestern portion in 1773. The first log cabin in Kentucky was built by James Harrod at Harrodsburg, Mercer County, in 1774, and the first fort by Boone, at Boonesborough, Madison County, in June, 1775.[4] About

[1] For references to the proceedings in Parliament, see *ante*, chapter i., notes.

[2] Declaration of Rights, Oct. 14, 1774 (*Jour. of Old Cong.*, i. 22). In similar terms it was complained of in the Articles of Association, Oct. 20, 1774 (*Ibid.* 23); and again, without naming the act, in the Declaration of Independence, as follows: "For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies" (*Ibid.* 395).

[3] "The Quebec act was one of the multiplied causes of our opposition, and finally of the Revolution." (Madison's report, January 27, 1782; Thomson Papers, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878, p. 134; *Secret Journals of Cong.*, iii. 155, 192.)

[4] Butler's *Kentucky*, pp. 26, 27. [Just before this, in May, 1775, the few settlers of the Kentucky towns had met and organized for defence,

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this time George Rogers Clark made an exploring tour in Kentucky, and in the autumn returned to his home in Albemarle County, Virginia.[1] In the following spring he went back to Kentucky; and, in view of the depredations which the Ohio Indians were committing on the settlements, called a meeting of the pioneers at Harrodsburg to devise a plan of defence. His plan was to appoint delegates who should proceed to Williamsburg and petition the Assembly that Kentucky be made a county of Virginia. The meeting, however, acting before his arrival and against his judgment, elected him and Gabriel Jones to be members of the Virginia Assembly. Their journey through the trackless wilderness and across the mountains was attended with great suffering, and they arrived after the legislature had adjourned. Patrick Henry was the governor. Before him and the Council, Clark laid the claim of Kentuckians to be regarded as citizens of Virginia, and asked for five hundred pounds of powder as a gift for their protection. He was heard with attention and respect, but was told that the Council had no authority to furnish the gunpowder as a gift. It could be loaned to the Kentuckians as friends, but not as citizens. Clark refused to accept it on such conditions, and left, saying, "A country which is not worth defending is not worth claiming." He was called back, and an order on the commandant at Fort Pitt was given to him for the powder. At the autumn session of the legislature Kentucky was made a county of Virginia.[2]

On returning to Kentucky Clark found the country more disturbed than ever. The Ohio Indians were invading it with larger parties; they lay in ambush about every fort,[3] and murdered the luckless soldier of the garrison who ventured outside the stockade. Clark seriously pondered over this alarming state of affairs, and came to the conclusion that the strategic points for defending Kentucky were on the north side of the Ohio River. He had probably never heard of Scipio Africanus and of his policy of fighting the enemy in the enemy's country. Without disclosing his thoughts to any one, he sent, during the summer of 1777, two young hunters as spies to Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and, having received favorable reports, started in October[4] for Williamsburg. There, on December 10th, he laid before Governor Henry his plan for the conquest of the Northwest territory from the British, whom he regarded as the instigators of the Indian raids upon Kentucky. He also consulted confidentially with George Mason, George

and had called their country Transylvania. For Boone's defence of his fort in Aug., 1778, with references, see Dawson's *Battles of the U. S.*, i. 445. — ED.]

[1] Butler, p. 35; Perkins's *Annals*, p. 171.

[2] Butler, p. 40; Dillon's *Indiana*, 115–118.

[3] [Dawson gives (*Battles of the U. S.*, i. 221) an account, with references, of the attack on Fort Logan in May, 1777, and (*Ibid.* i. 269) of the assault on Fort Henry (the modern Wheeling, named after Patrick Henry), Sept. 1, 1777. Cf. the account of Elizabeth Zane in Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Rev.*, ii. 275. There is a view of Fort Henry in Newton's *History of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia* (1879), p. 102. — ED.]

[4] In Clark's account of Nov., 1779 (*Campaign in Illinois*, Cincin., 1869, p. 21), he says: "I set out for Williamsburg in Aug[t] 1777 in order to settle my accounts." In his later and fuller account (Dillon's *Indiana*, 1843, p. 132; 1859, p. 119) he says: "When I left Kentucky October 1, 1777."

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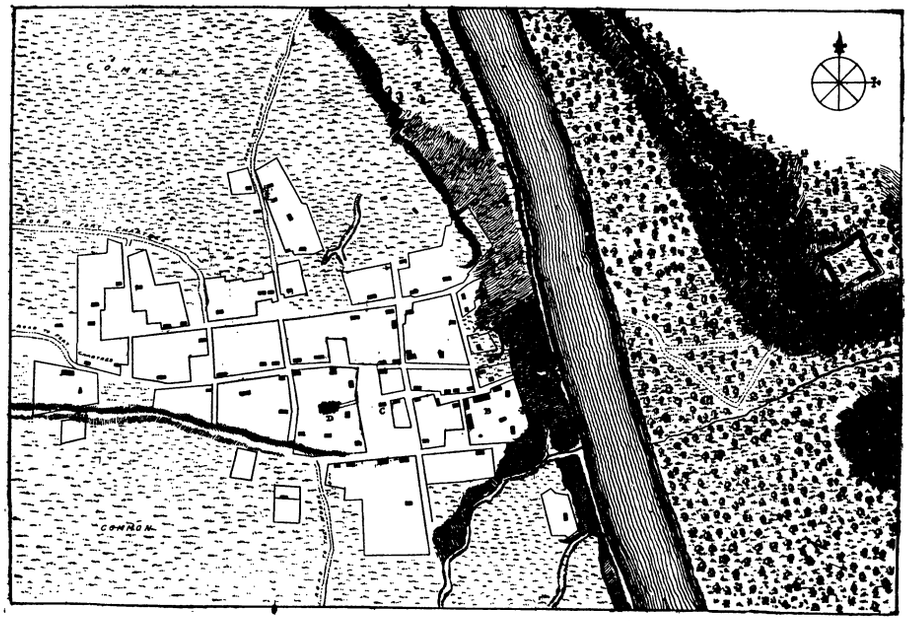
Wythe, and Thomas Jefferson. They, with the governor, were enthusiastic for the execution of his scheme and took immediate steps to furnish him with ammunition and supplies. The recent surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga had inspired a new energy in the conduct of the war. The necessary legislation was obtained under the pretext that the supplies were for the defence of Kentucky. Twelve hundred pounds, in the depreciated currency of Virginia, was voted him for expenses in the enemy's country. In January, 1778, Clark received from Governor Henry the rank of colonel, and two sets of instructions: one, which was public, for the defence of Kentucky; and the other, which was secret, for an "attack on the British post at Kaskaskia." He was empowered to raise seven companies, of fifty men each, in any county of the commonwealth, to act as militia under



A PLAN OF CASCASKIES (*Kaskaskia*).[1]

his orders.[2] He began recruiting, under his public orders, at Fort Pitt, but with little success, owing to quarrels between Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the opposition to the policy of sending soldiers, who were needed there, to defend Kentucky.[3] After much tribulation he raised three companies, and took them down the river to Corn Island, at the Falls of the Ohio,

[1] [Reduced from a plate in Philip Pittman's *Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (London, 1770). KEY: A, The fort. B, The Jesuits. C, Formerly commanding officer's house. D, The church. The river is about 450 feet wide, which will afford a scale to the rest of the plan.—ED.]

[2] See Clark's *Campaign*, 95, 96; Butler's *Kentucky*, 394; Monette, i. 415; Brown's *Illinois*, 239; *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 362.

[3] Washington had trouble from the same cause in raising troops at Pittsburg for the Eastern service (*Writings*, v. 244).

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opposite Louisville. Several companies that had been recruited elsewhere were promised him, but they did not arrive. Some of his men deserted, but enough Kentuckians joined him to make up four companies, or nearly two hundred men.[1] Here he divulged the secret of their destination, and read to the men his confidential instructions. They willingly accepted the situation, and the next day the expedition started. As their boats shot the falls, the sun was in total eclipse, which fixes the date as June 24, 1778. He had just received from Fort Pitt the news of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States, which he could use to advantage with the French settlers at Kaskaskia. With two relays at the oars, he ran the boats day and night, and on the 28th landed on an island at the mouth of the Cherokee (Tennessee) River. Here a party of white hunters, who had been at Kaskaskia eight days before, was brought in, and they volunteered to accompany him. Nine miles below the island, and one mile above old Fort Massac, they ran into a small creek, concealed their boats, and without a cannon,[2] a horse, or any means of transporting baggage or supplies, took up their march of more than a hundred miles across the prairies.[3]

[1] Governor Henry, in a letter to Virginia delegates in Congress, gives the number as "170 or 180" (Butler's *Kentucky*, 2d ed., p. 533); Capt. Bowman, in letter of July 30, 1778, to Col. John Hite, gives the number as "170 or 180" (Almon's *Remembrancer*, 1779, p. 82).

[2] *Amer. Pioneer*, ii. 345.

[3] George Rogers Clark's own narratives furnish the most authentic information concerning his Illinois campaigns, three of which are accessible in print, as follow in the order of their dates: (1) Letter to the governor of Virginia, dated Kaskaskia, April 29, 1779, concerning his capture of Vincennes (in Jefferson's *Writings*, i. 222–226). (2) Letter to George Mason, dated Louisville, Falls of Ohio, November 19, 1779, which covers the period from setting out on his second visit to Virginia, in the autumn of 1777, to the end of his Vincennes campaign. It is printed from the original MS. in the *Collections* of the Hist. Soc. of Kentucky, with an introduction by Henry Pirtle; a biographical sketch of Clark; and the journal of Capt. (later Major) Joseph Bowman in the expedition against Vincennes. It is one of the *Ohio Valley Series*, Cincinnati, 1869, and is here quoted as *Clark's Campaign*. (3) "Memoirs composed by himself at the united desire of Presidents Jefferson and Madison," printed (with omissions and interpolations) in Dillon's *Indiana* (1843, pp. 127–184; and 2d ed., 1859, pp. 114–170). The second edition is here quoted. H. W. Beckwith used extracts from the same in his *Historic Notes on the Northwest*, pp. 245–259. It is the most extended of the three narratives. The original, with a large mass of other MSS. of, and relating to, Geo. Rogers Clark, is in the possession of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wis. The date when it was written is not given; but it must have been written more than twelve years after the events occurred which it describes. Jefferson, writing March 7, 1791, to Col. James Innes, concerning Col. Clark, said: "We are made to hope he is engaged in writing the accounts of his expeditions north of the Ohio. They will be valuable morsels of history, and will justify to the world those who have told them how great he was" (*Writings*, iii. 218). Mann Butler's account of Clark's exploits (*Hist. of Kentucky*, pp. 35–88) is highly seasoned with popular traditions, and with incidents which are not consistent with Clark's own statements; and yet Butler has been more frequently quoted than the narratives of Clark. (4) The Canadian Archives, at Ottawa, has a journal of Clark, dated Vincennes, Feb. 24, 1779, the day of the surrender, which has never been printed nor quoted. (See report of Douglas Brymner, archivist, for 1882, p. 27, where an abstract of the report is given.) This is Clark's original report on his Vincennes campaign to the governor of Virginia. Three days after the surrender, a messenger arrived at Vincennes with despatches from the governor. On the 14th of March this messenger (whom Clark calls William *Myres;* Bowman, *Mires;* the Canadian Calendar, *Moires;* and Jefferson, *Morris*) was sent back to Williamsburg with letters to the governor. Near the Falls of the Ohio he was killed by the Indians, and the report of Clark, with nine other letters captured upon him, appear in the *Haldimand Collection* in the Canadian Archives. Clark, writing to Jefferson April 29th, mentions that he had heard of the killing of his messenger, "news very disagree-

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On the afternoon of July 4th they arrived within three miles of Kaskaskia, the river of that name lying between them and the town. There they remained concealed until dark, when they marched to a farm-house on the east bank of the river, about a mile north of the town, captured boats, crossed the river, and found that the people of the town, who a few days before had been under arms expecting an attack, were not aware of their approach. "I immediately," writes Clark, "divided my little army into two divisions: ordered one to surround the town; with the other I broke into the fort,[1] secured the governor, Mr. Rocheblave, [and] in fifteen min-

able to me, as I fear many of my letters will fall into the hands of the enemy at Detroit, although some of them, as I learn, were found in the woods, torn to pieces" (Jefferson's *Writings*, i. 222; see also Dillon, p. 159). Copies of these captured documents I have received from Ottawa. Clark's report is very interesting, and gives details of his interviews with Gov. Hamilton, while negotiating the surrender, which are omitted in his later narratives, and show that he treated Hamilton as if he believed he was responsible for the Indian barbarities inflicted upon the frontier settlers. (5) The *report of Gov. Hamilton* to Gen. Haldimand, July 6, 1781, which is an extended and detailed narrative of his expedition from Detroit to Vincennes in the autumn and early winter of 1778, of his capture by Clark, and of his long imprisonment in Virginia. He gives many facts and incidents which have not before appeared. He earnestly defends himself against the charges of cruelty made by Clark and the Virginia Assembly; and while admitting that, under instructions of his government, he sent out parties of Indians against the white settlements, he claims that he always gave the savages special instructions to be merciful, and that they obeyed him! This document, which has not been used by any writer, or been accessible until recently, is important, and is about the only statement we have giving the British view of the Vincennes campaign. With sixty other early manuscripts relating to the Northwest, it was kindly furnished to me by Mr. B. F. Stevens, of London, who copied it from the family papers of Lord George Germain. It now appears that it is also in the *Haldimand Collection* in the British Museum and in the Canadian Archives. It has lately been printed in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, ix. 489–516.

[1] Butler (p. 52) says "two divisions crossed the river, while Clark with the third division took possession of the fort on this [the east] side of the river, in point-blank shot of the town." It is now the popular belief of the residents in the vicinity, and it has been the positive statement of all writers on the subject, that the fort in which Col. Clark captured Rocheblave was on the high bluff opposite the town, where there is still abundant evidence that a fort once existed, and now is known by the name of "Fort Gage." The spot is daily pointed out to visitors as perhaps the most noted locality in the Western country. During the past year a historical painting (40×20 feet), illustrating Col. Clark's capture of Kaskaskia, has been placed on the walls of the State House at Springfield, Ill. In the centre of the picture is the site of the old fort on the bluff, and near it stands the Jesuit church. In the foreground is Col. Clark addressing a council of Indians. There are three historical infelicities in this picture. The council of Indians which is here represented, was not held at Kaskaskia, but at Cahokia, sixty miles distant. The Jesuit church, and the actual fort which Clark captured, were on the other, the western, side of the river. Only a few points in justification of this statement can be mentioned: —

(1.) The fort on the bluff opposite the town "was burnt down in October, 1766," says Pittman (p. 43), who visited Kaskaskia about that time, or soon after, and whose book was published in London in 1770. He gives a description and detailed drawing of the town, the river, and site of the old fort. "It [the old fort] *was*," he says, "an oblongular quadrangle, 290 by 251 feet; it *was* built of very thick squared timber," etc., — using in every instance the past tense. "An officer and 20 soldiers are quartered in the village." The evidence that the old fort was ever rebuilt is wanting.

(2.) No incident appears in the contemporary narratives that Clark occupied, or even visited, the site of the old fort; and there are many allusions to his occupying quarters in the town. On one occasion, expecting an attack from the enemy, he resolved to burn the houses around the fort. "I was necessitated," he says, "to set fire to some of the houses *in town*, to clear them out of the way." The people came to him in distress, fearing he would burn up their town. He took an occasion for doing this when there was snow on the roofs, and only such houses were burned as were set on fire (*Campaign*, p. 59). The site of the old fort was 500 yards from the river, and the river was 150 yards wide. A fire there would not have endangered the town; and Pitt-

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utes had every street secured; sent runners through the town, ordering the people on pain of death to keep close to their houses, which they observed; and before daylight had the whole town disarmed." [1]

man's plan shows no houses on the eastern bank, around the old fort.

(3.) Setting out for Vincennes on the 5th of February, 1779, Clark says: "We crossed the Kaskaskia River with 170 men" (Dillon, p. 139). Major Bowman, in his journal of the same date, wrote: "About three o'clock we crossed the Kaskaskia with our baggage, and marched about a league from town" (p. 100). Crossing the Kaskaskia would have been unnecessary if they had been quartered on the site of the old fort.

(4.) Clark had heard from the hunters who joined him on the way, and had been in the town eight days before, that the fort was kept in good order, and that the garrison was on the alert. He was too good a soldier, on such information, to divide his scanty force of less than two hundred men into three divisions, and with one of them attack an isolated fort on the opposite side of the river, where he could have no support from his other divisions. Bowman, in a letter to Col. Hite, said: "This town was sufficiently fortified to have resisted a thousand men." That Clark passed the site of the old fort without approaching or even mentioning it, and threw his men across the river a mile north of the town, is evidence that the site of the old fort was then unoccupied.

(5.) M. Rocheblave, writing from Kaskaskia, "Fort Gage, Feb. 8, 1778," to Gen. Carleton at Montreal, shows conclusively where the fort was situated in which he was taken prisoner by Clark five months later. The MS. is in the Canadian Archives (Brymner's *Report of 1882*, p. 12). Rocheblave reports that "the roof of the mansion of the fort is of shingles and very leaky, notwithstanding my efforts to patch it; and unless a new roof be provided very soon, the building, which was constructed twenty-five years ago and cost the *Jesuits* 40,000 piastres, will be ruined." By a decree of the king, the Jesuits were suppressed in France and its colonies in 1763, and their property was confiscated to the crown. The Jesuits had a valuable estate at Kaskaskia which was taken possession of by the French commandant, and the priests were expelled. Father Watrin, Jesuit, in his *Memoir of the Missions of Louisiana*, 1764 or 1765 (*Mag. of West. Hist.*, i. 265), says: "When the Jesuits of the Illinois, recalled by the decree against them, passed this post [Point Coupée, on the Mississippi], Father Irenæus [a Capuchin] received and treated them as though they had been brothers." Such of the property as was needed for public use was retained, and the remainder was sold. "The Jesuits' plantation," says Pittman (p. 43), "consisted of 240 *arpens* [200 acres] of cultivated land, a very good stock of cattle, and a brewery, which was sold by the French commandant, after the country was ceded to the English, for the [French] crown, in consequence of the suppression of the order." This sale must have taken place before the English occupation, in 1765. Pittman mentions the church and the "Jesuits' house" as "the principal buildings, which are built of stone, and, considering this part of the world, make a very good appearance." The Jesuits' house was doubtless the one mentioned by Rocheblave, the fort being adjacent to it. On his plan of Kaskaskia Pittman locates the church in the centre of the town, and the Jesuits' property at the southeast corner, near the river. Pittman returned to Pensacola from Illinois in the spring of 1767, "with the plan of a fort," which, Haldimand reports to Gage, will "cost a good deal of money" (*Haldimand Coll.*, p. 25). In 1772 Fort Chartres was abandoned in consequence of being undermined during an inundation of the Mississippi. Gen. Gage gave the order March 16, 1772, and directed that the troops be stationed at Kaskaskia. After the capture of the fort in 1778, the name was changed to "Fort Clark" (Bowman, p. 110; *Canad. Arch.*, 1882, p. 36). I have found no instance where the old fort on the bluff, burned in 1766, and now known as "Fort Gage," had that name during the period when it existed as a fort.

(6.) Lieut. Ross's *Map of the Mississippi from the Balise to Fort Chartres, made late in 1765, improved from the French surveys*, and published in London in 1775, places "Ft. Caskaskias" at the southeast corner of the town, on the west bank of the river, — the spot indicated in Rocheblave's letter. It shows no fort on the eastern bank.

(7.) Major De Peyster, writing June 27, 1779, from Michilimacinac to Gen. Haldimand, reports concerning affairs at Kaskaskia, and fixes without question the location of the fort. He says: "The Kaskaskias no ways fortified; the fort being still a sorry pinchetted [picketted?] enclosure round the Jesuits' college." (*Mich. Pion. Coll.* ix. 388.)

It is remarkable that Gov. Reynolds, who resided at Kaskaskia in 1800, should not have known the location of "Fort Gage"; or, rather, that the local remembrances of the real spot

[1] *Campaign*, p. 31.

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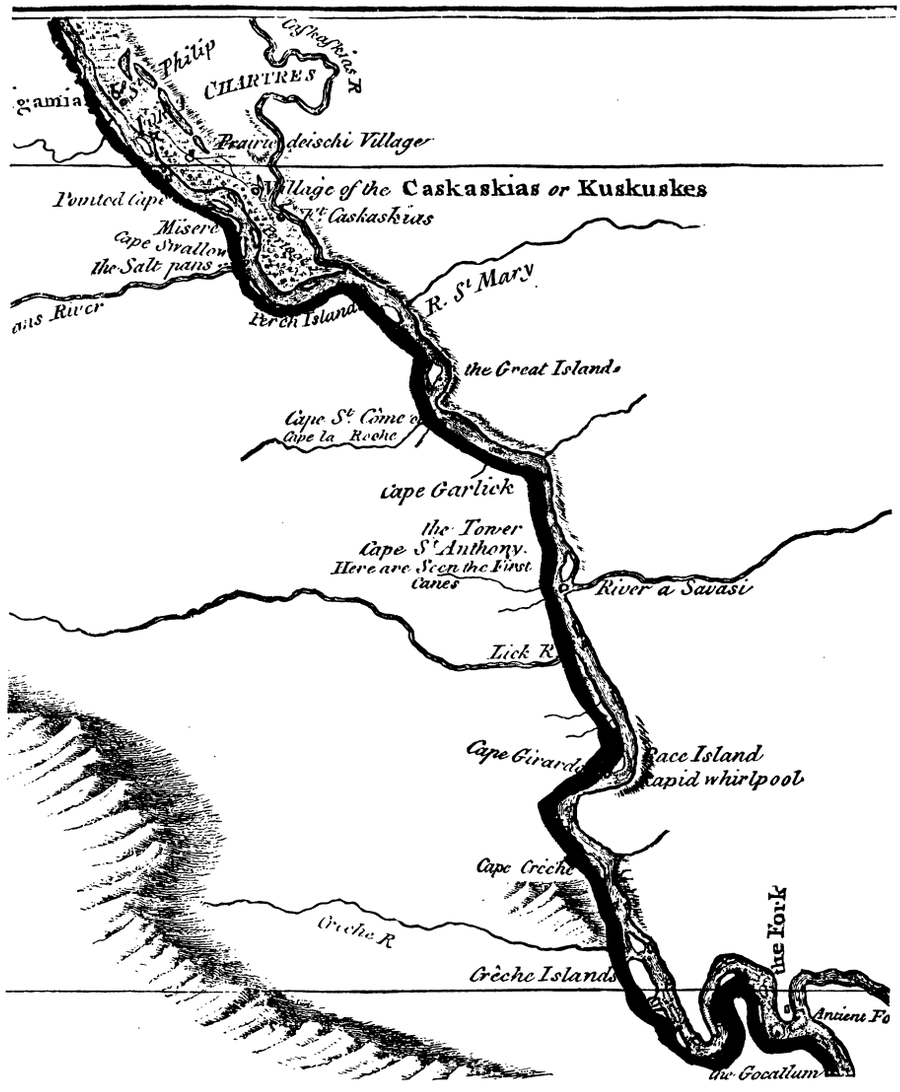
Clark had been informed by the hunters who accompanied him that the French residents of Kaskaskia regarded the Kentuckians, whom they called



A SECTION OF LIEUT. ROSS'S MAP OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

should have faded out in twenty-one years. He says (in *My Own Times*, p. 31, ed. 1879): "The English government [in 1772] abandoned Fort Chartres and established its authority at Fort Gage, on the bluff east of Kaskaskia." Again, he says (*Pioneer History*, p. 81, ed. 1887): "The British garrison occupied Fort Gage, which stood on the Kaskaskia river bluffs opposite the village." This, in his mind, was the location of the fort which Clark captured. He says (*Ibid.* p. 94): "Two parties crossed the river; the other party remained with Col. Clark to attack the fort."

Capt. Bowman, in letter to Col. Hite of July 30, 1778 (Almon's *Remembrancer*, 1779, p. 82), describes the march and capture as follows: "Marched for Kaskaskia with four days' provisions, and in six days arrived at the place in the night of the 4th instant, having marched two days without any sustenance, in which hungry condition we unanimously determined to take

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Big-Knives, as more savage than Indians; and resolving to make use of this impression, he gave them a shock which would enable them later to appreciate his lenity. The troops, therefore, kept up during the night the most hideous noises; and the residents, believing they had indeed fallen into the hands of savages, gave themselves up as lost. In the morning Clark had for them another surprise. M. Gibault, the priest, with some aged citizens, came to him and begged that the people might once more assemble in their church, hold a service, and take leave of each other, which request was readily granted. When the service was over a deputation came and said the people would submit to the fate of war and the loss of their property, but asked that they might not be separated from their wives and children. "Do you mistake us for savages?" said Clark. "My countrymen disdain to make war upon women and children. It was to prevent the horrors of Indian butchery upon our wives and children that we have taken up arms and appear in this stronghold of British and Indian barbarity. Now please inform your fellow-citizens that they are at liberty to conduct themselves as usual without the least apprehension." They were told of the treaty of alliance with France, and that if he could have surety of their attachment to the American cause they could enjoy all the privileges of its government, and their property would be secure to them. The people were transported with joy, and took the oath of allegiance to the State of Virginia. They also raised a company of volunteers, who accompanied Major Bowman to Cahokia, a French settlement sixty miles north of Kaskaskia. That town readily gave its adhesion to the American cause. Clark also put himself in friendly relations with the Spanish commandant at St. Louis.[1]

Clark next turned his attention to the British post of Vincennes. M. Gibault, the friendly priest, in view of what had taken place at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, thought that it was unnecessary to send troops to Vincennes. The post was in his spiritual jurisdiction, and he offered to undertake the mission himself, with several persons accompanying him. The result was the same as at Cahokia. The few British soldiers at the post could make no resistance to the popular sentiment, and withdrew to Detroit. Clark, having no troops to spare, allowed the residents, after taking the oath, to

the town, or die in the attempt. About midnight we marched into the town without being discovered. Our object was the fort, which we soon got possession of; the commanding officer (Philip Rocheblave) we made prisoner, and he is now on his way to Williamsburg under a strong guard, *with all his instructions* from time to time, from the several governors at Detroit, Quebec, etc., to set the Indians upon us, with great rewards for our scalps, for which he has a salary of £200 per year." This statement shows that the fort was in the town, and controverts the assertion of Butler (p. 53) that the public papers in the fort were not captured, out of delicacy to the wife of the commander, she "presuming a good deal on the gallantry of our countrymen by imposing upon their delicacy towards herself." . . . "Better, ten thousand times better," Butler adds, "were it so, than that the ancient fame of the sons of Virginia should have been tarnished by insult to a female!"

[1] For the details of the conquest of Kaskaskia, see Clark's narrative of 1779 in *Campaign* (1869), pp. 24–36; and of his narrative of 1791 (?) in J. B. Dillon's *Indiana* (1843), pp. 127–150; (2d edition, 1859), pp. 114–136. See also Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 49; Withers's *Border Warfare*, p. 185; Perkins's *Annals*, p. 192; Beckwith's *Historic Notes*, p. 245; Davidson's *Illinois*, p. 173; Brown's *Illinois*, p. 230; Monette, i. 414.

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garrison and to be responsible for the safety of the fort, which he put in charge of one of his own officers, Captain Leonard Helm, who retained one of his own privates. M. Gibault returned to Kaskaskia about the 1st of August; and Clark, in less than one month after his arrival, was in possession of every British post in the Illinois country, without a battle or the loss of a life.[1]

A problem now demanded solution which was of so difficult a nature that it would challenge the sagacity and resources of a veteran commander, and Clark was not a veteran. He was twenty-five years of age, and his only military experience had been as a ranger in Kentucky, and as a captain in the short and bloodless campaign of Lord Dunmore. How was he to hold this immense territory with less than two hundred three-months militiamen, whose term of enlistment had already expired, and with no hope of receiving recruits from Kentucky or Virginia? The British commander could send down a force which would outnumber his ten to one. The savage tribes which had ravaged Kentucky could by concerted action overwhelm his scanty force. The Virginia currency which he brought to pay for supplies he found would buy nothing in the Illinois country. It was fortunate for the nation and the Western States that George Rogers Clark was equal to the emergency, and that he had the self-reliance and sagacity to solve the problem successfully.

By his personal entreaties and promises to pay his men, about one hundred of them reënlisted. The others he sent home, with despatches, and with M. Rocheblave, the late commander at Kaskaskia, as a prisoner, to Governor Henry at Williamsburg.[2] His four companies he soon filled up with resident French recruits, and pretended that he could get all the American soldiers he wanted at the Falls of the Ohio.

He next undertook the pacification and control of the Indian tribes.

[1] The letter which Gov. Henry addressed to the Virginia delegates in Congress, Nov. 14, 1778, on receiving intelligence of Clark's capture of Kaskaskia, is in Butler's *Kentucky*, 2d ed., p. 532; [and is reprinted from the MS. in the new and excellent life of *Patrick Henry* (Boston, 1887), by Professor Moses Coit Tyler (p. 230). — ED.]

[2] Of M. Rocheblave very little is known. His full name, Philippe François de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave, with his nativity, appears in the parish records of Kaskaskia for April 11, 1763, in the third publication of the banns of his marriage to Michel Marie Dufresne (E. G. Mason's *Kaskaskia*, p. 17). He is mentioned in 1756 (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, x. 435) as a cadet at Fort Duquesne; in July, 1757, on the Potomac (*Ibid.* 581); and in July, 1759, at Niagara (*Ibid.* 992). Many of his letters [in French] are in the Canadian Archives. Several of them which I have, show him to have been a man of sensibility and refinement. He said he was a British subject because he had been abandoned by France at the peace. One of them is a long and interesting letter dated at "Fort Gage, July 4, 1778," which was probably sent off by boat a few hours before he was captured by Col. Clark. He was a prisoner in Virginia until the autumn of 1780, when he broke his parole and went to New York (Jefferson's *Writings*, i. 258). His family were left at Kaskaskia; and Gov. Henry of Virginia, in his instructions to Col. John Todd, Dec. 12, 1778, says: "Mr. Rocheblave's wife and family must not suffer for want of that property of which they were bereft by our troops. It is to be restored to them, if possible. If this cannot be done, the public must support them" (*Calendar of Va. Papers*, i. 314). His wife, signing her name "Marie Michel de Rocheblave," wrote from Kaskaskia, March 27, 1780, to Gen. Haldimand, appealing to his humanity for pecuniary help, as the rebels had taken everything from her but her debts. (MS. letter furnished to me by Mr. B. F. Stevens.)

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His sudden appearance in the Illinois country and rapid capture of the Western posts was the occasion of astonishment to the Western tribes; and their chiefs from a range of five hundred miles flocked to Cahokia to see the strange warrior of the "Big Knives." Clark met them there in council with a stern and haughty dignity. Soft speeches to Indians before they were under control he regarded as bad policy. He showed no fear in their presence, and no anxiety for their friendship. He laid before them a war-belt and a peace-belt, and told them to take their choice. If they did not want to have their own women and children killed, they must stop killing the women and children of the Americans. One chief after another rose and made submissive speeches. He refused to smoke the peace-pipe with any until he had heard from every tribe represented, and treaties were concluded. All the tribes gave in their allegiance to the American cause, and he had no further trouble with the Illinois Indians. The councils at Cahokia lasted five weeks, and their influence extended to all the nations around the great lakes. Captain Helm, under Clark's instructions, made similar treaties with the Wabash Indians.

The training and discipline of his little army now received his attention, and in order to conceal his weakness in numbers he allowed no parade except of the guards. About Christmas, 1778, he heard from his spies that Governor Hamilton was preparing to send an army into the Illinois country; and later, that Hamilton with eight hundred men had descended the Wabash and recaptured Vincennes.[1] Early in January Hamilton sent a scouting party to Kaskaskia to waylay and capture Clark, and it came near succeeding while Clark was returning from a visit to Cahokia. This party was supposed to be an advanced guard of Hamilton's army, and every preparation was made to defend the town. On the 29th of January, 1779, Colonel François Vigo,[2] a Spanish merchant of St. Louis, arrived from Vin-

[1] The only garrison left in the fort when Gov. Hamilton and his troops appeared was Capt. Helm and his one soldier, whose name was Moses Henry. The latter placed a loaded cannon at the open gate, and Capt. Helm, standing by with a lighted match, commanded the British troops to halt. Hamilton demanded the surrender of the garrison. Helm refused, and asked for terms. Hamilton replied that they should have the honors of war, and the terms were accepted. The comical aspect of the garrison, consisting of one officer and one soldier, marching out of the fort between lines of disgusted Indians on one side and British soldiers on the other, is happily illustrated in Gay's *Hist. of U. S.*, iii. 612. See note in Clark's *Campaign*, p. 52; Butler's *Hist. of Kentucky*, p. 80; Monette, i. 425; Perkins's *Annals*, p. 207. Gov. Hamilton describes the surrender without mentioning this humorous incident, thus: "The officer who commanded in the fort, Capt. Helm, being deserted by the [resident French] officers and men, who to the number of seventy had formed his garrison, and were in pay of the Congress, surrendered his wretched fort on the very day of our arrival, being the 17th day of December, 1778." (Report of July 6, 1781.)

[2] Gov. Reynolds (*Pioneer History*, p. 101, ed. 1887) says Col. Vigo was sent to Vincennes by Clark as a spy; that he was captured by the Indians and taken to Hamilton, who suspected the character of his mission; and that he was released on the ground of his being a Spanish subject, and having influential friends among the French residents. Hamilton in his report makes no mention of Vigo by name, but says that men were stationed at the mouth of the Wabash to intercept boats on the Ohio; and that they at different times brought in prisoners and prevented intelligence being carried from Vincennes to the Illinois, "till the desertion of a corporal and six men from La Mothe's company, in the latter end of January, who gave the first intelligence to Col. Clark of our arrival." In Rey-

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cennes, and reported that Hamilton had sent away his Indians and most of his troops, leaving only eighty in the garrison; and that he was intending to collect them in the spring, and with five hundred Southern Indians make a campaign against Kaskaskia.

Clark now conceived the project of capturing Vincennes with his small force before Hamilton could reassemble his troops, and its execution forms one of the most daring and brilliant expeditions in American warfare. On the 4th of February he sent off a large boat called "The Willing," mounting two four-pounders and six swivels, under command of Lieutenant John Rogers, who had forty-six men and orders to sail for the Wabash, and, ten leagues below Vincennes, await further orders. On the next day Clark crossed the Kaskaskia River with one hundred and seventy men, marched three miles, and encamped. On the 7th he began his painful march across the Illinois prairies, a distance as a bird flies of one hundred and forty miles, but as he marched, of more than two hundred. The winter was breaking up, the rivers were swollen, the prairies were covered with water and ice, and the mud was such as can only be found in that rich alluvial country. On the 13th they reached the banks of the Little Wabash. Before them lay a stretch of water three miles wide and from three to four feet deep. They made a canoe, and on the 15th ferried the ammunition across and took the men over the channel, marching them the remaining distance through the water. On the 16th their provisions ran short. Major Bowman's journal says: "17th, marched early; crossed several runs very deep; came to the Embarrass River; tried to cross; found it impossible; travelled till 8 o'clock in mud and water, but could find no place to encamp on. 18th, came in sight of the swollen banks of the Wabash; made rafts for four men to cross and go up to the town and steal boats; but they spend day and night in the water to no purpose, for there is not one foot of dry land to be found. 19th, Colonel Clark sent two men in the canoe down the river to meet the bateau 'The Willing,' with orders to come on day and night, that being our last hope, and we starving; no provisions of any sort now two days." On the 20th they found some canoes and killed a deer. On the 21st the little army plunged into the water and waded for more than a league, — Clark says "breast high," Bowman says "sometimes to the neck," the boats picking up such as were likely to drown. On the 22d, says Bowman, "Clark encourages his men, which gave them great spirits; marched on in the waters; those that were weak and famished went in the canoes; no provisions yet; Lord help us." On the 23d they crossed the Wabash, wading four miles through water breast-high. "We plunged into it with courage, Colonel Clark being first, taking care to have the boats take those that were weak and numbed with the cold." Having

nolds's *Pion. Hist.* p. 423, is a biographical sketch of Col. Vigo, by H. W. Beckwith, and a portrait. See also Law's *History of Vincennes*, pp. 28–30. [Vigo helped Clark by cashing his drafts, and the story of a consequent suit for recovery of the money, which did not end till 1876 in the U. S. Supreme Court, is told by C. C. Baldwin in the *Mag. of West. Hist.*, Jan., 1885, p. 230. — ED.]

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crossed, they captured an Indian canoe with some buffalo meat, tallow and corn, which were made into a broth and fed to the famishing men, who soon recovered their strength.[1] No tidings had come from "The Willing," for she had not yet arrived.[2]

The town was but a few miles distant, and was unaware of his approach. Clark resolved not to delay the attack until the boat had arrived with his artillery and ammunition, but to capture the fort immediately with the men and means he had. Before moving on the town he wrote a proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants, worded in his peculiar style, and advising all "friends of the king to instantly repair to the fort, join their *hair-buying*[3] general, and fight like men. True friends of liberty may depend on being well treated; but they must keep out of the streets, for every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat as an enemy." The same evening he marched, took possession of the town, and threw up earthworks in front of the fort. The firing began immediately, and was kept up all night. His men lay in rifle-pits within thirty yards of the walls, the cannon of the fort being so mounted that they could not be trained upon them. Whenever port-holes of the fort were opened to fire, the besiegers poured in a volley of musket-balls, and severely wounded seven of the garrison. Two pieces of cannon were silenced in fifteen minutes. In the morning, Clark summoned Hamilton to surrender, stating that if he were obliged to storm the fort, Hamilton would receive the treatment due to a murderer. "Beware," he added, "of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession; for, by heavens, if you do, there will be no mercy shown you."[4] While these negotiations were pending, Clark's men took the first full meal they had had for eight days. The summons to

[1] Clark, in his letter to George Mason, scarcely alludes to the sufferings endured on this march. He says: "If I was sensible that you would let no person see this relation, I would give you a detail of our sufferings for four days in crossing these waters, and the manner it was done, as I am sure you would credit it; but it is too incredible for any person to believe except those that are as well acquainted with me as you are, or had experienced something similar to it. I hope you will excuse me until I have the pleasure of seeing you personally" (*Campaign*, p. 66). In his later narrative he spoke on the subject more freely (Dillon, 139–146), and his account is confirmed by Bowman's journal.

[2] She arrived on the 27th, three days after the surrender, "to the great mortification of all on board that they had not the honor to assist us," says Bowman. Clark, in his captured report, writing on the same day, says: "The Willing arrived at 3 o'clock. She was detained by the strong current on the Wabash and Ohio; two Lieutenants and 48 men, with two iron four-pounders and five swivels on board."

[3] An allusion to Gov. Hamilton's practice of paying the Indians for scalps, and not for prisoners. The proclamation is in Dillon, p. 146; Bowman's *Journal*, p. 104. [See *ante*, p. 683. — ED.]

[4] Bowman gives (p. 105–108) the correspondence with Hamilton, the articles of capitulation, etc., some of which are omitted in Clark's narratives. Hamilton in his *Report* describes Clark's demand on him to surrender thus: "About eight o'clock a flag of truce from the rebels appeared, carried by Nicolas Cardinal, a captain of the militia of St. Vincennes, who delivered me a letter from Col. Clark requiring me to surrender at discretion; adding, with an oath, that if I destroyed any stores or papers, I should be treated as a murtherer." Hamilton asserts that Clark was supplied with gunpowder by the inhabitants of Vincennes, "his own, to the last ounce, being damaged [by water] on the march;" and that "Clark has since told me he knew to a man those of my little garrison who would do their duty, and those who would shrink from it. There is no doubt he was well informed."

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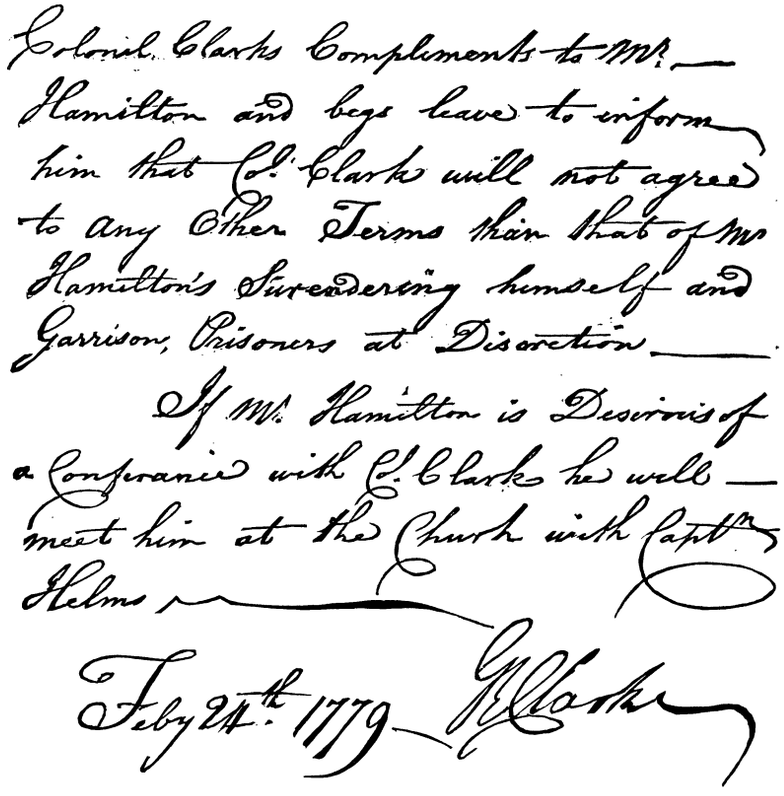
surrender was refused, and the firing went on. Later in the day, Governor Hamilton asked for a truce of three days, and for a conference as to terms. Clark replied that he would consider no other terms than surrender at discretion; but that he, with Captain Helm, would meet "Mr. Hamilton at the


Colonel Clarks Compliments to Mr. Hamilton and begs leave to inform him that Col. Clark will not agree to any Other Terms than that of Mr Hamilton's Surrendering himself and Garrison, Prisoners at Discretion.

If Mr. Hamilton is Desirous of a Conferance with Col. Clark he will meet him at the Church with Capt. Helms

Feby 24th 1779 G. Clark

CLARK'S SUMMONS.[1]

church." At this time a party of Indians came in whom Hamilton had sent to the Ohio for scalps. Clark's men tomahawked them in front of the

[1] From a manuscript kindly furnished by Lyman C. Draper, Esq., of Madison, Wis., who owns a large number of Clark's papers. Cf. R. G. Thwaites on Draper, in the *Mag. Western Hist.*, Jan., 1887. The above letter was addressed thus:—

Lt. Govr. Henry Hamilton

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fort, and threw their bodies into the river.[1] Clark's terms of capitulation were accepted; and at ten o'clock the next day (the 25th) the fort and its stores were delivered up, and the garrison of seventy-nine officers and men surrendered as prisoners of war.[2] The only casualty to Clark's soldiers was one man slightly wounded.

Hearing that a convoy with provisions, clothing, and ammunition was on its way to Vincennes from Detroit, Clark sent fifty-three men in boats up the Wabash to intercept it.[3] They met the convoy one hundred and twenty miles up the river, and captured it, with forty prisoners and despatches for Hamilton.[4] The value of the goods captured was £10,000, and Clark's men, who had been suffering for clothing and supplies, were bountifully provided for. Clothing to the value of £800 was laid aside for the troops which Clark expected would soon join him in an expedition, which he was planning, for the capture of Detroit.[5] This project had been on his mind ever since he came into the Illinois country, and all his energies were now directed to its execution. Not being able with his few troops to guard so many prisoners, he sent Governor Hamilton, his principal officers, and a few other persons who had made themselves especially obnoxious by being out with Indian parties, as prisoners of war to Virginia, and paroled the remainder.[6]

[1] Hamilton in his *Report* enlarges on the barbarity of this transaction. The indignation and resentment felt by Clark and his men towards Hamilton, and the occasion for it, appear in a conversation concerning the terms of surrender, which Clark gives in his captured despatch: "*Hamilton.* 'Col. Clark, why will you force me to dishonor myself when you cannot acquire more honor by it?' *Clark.* 'Could I look on you as a gentleman, I would do the utmost in my power; but on you, who have imbrued your hands in the blood of our women and children — honor, my country, everything, calls aloud for vengeance.' *Hamilton.* 'I know, sir, my character has been stained, but not deservedly; for I have always endeavored to instill humanity, as much as in my power, in the Indians, whom the orders of my superiors obliged me to employ.' *Clark.* 'Sir, speak no more on this subject; my blood glows within my veins to think on the cruelties your Indian parties have committed; therefore, repair to your fort, and prepare for battle' — on which I turned off."

The following incidents illustrate the sort of humanity which Hamilton, and other British commandants at Detroit, instilled in the Indian mind: At a council, on July 3, 1778, Gov. Hamilton presented an axe to the chief, saying: "It is the king's command that I put this axe into your hands to act against his majesty's enemies. I pray the Lord of life to give you success, as also your warriors, wherever you go with your father's axe." The item "60 gross scalping-knives" are among the official "estimates of merchandise wanted for Indian presents at Detroit from Aug. 21, 1782, to Aug. 20, 1783," signed by A. S. De Peyster, Lieut.-Gov. (Farmer's *Hist. of Detroit*, p. 247). The same writer (p. 246) states that he has seen the original entry of sale, on June 6, 1783, of "16 gross red-handled scalping-knives, £80;" and on July 22d, of 24 dozen more to the same parties.

[2] Among Hamilton's reasons, in the articles of capitulation, for surrender were: "The honorable terms allowed, and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy." For this compliment to Clark he apologized in his *Report* as follows: "If it be considered that we were to leave our wounded men at the mercy of a man who had shown such instances of ferocity, as Col. Clark had lately done, a compliment bespeaking his generosity and humanity may possibly find excuse with some, as I know it has censure from others."

[3] Hamilton states that Capt. Helm was the officer in command of the expedition, — a fact which Clark omitted to mention.

[4] Hamilton says: "The day before Capt. Helm, who commanded the party sent to take the convoy, arrived at Ouattanon, Mr. Dejean heard that we had fallen into the hands of the rebels; but he had not sufficient presence of mind to destroy the papers which, with everything else, was seized by the rebels. Besides the provision, clothing, and stores belonging to the king, all the private baggage of the officers fell into the possession of Col. Clark."

[5] Dillon, p. 158.

[6] On March 7th, "Capt. Williams and Lieut. Rogers, with twenty-five men, set off for the

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Having met and established friendly relations with the chiefs of the neighboring tribes, he placed Captain Helm in charge of the civil affairs of Vincennes, Lieutenant Brashear in command of the fort with a garrison of forty men, and embarked, on March 20, 1779, for Kaskaskia, on board "The Willing" and seven other boats. They made the trip of three hundred and fifty miles without casualty, and on arriving at Kaskaskia, after an absence of seven weeks, were welcomed by Captain Robert George, who, with his company of forty-one men, had come up from New Orleans, and was in command of the post.

The military conquest of the Illinois country now being complete, a civil government was forthwith established. The Assembly of Virginia was prompt to act as soon as the capture of Kaskaskia was known. In October, 1778, the territory northwest of the Ohio was constituted a county of Virginia, and was named the county of Illinois.[1] On December 12th, Colonel John Todd was appointed county lieutenant. The governor in his letter of instructions directed Colonel Todd to coöperate with Colonel Clark in his military operations, to have care for the happiness, increase, and prosperity of the county, and to see that justice was duly administered. Colonel Todd's appointment was especially pleasing to Colonel Clark, who said, in writing to George Mason: "The civil department in the Illinois had heretofore robbed me of too much of my time that ought to be spent in military reflection. I was now likely to be relieved by Colonel John Todd. I was anxious for his arrival and happy in his appointment, as the greatest intimacy and friendship had subsisted between us. I now saw myself rid of

Falls of Ohio to conduct the following prisoners, viz.: Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton, Major Hays [Hay], Capt. La Mothe [La Mothe], Mons. Dejean, grand judge of Detroit, Lieut. Shiflin [Scheifflin], Doct. M'Beth [McBeath], Francis M'Ville [Maisonville], Mr. Bell Fenilb [Bellefeuille], with eighteen privates" (Bowman, p. 109). Hamilton does not give a list of his fellow-prisoners, but the above names, as he gives them elsewhere in his *Report*, are inserted in brackets. He says: "On the 8th of March we were put into a heavy oak boat, being 27 in number, with our provision of flour and pork at common ration, and 14 gallons of spirits for us and our guard, which consisted of 23 persons, including two officers. We had before us 360 miles of water carriage and 840 to march to our place of destination, Williamsburg, Va." (*Mich. Pion. Col.*, p. 506). "On the 16th, most of the prisoners took the oath of neutrality, and got permission to set out for Detroit" (*Ibid.* 110). Gov. Hamilton and his associates were sent to Williamsburg, and by sentence of the executive council were placed in close imprisonment in irons, for their treatment of captives and for permitting and instigating the Indians to practise every species of cruelty and barbarism upon American citizens, without distinction of age, sex, or condition (see *Journals of Congress*, ii. 340; Jefferson's *Writings*, i. 226–237, 258, 267; Sparks's *Washington*, vi. 315, 407; *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 323; Hamilton's narrative from the *Royal Gazette*, July 15, 1780, in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, i. 186; Monette, i. 431; Farmer's *Hist. of Detroit*, p. 252). In October, 1780, Hamilton was sent to New York on parole, in order to procure the release of some American officers (*Sparks MSS.*, no. lxvi.).

For details of the Vincennes expedition, see Clark's *Campaign* (1869), p. 62–87; Dillon's *Indiana* (1843), pp. 151–184; 2d edition, pp. 137–167; Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 79; Beckwith's *Hist. Notes*, pp. 250–259; Davidson's *Illinois*, p. 193; Brown's *Illinois*, p. 241; Perkins's *Annals*, p. 208; Withers's *Border Warfare*, p. 188; Monette, i. 427; Hall's *Sketches of the West*, ii. 117; Marshall's *Washington*, iii. 562; *Mag. of West. Hist.*, by Mary Cone, ii. 133; *Hist. Mag.*, i. 168, by John Reynolds; Judge Law's address (1839), in *Va. Hist. Reg.*, vi. 61; Ninian W. Edwards's *Hist. of Illinois* (1778–1833). There is a map of the campaign in Blanchard's *North-West*.

[1] The enactment is in *Hening's Virginia Statutes*, ix. 552, and in *Legal Adviser* (Chicago, 1886), vii. 284. Cf. "Virginia's Conquest — the Northwest Territory," by J. C. Wells, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1886.

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a piece of trouble that I had no delight in."[1] Colonel Todd arrived in Kaskaskia in May, 1779. Courts of justice and militia companies were immediately organized in Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes,[2] and, from the lack of American citizens who were qualified, nearly all the official positions were filled by French residents.[3] A complete civil government was organized and regularly administered in the Northwest territory until the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783. This local government became an important factor in the negotiations for that treaty, with reference to the question of boundaries.

Colonel Clark had promises of troops from Virginia and Kentucky for his Detroit expedition, and he was to meet them at Vincennes. Arriving there in July, 1779, he found only thirty from Kentucky of the three hundred promised him. There were no tidings of recruits from Virginia; and Major Bowman, his trusty companion in former campaigns, was fighting the Shawanese on the Ohio at a disadvantage.[4] Clark, being very impatient, sent out officers to recruit in the settlements, and for this purpose went himself to the Falls of the Ohio. Here he received a letter from Jefferson, now the governor of Virginia, giving him new assurances of Virginia troops for the Detroit expedition, and stating that it was his intention to build a fort on the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio, in order to strengthen the claim of the United States to the Mississippi as its western boundary. The duty of building this fort was later committed to and performed by Colonel Clark. The fort was completed in June, 1780, and was called Fort Jefferson.[5]

At this time twelve hundred Indians and Canadians from Detroit, with artillery, under Captain Bryd, were coming silently down the Big Miami river to invade Kentucky and help carry out a scheme of conquest soon to be explained. They went up the Licking river, captured two stockades, which were defenceless against cannon, committed the customary British and Indian barbarities, and, although meeting with no opposition, retreated as rapidly as they came. In explanation of the sudden retreat it has been said that the British commander was shocked at the brutal conduct of his

[1] Clark's *Campaign*, p. 84. "I am glad to hear of Col. Todd's appointment," he wrote to Jefferson (i. 225).

[2] His proclamation of June 15, 1779, is in Dillon, p. 168; Davidson's *Illinois*, p. 202.

[3] See lists of the officials in Edward G. Mason's *Col. John Todd's Record-Book* (no. 12 *Fergus's Historical Series*, 1882), p. 54. Mr. Mason's paper is an interesting account of Col. Todd's administration, and of the state of the Illinois county at that time. Col. Todd was killed in battle with the Indians at Blue Licks, Ky., Aug. 18, 1782. See Col. Logan's account of the battle, *Col. Va. State Papers*, iii. 280, 300; Perkins's *Annals*, p. 270.

[4] Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 108; Withers's *Border Warfare*, p. 197.

[5] [An autograph letter of Jefferson to Washington, Feb. 10, 1780, urging reinforcements for Clark, is in the *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. iii. Various intercepted letters of Clark, including one of Sept. 23, 1779, to Jefferson, about fortifying the mouth of the Ohio, are among the Carleton Papers, in the London Institution, and are copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, xiii. On May 26, 1780, St. Louis had been attacked by the English with Indian allies (*Mag. Western Hist.*, Feb., 1785, p. 271, by Oscar W. Collet). It was through Vigo that Clark established intimate relations with the Spanish lieutenant-governor De Leyba, and Clark is said to have offered assistance in the defence of that Spanish post. — ED.]

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Indians, and would proceed no further.[1] In view of the habitual practice of the British commanders at Detroit of paying the Indians for American scalps,[2] — a practice Clark alludes to in the term "hair-buying general," which he applied to Governor Hamilton, — this explanation is charitable, but it seems hardly probable. It is more likely that Captain Bryd and his Indians heard the report that Colonel Clark had suddenly returned from his defence of St. Louis and the Illinois country against Sinclair's Indians, and was likely to make it a busy summer for the invaders in Kentucky. Clark with two companions proceeded to Harrodsburg to enlist troops. He there closed the land office, and soon had a thousand men with artillery at the mouth of the Licking, ready for an expedition across the Ohio. He moved rapidly upon Chilicothe and other Indian towns, which he destroyed, with their crops, and also a British trading-post where the Indians had been supplied with arms and ammunition.

Clark's favorite scheme of organizing an expedition for the capture of Detroit was delayed, and his spirit chafed under the disappointment. Jefferson was deeply interested in the project, and, Sept. 26, 1780, wrote an earnest letter to General Washington, urging him to furnish the means. "We have long meditated the attempt, under the direction of Colonel Clark, but the expense has obliged us to decline it. We could furnish the men, provisions, and every[thing] necessary, except powder, had we the money. When I speak of furnishing the men, I mean they should be militia, for such is the popularity of Colonel Clark, and the confidence of the Western people in him, that he could raise the requisite number at any time." [3] On Dec. 15th he writes again, in more urgent terms, and says: "The regular force Colonel Clark already has, with a proper draft from the militia beyond the Alleghany, and that of three or four of our northern counties, will be adequate for the reduction of Fort Detroit, in the opinion of Colonel Clark. . . . I am the more urgent for an immediate order, because Colonel Clark awaits here your Excellency's answer by the express." [4] Washington was also impressed with the military importance of Clark's expedition, and, Dec. 29th, instructed Colonel Brodhead, in command at Fort Pitt, to furnish Clark with the artillery and stores he required, and such a detachment of Brodhead's and Gibson's regiments as could be spared.[5]

Colonel Brodhead did not acknowledge General Washington's instructions, which were placed in Colonel Clark's hands to deliver, until the 25th

[1] Withers's *Border Warfare*, p. 213; Perkins's *Annals*, p. 235; Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 110.

[2] [See *ante*, p. 681. — ED.]

[3] *Writings*, i. 259. The letter abridged is in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Am. Rev.*, iii. 98.

[4] *Writings*, i. 280; Sparks's *Corresp.*, etc, iii. 175.

[5] Gen. Washington instructed Col. Brodhead to see that no Continental officer outranked Col. Clark. "I do not think," he wrote, "that the charge of the enterprise could have been committed to better hands. I have not the pleasure of knowing the gentleman personally; but independently of the proofs he has given of his activity and address, the unbounded confidence which, I am told, the Western people repose in him is a matter of vast importance. . . . In general, give every countenance and assistance to this enterprise. I shall expect a punctual compliance with this order. Col. Clark will probably be the bearer of this himself" (*Writings*, vii. 343-345).

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of February, and they did not reach him until the 21st.[1] During this interval of nearly two months, Benedict Arnold, with fifteen hundred British troops, sailed up the James River, and was ravaging Virginia, which, from the absence of its Continental soldiers, was almost defenceless.[2] In this emergency, Colonel Clark tendered his services to Baron Steuben in her defence, and with a small body of militia received the enemy in Indian and Western fashion. Jefferson, writing, Jan. 18, 1781, to the Virginia delegates in Congress, says: "Baron Steuben had not reached Hood's by eight or ten miles, when they [the enemy] arrived there. They landed their whole army in the night, Arnold attending in person. Captain Clark (of Kaskaskias) had been sent forward with two hundred and forty men by Baron Steuben; and, having properly disposed of them in ambuscade, gave them a deliberate fire, which killed seventeen on the spot and wounded thirteen."[3]

Colonel Clark's outfit at Fort Pitt went on very slowly and with many embarrassments. Writing, with the rank of brigadier-general, to Washington, on the 26th of May, 1781, he says: "The invasion of Virginia put it out of the power of the governor to furnish me with the number of men proposed for the enterprise to the West."[4] Colonel Brodhead did not feel that he could spare the troops at the fort which were promised. Clark's only hope was now in getting Continental troops. "But I have not yet lost sight of Detroit," he says, and wishes to set out on the expedition early in June. He was doomed to disappointment. The summer and autumn wore away, and the obstacles in his path increased. The troops he expected were employed elsewhere; the Western Indians again became hostile, and there was a general apprehension among the settlements of incursions upon them from Detroit by the British and their Indian allies. The opportunity of capturing Detroit had passed. General Irvine, in command at Fort Pitt, writing to Washington, Dec. 2, 1781, says: "I presume your Excellency has been informed by the governor of Virginia, or Gen-

[1] Sparks's *Corresp.*, etc., iii. 244.

[2] [See *ante*, pp. 495, 546. — ED.]

[3] *Writings*, i. 288. See Steuben's report to Washington, Sparks's *Corresp.*, etc., iii. 204. At the time of Arnold's descent on Virginia, a scheme was devised by Jefferson and Baron Steuben to capture the arch-traitor alive, and hang him. The scheme is set forth in a letter of Jefferson, with no address (*Writings*, i. 289), dated Richmond, Jan. 21, 1781; and it immediately follows the one describing Col. Clark's ambuscade. The purpose of the letter is to enlist the services of the person addressed in this hazardous enterprise. The writer says he has "peculiar confidence in the men from the western side of the mountains, whose courage and fidelity would be above all doubt. Your perfect knowledge of those men personally, and my confidence in your discretion, induces me to ask you to pick from among them proper characters, in such numbers as you think best, and engage them to undertake to seize and bring off this greatest of all traitors. Whether this may be best effected by their going in as friends and awaiting their opportunity, or otherwise, is left to themselves. The smaller the number the better, so that they be sufficient to manage him." He offers them a reward of five thousand guineas for bringing him off alive, and says "their names will be recorded with glory in history with those of Vanwert, Paulding, and Williams." The editor states in a note that the person addressed "was probably Gen. [John Peter Gabriel] Mühlenberg." Gen. Mühlenberg was a Pennsylvanian, and never resided west of the mountains. The person was doubtless George Rogers Clark, who was then in Virginia, and was too deeply interested in his Detroit expedition to engage in the scheme.

[4] Sparks's *Corresp.*, etc., iii. 323.

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eral Clark, of the failure of his expedition." He reports General Clark at the Rapids of the Ohio with only seven hundred and fifty men, and "the buffalo meat all rotten." "The general is apprehensive of a visit from Detroit, and is not without fears the settlement will be obliged to break up unless reinforcements soon arrive from Virginia."[1]

At this point, George Rogers Clark, at the age of twenty-nine years, ceased to be a factor in Western history. His favorite scheme had failed under circumstances which he could not control. No command was offered him in the Continental army. With a feeling that he was neglected, that his eminent services were not appreciated, and with a sense of wrong that his private property had been sacrificed to pay public debts,[2] his mind became depressed, and he fell into social habits which tended to increase his despondency. In November, 1782, he conducted a force of ten hundred and fifty men against the Indians on the Miami, took ten scalps and seven prisoners, burned their towns, destroyed their crops and the outfit of a British trading-post;[3] but he displayed none of the brilliancy shown in his earlier campaigns. He was discharged from the service of Virginia July 2, 1783, with a letter of thanks for his services from the governor. The financial distress of the State was assigned as the motive for his discharge.[4]

[1] *Ibid.* iii. 455. "I think," Gen. Irvine adds, "there is too much reason to fear that Gen. Clark's and Col. Gibson's expeditions falling through will greatly encourage the savages to fall on the country with double fury, or perhaps the British from Detroit to visit this post [Fort Pitt], which, instead of being in a tolerable state of defence, is, in fact, nothing but a heap of ruins." [The relations of Detroit to the war in the Northwest, as the centre of British intrigues among the Indians, and of British instigation of the savages to make forays on the region of the Ohio, is well set forth in Charles I. Walker's *Northwest during the Revolution*, the annual address before the Wisconsin Hist. Soc. in 1871 (Madison, 1871; also in *Pioneer Soc. of Michigan Coll.*, iii., Lansing, 1881). A plan of the Detroit River at this time is given in Parkman's *Pontiac*, vol. i. Col. Arent Schuyler De Peyster, who commanded at Detroit, 1776–1785, gives something of his experiences in his *Miscellanies by an Officer* (Dumfries, 1813). The latest history of Detroit is Silas Farmer's *Detroit and Michigan* (Detroit, 1884), where, in ch. 39, the revolutionary story is told. He has retold it in the *Mag. of Western Hist.*, Jan., 1886.

Brymner's *Report on the Canadian Archives*, 1882, p. 11, calendars the correspondence and papers relating to Detroit, 1772–1784, being in large part the correspondence of Gov. Hamilton and Carleton, including letters from Vincennes and intercepted letters of G. R. Clark. Much of the military correspondence with the commandants at Detroit and Quebec, during this period, are in the series "America and West Indies" of the Public Record Office, vols. cxxi., etc., which are calendared in Brymner's *Report*, 1883, p. 50, etc., as well as in the series "Canada and Quebec," vols. lv., etc. (*Ibid.* p. 73, etc.). There is also among the Haldimand Papers (*Calendar*, p. 204) a description of the route from Detroit to the Illinois and Mississippi country, 1774. — ED.]

[2] Virginia, later, made amends for this wrong. See Butler's *Kentucky*, 2d edition, p. 537.

[3] See his report to Gov. Harrison, in Butler's *Kentucky*, 2d edition, p. 536; Almon's *Remembrancer* (1783), part 2, p. 93.

[4] See Dillon, p. 179; Perkins's *Annals*, p. 278. In Jefferson's *Writings*, iii. 217, 218, and *Cal. Va. State Papers*, iv. 189, 202, will be found some sad incidents which throw light on the habits and subsequent record of Col. Clark. In 1793 he imprudently accepted from Genet, the French minister, a position in the service of France, with the rank of major-general and commander-in-chief of the French revolutionary legions on the Mississippi River. The purpose of this revolutionary scheme, which had many supporters in Kentucky and the West, was "to open the trade of the said river and give freedom to the inhabitants," by capturing and holding the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi. The troops were to receive pay as French soldiers, and donations of land in the conquered districts. Before the scheme could be put into execution, a counter-revolution occurred in France, Genet was re-

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In March, 1782, the frontier settlers, without provocation and in cold blood, butchered nearly a hundred "Christian Indians" in the Moravian mission settlements on the Muskingum. These Indians, under the instruction of their teachers, had adopted the habits and pursuits of civilized life, and were non-resistant in their principles. Their villages, Schönbrun, Gnadenhütten, and Salem, were regularly laid out, with houses and chapels built of squared logs and having shingled roofs. They had farms yielding abundant crops, and schools where the children were educated. Visitors from Western tribes far and near came to look upon the strange sight, and verify the reports which had reached them of the happiness and prosperity of the "Christian Indians." The number of converts had increased so rapidly that good Father David Zeisberger and his assistant, John Heckewelder, the missionaries, believed that the whole Delaware tribe would soon come under their influence.[1]

With the outbreak of the American Revolution the troubles of these gentle missionaries and their converts began. They were between two raging fires. Their peace principles forbade their engaging in the conflict or favoring either side, although their sympathies, which they could not express, were with the Americans. As a natural consequence of their neutrality, they fell under the suspicion and hatred of both parties. The British at Detroit were eager to secure all the Ohio tribes in their interest, and the missionaries made the Delawares pledge themselves to remain neutral. It was also suspected, and it was doubtless true, that the Moravians gave information to the Americans as to the movements of hostile tribes. The British, therefore, were of the opinion that the Moravian settlements were in secret alliance with the enemy, and they resolved to break up the settle-

called, and Clark's commission was cancelled. See Collins's *Kentucky*, i. 277; ii. 140; McMaster, *Hist. of U. S.*, ii. 142; Washington's Message against Genet and his scheme is in *Writings*, xii. 96. For Clark's reputation and the achievements up to 1781, see Marshall's *Washington*, iii. 562; Rives's *Madison*, i. 193; Withers's *Border Warfare*, p. 190; *Harper's Mag.* (by R. F. Colman), xxii. 784; xxxiii. 52; xxviii. 302; *Potter's Am. Monthly* (by W. W. Henry), v. 908; vi. 308; vii. 140; *Ibid.* (by S. Evans), vi. 191, 451; *Western Jour.* (St. Louis, 1850), iii. 168, 216; John Reynolds in *Hist. Mag.*, June, 1857; Collins's *Kentucky*. He was styled by John Randolph "the Hannibal of the West," and by Gov. John Reynolds "the Washington of the West." He was never married. He died February 13, 1818, and was buried at Locust Grove, near Louisville, Ky.

The only portrait of him extant was painted by John W. Jarvis, an English artist, who began business in New York in 1801, and painted the heads of many distinguished Americans. He made a trip West and South, during which he made many portraits. The picture of Clark represents him about sixty years of age. The best engrav ingof it is in the *National Portrait Gallery*, iv., with a biography. It is the frontispiece of Butler's *Kentucky*, 1834, of Dillon's *Indiana*, 1859, and in the Cincinnati edition of *Clark's Campaign*; and woodcuts are in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 287; *Mag. of Western Hist.*, ii. 133; *Harper's Mag.*, xxviii. 302, etc. It has been many times reproduced, with a modification of details. There have been many rumors as to the existence of a portrait taken earlier in life. Every alleged portrait of an earlier date which I could hear of, I have looked up, and find that they are all copies or modifications of the Jarvis picture.

[1] In 1772, the whole community of Moravian missionaries and their Indian converts at Friedenshütten, in Pennsylvania, where they had dwelt for seven years, removed to the valley of the Muskingum, on the cordial invitation of the Delawares. For many years, when living in the vicinity of the English settlements, they had suffered much from persecution; but now that they had their home among savages, it seemed to them that their trials were ended.

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ments and remove the inhabitants to Sandusky.[1] On the other hand, the settlers on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia hated the "Christian Indians," first, and chiefly, because they were Indians; and secondly, because they allowed the Wyandots to come among them, and had fed and hospitably treated other hostile tribes which had made raids on the white settlements. In the autumn of 1781 Colonel David Williamson raised a company of volunteers in western Pennsylvania to visit the Moravian towns and remove the inhabitants to Fort Pitt; but in the execution of the scheme he was anticipated by the British and their Indian allies, the Shawanese,[2] Wyandots, and Hurons, who were there before him. On August 10, 1781, one Matthew Elliott, in the service of the governor of Detroit, and Half-King, a chief of the Hurons, appeared at Gnadenhütten with three hundred whites and Indians flying the British flag. Without offering personal violence, they urged the missionaries and converts to abandon the Muskingum country, and place themselves under the protection of the British at Sandusky, on the ground that they were in constant peril from the white settlers on the border. Having declined the offer of British protection, their fears were appealed to, their cattle were shot, and their houses ravaged by the Indians. Worn out by fear and persecution, on September 11th they turned their unwilling steps from the valley of the Muskingum towards Sandusky, under the charge of their uninvited escorts.[3] Having reached their destination, the missionaries were sent to Detroit to answer before the governor to charges made against them, and were acquitted.[4]

During the winter the captives at Sandusky suffered from want of proper shelter and food, and a party of a hundred went back to the deserted villages to gather corn which had been left standing in the fields. A report of their return reached the white settlements, and Colonel Williamson, without any civil or military authority, again picked up a company of volunteers and started for the Muskingum country. On his former expedition he brought back several Indians whom the British party had overlooked, and after the form of a trial at Fort Pitt they were released. The colonel was blamed by the people that he had not shot the Indians at sight. Arriving at the deserted towns, he found the "Christian Indians" harvesting their corn and suspecting no danger. He told them that he had come to remove them to Fort Pitt, and ordered them to a building, where they were confined. A vote was then taken by his men, whether the prisoners should be taken to Fort Pitt or put to death. Only eighteen voted to spare their

[1] The Sandusky of that period was on the head-waters of the Sandusky River, about seventy-five miles east of south from the modern Sandusky City on Lake Erie. Its location was near what is now known as Upper Sandusky, in Wyandot County, Ohio. The region was a fertile plain, and the home of the Wyandots.

[2] See "The Identity and History of the Shawanese Indians," by C. C. Royce, in the *Mag. of Western Hist.*, ii. 38.

[3] The fact that the Moravians had accompanied the Wyandots to the country of Sandusky was used as evidence against them.

[4] It is to the credit of the British officers at Detroit that they befriended the Moravians, and assigned them a tract of land in Michigan.

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lives. The captives were informed of their fate, and were told that, "inasmuch as they were Christians, they would be given one night to prepare for death in a Christian manner." In the morning they were tomahawked and butchered in the most shocking manner. "Thus," said Loskeil, the Moravian bishop, "ninety-six persons magnified the name of the Lord by patiently meeting a cruel death." [1]

Another expedition, known as the "Crawford Campaign," was forthwith organized, the purpose of which was to exterminate the Wyandots and the Moravian Delawares on the Sandusky, and to give no quarter to any Indian. Colonel Williamson was again the chief organizer, and probably the same men were enlisted who had disgraced themselves on the Muskingum. Colonel William Crawford,[2] who had seen much service in the Continental army, was put in command, much against his wishes, and Williamson was second in rank. On May 25, 1782, four hundred well equipped and mounted backwoodsmen, breathing vengeance against the red men, started out from Mingo Bottom, on the Ohio, for the Sandusky country, a journey of one hundred and fifty miles. Nineteen days later a remnant of them returned to the same spot, a defeated and demoralized rabble, with a loss of seventy killed, wounded, and missing. The Indians knew their plans, and had time to summon the neighboring tribes and to procure British soldiers and artillery from Detroit. Two battles were fought, in which they were outnumbered and outgeneralled, and it was fortunate that any of them escaped. Stragglers came in daily, reporting the sufferings and cruel tortures they had undergone, but none of them could report the fate of Colonel Crawford. He was captured, and the barbarity of the Indian mind exhausted itself in the ingenuity of the tortures with which he was put to death.[3]

[1] See C. F. Post's first visit to the Western Indians by T. J. Chapman, in *Mag. of Western Hist.*, iii. 123. For the general subject of the Moravian missions in Ohio, see Loskiel, *Memoirs of the United Brethren, Part II.;* Heckewelder, *Narrative*, pp. 213–328; Holmes, *Missions of the United Brethren*, p. 110; Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, pp. 368–590; Rondthaler, *Life of Heckewelder*, p. 66; Gnadenhütten, by W. D. Howells, in *Atlantic Monthly*, xxiii. 95; Withers, p. 230; Doddridge, p. 248; Monette, ii. 129; *Amer. Pioneer*, ii. 425; Perkins, *Annals*, p. 258. Cf. also the *Diary of David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary among the Indians of Ohio* (1781–1798); *translated from the original German manuscript and edited by E. F. Bliss*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1885).

[2] Col. Crawford was a friend of Washington, and had been one of his surveyors. "It is with the greatest sorrow," wrote Washington, "that I have learned the melancholy tidings of Col. Crawford's death. He was known to me as an officer of much prudence, brave, experienced, and active. The manner of his death was shocking to me, and I have this day communicated to Congress such papers as I have regarding it." Cf. C. W. Butterfield's *Washington-Crawford letters, 1767–1781* (Cincinnati, 1877,— Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 147).

[3] See *Narratives of the perils and sufferings of Dr. Knight and John Slover, among the Indians, during the Revolutionary war; with short memoirs of Col. Crawford and John Slover, and a letter from H. Brackinridge, on the rights of the Indians, etc.* (Cincinnati, 1867), pp. 12–31; (for earlier editions see Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 682–685;) Perkins's *Annals*, p. 262; Doddridge, p. 264; Withers, p. 242; "Crawford's Campaign," by N. N. Hill, Jr., in the *Mag. of West. Hist.*, ii. 19; McClung's *Sketches*, p. 128. [Schweinitz's *Zeisberger*, p. 564; *Amer. Pioneer*, ii. 177; *Hist. Mag.*, xxi. 207; Isaac Smucker's "Ohio Pioneer History" in Ohio Sec. of State's *Annual Report*, 1879, pp. 7–28. Cf. also C. W.

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On May 26, 1780, a raid was made on the Spanish post of St. Louis by a party of fifteen hundred Indians and a hundred and forty English and Canadian traders, fitted out by Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair, of Michilimacinac, and led by a Sioux chief named Wabasha. The affair lasted only a few hours, and no assault was made on the fortified enclosure; but a considerable number of persons found on their farms or intercepted outside of the palisades were shot or captured. A portion of the party crossed the Mississippi and made a similar raid on Cahokia. They all then left for their northern homes as rapidly as they came, — some by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, and others by way of the Illinois River to Chicago, where Sinclair had two vessels awaiting them.

This affair has been the occasion of many conflicting statements[1] as to the time it occurred, the number of persons killed and captured, and how it happened that so large a body of Indians in the British service came so far and did so little which was warlike. It has been often asserted, and as often denied, that George Rogers Clark, at the request of the Spanish commandant, was at St. Louis at the time of the incursion, or so near as to render efficient service. The purpose and character of this expedition, and the causes of its failure, are explained by contemporary documents[2] recently published, which were not accessible to earlier writers. It was a part of a much larger scheme ordered, and perhaps devised, by the cabinet in London, to capture New Orleans and all the Spanish posts west of the Mississippi and the Illinois country.[3]

Butterfield's *Hist. Acc. of the Exped. against Sandusky* (Cincinnati, 1873, — Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 146); and, on the general military transactions of this period in the West, the same editor's *Washington-Irvine correspondence. The official letters which passed between Washington and William Irvine and between Irvine and others concerning military affairs in the West from 1781 to 1783. Arranged and annotated. With an introduction containing an outline of events occurring previously in the trans-Alleghany country* (Madison, Wis., 1882). Cf. *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vi. 371. Sparks made copies of many of these Irvine papers in 1847 (*Sparks MSS.*, no. liv.). — ED.]

[1] For a summary of these discussions, see Perkins, *Annals* (Peck's ed., 1850), pp. 242–250. Judge Hall, *Sketches of the West*, i. 171, gives the date "May 6, 1778"; Wilson Primm, *Historical Address*, 1847 (reprinted in *Western Journal*, 1849, ii. 71), gives "May, 1779," as the date, and says 1779 is an era in the history of St. Louis, and is designated as "L'Année du coup." Nicollet, *Early St. Louis*, gives "May, 6, 1780," and Martin, *Louisiana*, "the fall of 1780." Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, without naming the month and day, gives the year and the main facts correctly; but errs in stating that "the expedition was not sanctioned by the English court, and the private property of the commandant was seized to pay the expenses of it." As to the casualties, Stoddard (p. 80) says, "60 killed and 30 prisoners;" Nicollet (p. 85), "60 killed and 13 prisoners;" Primm, "20 killed;" and Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 1886 (p. 196), "seven persons were killed," and he furnishes a list of their names. Sinclair, in report to Haldimand, July 8, 1780, says: "At Pencour [St. Louis], 68 were killed, and 18 blacks and white people taken prisoners; 43 scalps were brought in. The rebels lost an officer and three men killed at the Cahokias, and five prisoners" (*Mich. Pion. Col.*, ix. 559). Martin (ii. 53) says: "Clark released about 50 prisoners that had been made."

[2] Brymner's *Calendar of the Canadian Archives*, including the (1) *Haldimand collection*; (2) the publication of some of the Haldimand papers in *Michigan Pioneer Collec.*, ix.; and (3) the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Richmond, v. i., vi.

[3] [In March, 1766, Ulloa, from Havana, landed at New Orleans, and in the name of Spain took possession of Louisiana; but found himself obliged to administer the government under the old French officers, and in 1768 the French set up for a while a republic independent of Spain. Cf. Gayarré's *Louisiana*, and Lieutenant John Thomas's account of Louisiana in 1768 in *Hist. Mag.*, v. 65.

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On May 8, 1779, Spain declared war against Great Britain, and on July 8 authorized her American subjects to make war upon Natchez and other English posts on the east bank of the Mississippi.[1] On June 17, Lord George Germain, secretary for the colonies, wrote to General Haldimand, informing him that Spain had declared war, and that hostilities were to begin at once; and he was ordered to attack New Orleans and reduce the Spanish posts on the Mississippi.[2] These orders were issued in a circular letter sent to all the Western governors. Sinclair acknowledged the circular February 17, 1780, and informed the general that he had taken steps to engage the Sioux and other tribes west of the Mississippi for the expedition.[3] De Peyster at Detroit wrote to Haldimand, March 8, that he

Congress maintained an agent, Oliver Pollock, at New Orleans during the war, who, with the aid of the Spanish authorities, sent powder and supplies at intervals up the river, to be landed on the Ohio (George Sumner's *Boston Oration*, 1859, p. 14). The correspondence of Pollock and Congress is in the archives of the State Department at Washington, and copies are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xli. An account of an expedition under Col. David Rogers in 1778, to bring up stores to Fort Pitt, is in *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 267.

Various letters about and from New Orleans during the war are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxiii.), copied from the Grantham correspondence. Intercepted letters between the Spanish governor at New Orleans and Patrick Henry (1778–1779), found among the Carleton papers, are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xiii. — ED.]

[1] Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination*, p. 121.

[2] Brymner, 1885, p. 276.

[3] "In compliance with my Lord George Germain's requisition in the circular letter sent from Detroit on 22d January, I sent a war party of Indians to the country of the Sioux to put that nation in motion under their own chief, Wabasha, a man of uncommon abilities. . . . They are directed to proceed with all despatch to the Natchez, and to act afterwards as circumstances may require. I shall send other bands of Indians from thence on the same service as soon as I can with safety disclose the object of their mission. I am at a loss to judge in point of time, and can only hazard an opinion that the Brigadier [Campbell] and his army will be at the place of their destination some time in May" (*Michigan Pioneer Coll.*, ix. 544).

The same day, Sinclair wrote to Capt. Brehm, Haldimand's aide-de-camp: "I will use my utmost endeavors to send away as many as I can of the Indians to attack the Spanish settlements as low down [the Mississippi] as they possibly can, in order to procure the assistance of the others at home. I am so perfectly convinced of the general's [Haldimand's] geographical knowledge that I do not know where to look for the cause of a doubt about giving some aid to General Campbell from this quarter. . . . I am at a loss to know whether this preparation may not be too early, on account of want of secrecy in the people I have employed, and from their getting too near [New] Orleans before the arrival of the brigadier. I have confidence in and hopes of their leader, as Wabasha is allowed to be a very extraordinary Indian, and well attached to his majesty's interest" (*Ibid.* pp. 541–543).

February 17, he writes again to Haldimand, that the Minomines, Puants, Sacs, and Rhenards were to assemble at the portage of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers under a Mr. Hesse, a trader; and later to rendezvous at the confluence of the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers, Prairie du Chien. "The reduction of Pencour [*pain court* (short bread), the common nickname of St. Louis] by surprise, from the easy admission of the Indians of that place, will be less difficult than holding it afterwards. . . . The Sioux shall go with all dispatch as low down as the Natchez, and as many intermediate attacks as possible shall be made" (*Ibid.* pp. 546, 547).

May 29, he again writes that seven hundred and fifty men, including traders, servants, and Indians, proceeded down the Mississippi on the second day of May, with the Indians engaged at the westward, for an attack on the Spanish and Illinois country. He mentions Prairie du Chien as the place of assembling. "Capt. Hesse will remain at Pencour; Wabasha will attack Misère [wretchedness, the popular nickname for Ste. Geneviève] and the rebels at Kacasia [Kaskaskia]. Two vessels leave this place on the 2d of June to attend Machigwawish, who returns by the Illinois River with prisoners. All the traders who will secure the posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi during the next winter have my promise for the exclusive trade of the Missouri during that time, and that their canoes will be forwarded" (*Ibid.* 548, 549).

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had taken measures "to facilitate Sinclair's movements on the Mississippi, and be of use to Brigadier Campbell, if he has not already taken New Orleans. The Wabash Indians will amuse Clark at the Falls of the Ohio." [1] The general scheme here touched upon was, that General Campbell, stationed at Pensacola, should, with a British fleet and army, come up the Mississippi to Natchez, and there meet the Indian expedition sent by Sinclair down the western bank of the river, which was under instructions to capture and destroy the Spanish posts on its way. The united forces were then to expel the Spaniards from all their settlements on the lower Mississippi. The scheme miscarried. Governor Galvez, of New Orleans, a person of great ability and energy, no sooner heard of the declaration of war against Great Britain than he raised a fleet and army to capture the British posts on the Mississippi; and in September, 1779, the forts at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, with their garrisons, surrendered to him. He took also eight English vessels employed in transport service, and in carrying the supply of provisions to Pensacola.[2] Galvez next turned his attention to Mobile, which he captured March 14, 1780; and then to Pensacola, which surrendered May 9, 1781. Brigadier Campbell, therefore, in May, 1780, was otherwise engaged than in executing the splendid scheme which had been assigned to him by the British cabinet and his superior officer, General Haldimand.[3]

[1] Brymner, *Report*, 1882, p. 34. He writes to Sinclair, March 12: "Your movements down the [Mississippi] shall be seconded from this place by my sending a part of the garrison with some small ordnance. Their route shall be to the Ohio, which they shall cross, and attack some of the forts which surround the Indian hunting-ground of Kentucky. I have had the Wabash Indians here by invitation; they have promised to keep Clark at the Falls" (*Michigan Pioneer Coll.*, p. 580). His allusions are to Capt. Byrd's expedition. May 18, he again writes to Sinclair: "Capt. Byrd left this place (Detroit) with a detachment of about 150 whites and 1000 Indians. He must be by this time nigh the Ohio" (*Ibid.* p. 582).

[2] Among his prisoners were Col. Dickson, in command of the British settlements on the Mississippi; 556 regulars, and many sailors.

[3] Gayarré, *Louisiana, Span. Dom.*, pp. 121–147. Galvez discovered, by intercepted letters from Natchez, the scheme of the English to attack the Spanish settlements as early as it was known by Sinclair (p. 122), and he was earnest to strike the first blow. Clark also heard of it very early. Sinclair, writing to Haldimand, says: "No doubt can remain, from the concurrent testimony of the prisoners, that the enemy received intelligence of the meditated attack on the Illinois about the time I received a copy of my Lord George Germain's circular letter" (*Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix. 559). In the same letter he gives some details of the raids on St. Louis and Cahokia, which do not appear elsewhere: "Twenty of the volunteer Canadians from this place and a very few of the traders and servants made their attack on Pencour and the Cahokias. The Winnipigoes and Sioux would have stormed the Spanish lines, if the Sacs and Outagamies, under their treacherous leader Mons. Calvé, had not fallen back so early. A Mons. Ducharme and others who traded in the country of the Sacs kept pace with Mons. Calvé in his perfidy. The attack, unsuccessful as it was, from misconduct, and unsupported, I believe, by any other against New Orleans, with the advances made by the enemy on the Mississippi, will still have its good consequences. The Winnepigoes had a chief and three men killed and four wounded. The traders who would not assist in extending their commerce cannot complain to its being confined to necessary bounds." Writing later to De Peyster (*Ibid.* 586), he says: "The attack upon the Illinois miscarried from the treachery of Calvé and Ducharme, traders, and from the information received by the enemy so early as March last." For statements that the expedition against St. Louis was organized and led by Jean Marie Ducharme, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 232; vii. 176. It is evident that the objective point of the attack, in Sinclair's mind, was the Illinois country, rather than the Spanish settlements. Haldi-

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It does not appear that, at the time of the attack on St. Louis, Sinclair, or the party of Indians and traders engaged in the expedition, had heard of the successes of the Spaniards on the lower Mississippi, and of the collapse of the main scheme.[1] Haldimand furnished Sinclair with the latter information in a letter written at Quebec, June 19th, twenty-four days after the fiasco at St. Louis, and supposing, apparently, that the expedition had not moved from Prairie du Chien. "I have received," he said, "your letters of the 15th and 17th of February, and much approve of the measures they advise me you have taken in the arrangement of the war parties intended to favor the operation of Brig. General Campbell, agreeably to the circular letter forwarded to you. . . . It is very unfortunate that the [Campbell] expedition should have been either abandoned or not undertaken so early as was intended, owing probably to the fleet having been dispersed, which, from what has happened upon the Mississippi, would appear has been the case. The intermediate attacks you have proposed the Indians should make will, however, answer a good end."[2]

That Colonel George Rogers Clark was present on the opposite bank of the river at the time of the St. Louis attack, and was there by request of the Spanish commandant, Leyba, and for the defence of the Illinois country, can no longer be doubted.[3] The proof is in a report of Col. John Montgomery, printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (iii. 443). Montgomery was one of Clark's four captains in his Kaskaskia campaign, and at the period of which he speaks was in command, under Clark, of the post of Kaskaskia. In his report he states: "In the spring of 1780 we [at Kaskaskia] were threatened with an invasion. Colonel Clark, being informed of it, hurried with a small body of troops from the Falls to the mouth of the Ohio, where he received other expresses from the Spanish commandant and myself, and luckily joined me at Cohos [Cahokia] in time enough to save the country from impending ruin, as the enemy appeared in great force within twenty-four hours after his arrival. Finding they were likely to be disappointed in their design, they retired after doing some mischief on the Spanish shore, which would have been prevented if unfortunately

mand, writing to De Peyster, Feb. 12, 1779, said: "Sinclair should strike at the Illinois" (Brymner, 1882, p. 33). Sinclair, writing to Brehm, Feb. 17, 1780, concerning the attack on St. Louis, said: "Afterwards they can act against the rebels on this side [of the Mississippi], which I have pointed out to them" (*Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix. 543).

[1] Sinclair seems not to have heard of the capture of Natchez by the Spaniards, which occurred Sept. 21, 1779, until July 30, 1780, when he wrote to De Peyster: "The report of the Natchez seems too well founded" (*Ibid.* 587).

[2] *Ibid.* 547, 548.

[3] Stoddard and Martin state that Clark was present; Nicollet denies the statement, on the ground that Clark was then at Kaskaskia, and "that gallant officer could not have had time to aid in that affair." Hall and Billon make no mention of Clark; and Primm and Peck (in Perkins) say that Clark tendered aid to Leyba in 1779, but not in 1780. It was a part of Clark's policy to be always on friendly terms with the Spanish commandant at St. Louis (*Campaign*, p. 35), and to give aid whenever he needed it. In so doing, as they were fighting a common enemy, he served his own interests. Mr. O. W. Collet, in *Mag. of Western Hist.*, i. 271, has discussed the friendly relations between Clark and Leyba before the attack on St. Louis, but is unmindful of the significance given to it in the text. See also Scharff's *Hist. of St. Louis*, p. 217.

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the high wind had not prevented the signals being heard." It is evident from this statement that the defence of his own territory was Clark's chief motive for being present on this occasion, and that the invitation of and friendship for the Spanish commandant at St. Louis were mere incidents in the transaction. "Prisoners and deserters from the enemy confirmed the report," says Montgomery, "that a body of a thousand English and Indian troops were on their march to the Kentucky country with a train of artillery;[1] and the colonel, knowing the situation of that country, appeared to be alarmed, and resolved to get there previous to their arrival. . . . After giving me instructions, he left Cohos on the 4th of June, with a small escort, for the mouth of the Ohio, on his route to Kentucky." The orders he left with Col. Montgomery were to pursue the Indians retreating up the Illinois River and attack their towns about the time they were disbanding, and to proceed as far as Rock River. "I immediately," says Montgomery, "proceeded to the business I was ordered to do, and marched three hundred and fifty men to the lakeopen [?] on the Illinois River;[2] and from thence to the Rock River, destroying the towns and crops, the enemy not daring to fight me."[3]

How much the presence of Clark near the scene of action contributed to the demoralization of the Indian forces is not mentioned by any of the contemporary writers. It is known, however, that his name was a terror to the savage tribes; and Sinclair, in organizing his expedition, found this dread of Clark among the Sioux and other nations west of the Mississippi. He wrote to Captain Brehm, Haldimand's aide-de-camp, February 15, 1780, that there was nothing in Hamilton's disaster which ought to alarm the Sioux, and that "many of them never heard of it. The short-sighted harpies, which necessity has thrown into the service, dwell upon the stories they hear from fretful bands of Delawares, Mascoutins, and Kickapoos near where the event happened. Admit that the disaster has all the supposed consequent misfortunes, it is still more necessary for us to engage the Indians to take a part, which will at once declare their enmity to the party they are engaged to act against."[4] "The party" Sinclair had in mind was evidently Clark himself; and with him the chief object of the expedition was to recapture the Illinois country.

The general scheme devised by Lord George Germain for the complete

[1] The expedition of Captain Byrd from Detroit.

[2] Sinclair reported to Haldimand, July 8th, "Two hundred Illinois cavalry arrived at Chicago five days after the vessels left" (*Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix. 558).

[3] Dr. Lyman C. Draper (*Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, ix. 291) says: "There was a party of Spanish allies sent out with Montgomery's expedition from Cahokia in the latter part of May, 1780, in the direction of Rock River." See also his note (*Ibid.* vii. 176). He thinks that the Spaniards and some of the Americans probably returned by way of Prairie du Chien, and that they were the party mentioned by Long in his *Voyages*, 1791.

[4] *Michigan Pioneer Col.*, ix. 541. Capt. Byrd, writing to De Peyster, May 21, 1780, reports that a Delaware Indian has come in from the Falls with this information: "Col. Clark says he will wait for us, instead of going to the Mississippi; his numbers do not exceed 200; his provisions and ammunition short" (*Ibid.* 584). Clark was on his way to St. Louis before this date, and was back to Kentucky in season to block Byrd's plans.

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conquest of the West, — of bringing down a large party of northwestern Indians upon St. Louis and Ste. Geneviève; of sending an expedition from Detroit to invade Kentucky and keep Colonel Clark busy; of bringing up the Mississippi to Natchez, under General Campbell, a fleet and army, there to unite with the northern expeditions, and from thence to capture the Illinois country and all the Spanish settlements on the river — was an excellent one, and had every promise of success. St. Louis was in no condition to resist an assault, and rank cowardice marked the conduct of the governor and the few soldiers stationed at the post when the Indian raiders appeared.[1] The Illinois country was very feebly garrisoned, and not a soldier or a shilling had ever been contributed by the Continental Congress for its conquest or defence. The scheme failed because of the promptness and exceptional activity of the Spaniards under Governor Galvez, and the watchfulness and energy of Colonel Clark. It was the last concerted effort of Great Britain to regain possession of the West; as the campaign of Clinton and Cornwallis, with its result one year later at Yorktown, was her expiring effort on the Atlantic coast.[2] If the Western scheme had been successful, the country north of the Ohio River would have been a part of the province of Quebec, and might have remained Canadian territory to this day. In negotiating two and three years later the treaty of peace with Great Britain under such conditions, it is difficult to conceive what boundaries the United States could have secured. Spain therefore rendered an invaluable service to the United States by enabling George Rogers Clark to hold with his Virginia troops the country he had conquered from the British, until the treaty of peace confirmed to the nation the Mississippi River as its western boundary.

Notwithstanding this important service, there was nothing friendly and disinterested, at this time, in the relations of Spain to the United States. She was looking solely to her own interests, and refused to acknowledge the independence of the United States, or enter into a treaty of alliance except on the most degrading conditions. She must be allowed the exclusive right to navigate the Mississippi, the undisturbed possession of the Floridas and of the east bank of the Mississippi, which she had captured from the British. Spain asserted that the United States had no territorial rights west of the Alleghanies, and that their western boundaries were defined by the royal proclamation of October 7, 1763.[3] The captures of Manchac, Baton Rouge, Natchez, and Mobile had awakened her military zeal, and nothing less than the possession of the entire Mississippi Valley would then satisfy her territorial ambition. French diplomacy favored some of these extraordinary claims of Spain.[4]

[1] Perkins's *Annals*, p. 245.

[2] It is noticeable that in these decisive campaigns efficient aid was furnished in the West by Spain, and in the East by France; and that both these powers, in the negotiations for a treaty of peace with Great Britain, threw their influence against the interests of the United States.

[3] See Gayarré, *Louisiana, Span. Dom.*, p. 134; Pitkin's *United States*, ii. 88, App. 512; *Secret Jour. of Cong.*, ii. 326.

[4] Sparks's *Dipl. Corresp.*, viii. 156. The Spanish claims and the Western boundary question are very fully discussed in this eighth volume.

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For the purpose of strengthening the Spanish claim to territory east of the Mississippi, the governor of St. Louis, Don Francisco Cruvat, sent out on the 2d of January, 1781, an expedition to capture St. Joseph, an English fort situated near the present site of Niles, Michigan. Although two hundred and twenty leagues distant, this was the nearest post to St. Louis which raised the British flag. The expedition was in command of Captain Eugenio Pourré, and comprised sixty-five militiamen (of whom thirty were Spaniards) and sixty Indians. The journey, made in the depth of winter across a trackless country, each man on foot carrying his provisions and equipments, was a daring exploit, and it was successful in accomplishing its immediate purpose. They took the fort in the name of his most Catholic Majesty, made prisoners of the few English soldiers found in it, divided the provisions and stores among their own Indians and those living near, and returned to St. Louis early in March, with the English flag, which Captain Pourré delivered with due ceremony to Governor Cruvat.[1] The treaty of peace, which it is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss, brought this and other shallow pretensions on the part of the Spaniards to territorial rights east of the Mississippi River to an end.[2]

[1] Mr. Jay (Sparks's *Dipl. Corres.*, viii. 76–78) gives the main facts concerning the Spanish expedition to St. Joseph, which he translated from the *Madrid Gazette* of March 12, 1782. Mr. E. G. Mason (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, xv. 457) has treated the subject more fully in a paper entitled "March of the Spaniards across Illinois in 1781." See also Reynolds's *Illinois*, ed. 1887, p. 126; Dillon's *Indiana*, ed. 1843, p. 190; Perkins's *Annals*, ed. 1851, p. 251.

Dr. Franklin, writing from Passy, April 12, 1782, to Secretary Livingston, said: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards, having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country. In what light does this proceeding appear to Congress? While they decline our offered friendship, are they to be suffered to encroach on our bounds, and shut us up within the Appalachian Mountains? I begin to fear they have some such project" (*Works*, Sparks, ix. 206).

[2] [The diplomacy of the war and the final negotiations for peace, form the subjects of the opening chapters of the succeeding volume of the present *History*. — ED.]

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THE CLOSING SCENES OF THE WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE campaign of Yorktown over, Rochambeau made his headquarters at Williamsburg (Parton's *Jefferson*, ch. 29), while Washington, having dispatched two thousand men south under St. Clair (instructions in Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 198) to reinforce Greene, moved with the rest of the army, by land and water, to the neighborhood of the Hudson (Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 199, 200; Irving's *Washington*, iv. ch. 29, 30; Kapp's *Steuben*, ch. 23; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. ch. 5). Washington at once acted in conjunction with Congress to prevent the country lapsing into a neglect of the war establishment through over-confidence in the effects of the capture of Cornwallis. In April, 1782, Washington left Philadelphia and joined the army, establishing his headquarters at Newburgh, in a house which is still standing. (Views of it are in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1883, p. 357 (taken in 1834); Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., iv. 434; W. H. Bartlett's *Hist. of U. S.;* with a paper by C. D. Deshler on "A Glimpse of Seventy-Six," in *Harper's Mag.*, xlix. 231; with Lossing's "Romance of the Hudson," in *Ibid.*, liii. p. 32; also in his *Field-Book*, ii. 99, his *Hudson*, 199, and his *Mary and Martha Washington*, 215; Gay's *Pop. Hist. of U. S.*, iv. 84.)

There are several special accounts of this latest camp of the army. (Cf. Asa Bird Gardiner on "The Last Cantonment of the Main Continental Army" (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, 1883, vol. x. 355), which is accompanied by a plan of the camp near New Windsor. Simeon De Witt's maps of the locality and the camp are in the N. Y. Hist. Soc. library. De Witt was the geographer of the American army, succeeding Erskine, who had died in 1780. Various orderly-books of this time are in the American Antiquarian Society library. Other papers on the camp are in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Jan., 1884, p. 81; by J. T. Headley in *Harper's Mag.*, lxiv. 651, and *Galaxy*, xxii. 7. Cf. also Ruttenber's *Newburgh* (1859) and the account of the first annual meeting of the Hist. Soc. of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, Feb. 22, 1884, — Newburgh, 1884.

Washington and Congress were soon perplexed with the case of Capt. Joshua Huddy, and with a project of retaliation for that officer's execution. Huddy, an officer of the New Jersey line, commanded a block-house at Tom's River, New Jersey, and was there captured with his men by a band of refugee loyalists (W. S. Stryker's *Capture of the Block-House at Tom's River*). Huddy was taken by Capt. Richard Lippincott, a New Jersey loyalist, to Sandy Hook, where he was hanged on the pretence that he had been engaged in causing the death of Philip White, a Tory, who had been killed while endeavoring to escape from his guard. Congress ordered retaliation, and a young British officer, then a prisoner, Capt. Charles Asgill, was drawn by lot to suffer death unless Clinton should surrender Lippincott. Clinton condemned the action of Lippincott, who was, however, acquitted on trial, on the ground that his action was in accordance with instructions from the board of Associated Loyalists (Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, vol. ii. note xxix. p. 481). The execution of Asgill was postponed by Washington in the hope of some compensating arrangement, and at the instance of Lady Asgill, the young man's mother, the French monarch interceded with such effect that Congress, in November, 1782, ordered Washington to set Asgill at liberty. (References: Sparks's *Washington*, i. 378; viii. 262, 265, 301–310, 336, 361; ix. 197; *Sparks MSS.*, vols. lxxii., xlviii., lviii.; Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876 ed.), p. 509; *Remembrancer*, xiv. 144, 155; xv. 127, 191; *Political Mag.*, iii. 468, 472; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, ii. 232, 483, and Johnston's *Observations on Jones*, 77; Thomas Paine's *American Crisis, and a Letter to Sir Guy Carleton on the Murder of Captain Huddy, and the Intended Retaliation on Captain Asgill, of the Guards* (London, 1788); *Memoir of Gen. Samuel Graham, edited by his son, Col. J. J. Graham* (Edinburgh, privately printed, 1862, — extract in *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 329). Washington caused all the papers on the subject to be printed in the *Columbian Mag.*, Jan. and Feb., 1787. This young officer of twenty died as Gen. Sir Charles Asgill in July, 1823. Cf. *Diplomatic Corresp.*, xi. 105, 128, 140; Irving's *Washington*, iv. ch. 29; Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, iii.; Heath's *Memoirs*, 335; Sparks's *Franklin*, ix. 376; Hamilton's *Republic*, ii. 282. The English view is given in Adolphus's *England*, iii. ch. 46.

Early in May the news from England made it evident that the war was approaching an end, and the promised release from further campaigning left the public mind in a better condition to comprehend how weak a stay Congress had proved itself, and how insufficient was the power lodged in that body to compel the States to do any and all acts necessary for the common good. The natural distrust which was created of the form of government, whose success in carrying on the war had been largely fortuitous, was still more increased by the difficulties yet to be encountered in disbanding an army, in satisfying its well-earned demands, and in organizing a stable control for the future (Bancroft, final revision, vi. 59, etc.) It was not, then, surprising that

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notions of counteraction should in many minds take the form of a monarchical solution of the problem, and this sentiment found expression in a letter, written by Col. Nicola, of the army, to Washington, in which it was somewhat adroitly suggested that Washington should consent to be the head of a royal government. Washington met the suggestion with an indignant and stern reply, and we hear nothing more of the subject (Sparks, viii. 300, etc.; Irving, iv. 370).

Sir Guy Carleton was sent to relieve Sir Henry Clinton in New York, and he arrived early in May. His instructions (April 4, 1782, — *Sparks MSS.*, lviii.; cf. Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 294–298) were to avoid hostilities except for defence. He failed to open communication with Congress to treat for peace (Madison's *Debates*, vol. i.; Rives's *Madison*, i. 331, 333). An account of the cantonments of the British about New York just before this (Feb., 1782) is in the *Sparks MSS.* (xlix. vol. iii.). Clinton's account of his being relieved is in Mahon, vii. App., p. xvii. It was not till August that Carleton's communications to Washington rendered it certain that the concession of independence was a preliminary of the negotiations then going on for peace. Active hostilities accordingly ceased on both sides, though a posture of caution and vigilance was still main-

CAPTAIN ASGILL.

(From Andrews's *Hist. of the War*, London, 1785, vol. iv. Cf. Harper's *Cyclo. of U. S. Hist.*, ii. 653.)

tained by each commander. The French, who had remained in Virginia, now joined (September) the Americans on the Hudson. There is among the Rochambeau maps an excellent colored plan (no. 33), measuring twenty inches wide by thirty high, showing the country from White Plains north, and called *Position des Armées Amer. et Française à King's Ferry, Peak's Hill, et Hunt's Taverne, 17 Sept. et 20 Oct., 1782.* In October the French under the Baron de Viomenil marched to Boston and embarked, while Rochambeau and Chastellux sailed from Baltimore. On the final departure of the French see a paper by J. A. Stevens in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vii. p. 1. The report on their departure, made to Congress, is dated Jan. 1, 1783, — *Secret Journals*, iii. 267.

In Dec., 1782, the army had set forth in representations to Congress the sufferings which it had experienced from the want of pay (*Journals of Congress*, iv. 206; Madison's *Debates*, etc., i. 256; Rives's *Madison*, i. 383; Morse's *Hamilton*, i. 114). Nothing satisfactory came of this appeal, and a movement of uncertain extent, but seemingly having the countenance of officers of high rank, was aimed at producing action on the part of the army, which might easily, if allowed to proceed, have passed beyond prudent control, till a claim for redress of grievances might instigate an act of mutiny. Its chief manifestations were in two successive anonymous addresses, circulated through the camp at Newburgh, which were written, as was later acknowledged, by Major John Armstrong, a member of Gen. Gates's staff. Washington interposed at a meeting of

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the officers (March 15, 1783), and by a timely address turned the current. The original autograph of his address belongs to the Mass. Hist. Society, and that body issued a fac-simile edition of it (Boston, 1876), with letters of Col. Pickering, Gov. John Brooks, Judge Dudley A. Tyng, and William A. Hayes, authenticating the document, and describing the scene when Washington read it. Copies of the addresses made by Armstrong himself are in the *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. 1, 8, and they are given in Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 551; and in a *Collection of papers, relative to half-pay and commutation of half-pay, granted by Congress to officers of the army. Compiled by the permission of General Washington from the original papers in his possession* (Fishkill, 1783). Cf. Sabin, iv. 14,379. Washington at a later day, Feb. 23, 1797, wrote to Armstrong, exonerating him from having intended any evil to the country (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xxiv.). The genuineness of this letter having been assailed, Armstrong (Nov. 27, 1830) wrote a letter asserting its truth, and this autograph letter is in Harvard College library. More or less extended accounts of the incidents accompanying this attempt to organize a coercion of the civil by the military power will be found in the lives of Washington by Marshall (iv. 587); Sparks (viii. 369, 393); and Irving (iv. ch. 31); in Pickering's *Pickering* (i. ch. 29, 30, 31; including Montgar's, *i. e.* Armstrong's, letter in 1820); Drake's *Knox*, 77; Rives's *Madison* (i. 392); J. C. Hamilton's *Republic* (ii. 365, 385), and *Alexander Hamilton* (ii. 68); Morse's *Hamilton*, i. 119; Quincy's *Shaw* (p. 101); Hildreth's *United States* (iii. ch. 45); Dunlap's *New York* (ii. 230); Lossing's *Field-Book* (ii. 106, 315); *Journals of Congress* (iv. 213); Bancroft, final rev., vi. 71.

A letter from Lafayette, who had gone to France, shortly afterwards arrived, announcing the signing of the preliminary articles of peace; and the news being confirmed by a letter from Carleton, Washington, on April 19, the eighth anniversary of the day of Lexington, issued a proclamation announcing cessation of hostilities. Sparks's *Washington* (viii. 425; App. 13); Heath's *Memoirs;* Madison's *Debates* (i. 437); *Diplom. Correspondence* (ii. 319–329; x. 121; xi. 320); *Secret Journals of Cong.* (iii. 323, under date of April 11, 1783).

Knox had suggested (Drake's *Knox*), and in April, 1783, the Society of the Cincinnati had been formed from the officers of the army, with a plan of transmitting membership to descendants. It was intended as an organization to perpetuate a brotherhood formed in arms, and to offer an organization which might conveniently deliberate as occasion required upon the condition of the country. As a rule the principal civil leaders of the Revolution looked upon the combination with disapproval (Wells's *Sam. Adams*, iii. 202; Austin's *Gerry*, ch. 25; Sparks's *Franklin*, x. 58; Bigelow's *Franklin*, iii. 247; John Adams, *Works*, ix. 524, called it "the first step taken to deface our temple of liberty"), and even with dread, lest it might lend itself to the creation of castes and the furtherance of schemes against the liberties of the country. There was a widespread dissatisfaction among the people generally, not always temperately expressed, and years were required to remove the apprehension so incontinently formed. The society was organized in the Verplanck house (view in *Appleton's Journal*, xiv. 353); the fac-similes of the signatures to the original subscription are given in the *Penna. Archives*, vol. xi., and a representation of a certificate signed by Washington is in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 128. The bibliography of the society and its branches, by States, is given by Lloyd P. Smith in the *Bulletin of the Philadelphia Library*, July, 1885. Particular reference may be made to the accounts and expositions given in the *Penna. Hist. Soc. Memoirs* (1858), vi. pp. 15–55, by Alexander Johnston; *North Amer. Review*, v. lxxvii. 267, by W. Sargent; *St. Clair Papers*, i. 590; Kapp's *Steuben*, ch. 26; E. M. Stone's *Our French Allies*, p. xix; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 127; J. B. McMaster's *People of the U. S.*, i. 167; R. C. Winthrop's *Speeches, etc.* (1852, etc.), p. 345; and the account of the centennial of the order in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1883, pp. 171, 235, 253.

On the 18th June, 1783, Washington from Newburgh, whither he had removed his headquarters from Verplanck's after the departure of the French, issued his last circular letter to the States (Sparks, viii. 439; Irving, iv. 394), full of counsel and warning.[1]

The troops were in large part dismissed on furlough, and finally, Congress (Oct. 18) by proclamation, directed the disbandment of the army, to take effect Nov. 2 (*Secret Journals*, iii. 406). A small body was, however, still kept together under Knox, to await the definitive form of the treaty. Washington now occupied a brief space in making a journey with Gov. Clinton over the battlefields of Burgoyne's campaign. He then, at the request of Congress, proceeded to Princeton, and was domiciled for a while at Rocky Hill, in order to be at hand for conferences with that body. From this place, Nov. 2, 1783, he issued a farewell address to the army. (Sparks, viii. 491; Irving, iv. 402; Pickering's *Pickering*, i. 488.)

The last surviving pensioner of the Revolution is called one Lemuel Cook in the *Amer. Hist. Record*, ii. 357. In 1864, what purported to be the record of the latest survivors of the war appeared in Elias B. Hillard's *Last Men of the Revolution* (Hartford, 1864). An account of John Gray as the last soldier of the Revolution, by J. M. Dalzell, was printed at Washington in 1868. B. P. Poore's *Descriptive Catal. of Gov't Publications* will enable one to trace many of those soldiers whose claims came before Congress.

Carleton giving notice of his readiness to evacuate New York, Washington now returned to West Point, and prepared to enter the city with Gov. Clinton on the appointed day. The general and the governor entered the upper end of the town on Nov. 25, while the British embarked at the lower end. Valentine's *N. Y. City Manual* for 1861 gives various documentary records, some in fac-simile. On Dec. 1 there were fireworks, a broadside programme of which is in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. Trumbull painted a picture of

[1] Some of the copies bear other dates.

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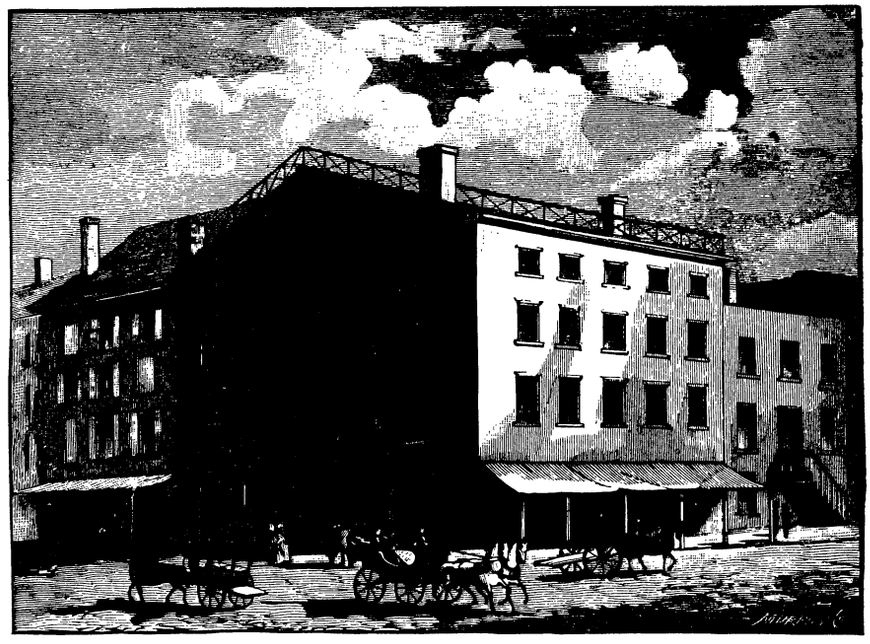
the scene of the evacuation, which is given in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, 1883, p. 387. The histories of New York city commemorate the event, and there are illustrated papers on it in *Harper's Mag.*, Nov., 1883 (vol. lxvii. 609), and *Manhattan Mag.*, Dec., 1883. Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, xi. 42; Lieut.-Col. Smith's letter in *N. Y. City during the Rev.* (N. Y., 1861); Irving's *Washington*, iv. ch. 33; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.* (ii. 504). Some days after the British had gone, Washington met his principal officers (Dec. 4) in Fraunce's Tavern, and bade them farewell.

This building stood on the corner of Pearl and Broad streets, N. Y., and was occupied by Washington as headquarters when he entered the city after the British evacuated in 1783. The cut follows a view given in Valentine's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1854, p. 547, accompanied by a paper by W. J. Davis. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 144, 151, 152; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 839; Gay's *Pict. Hist. U. S.*, iv. 90; Dawson's *Westchester*



FRAUNCE'S TAVERN IN NEW YORK.

The opening chapter of McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* (N. Y., 1883) describes the appearance of New York city at this time, and indeed of the other principal American towns, and the habits of living through the country. An account of New York at this time is also in the *Manhattan Mag.*, ii. 561.

Immediately leaving New York, Washington journeyed to Annapolis, where Congress was then assembled. Here, on Dec. 23, he met Congress in the State House (view in *Columbian Mag.*, Jan., 1789; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 402), where he resigned his commission in an address. (Sparks, viii. 504, and App., xiv.; Marshall, iv. 622. A fac-simile of the manuscript is given in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, 1881, vol. vii. 106. Cf. *Journals of Congress*, iv. 318; Ridgeley's *Hist. of Annapolis.*) On Christmas Eve, Washington reached Mount Vernon, once more a private gentleman.

Congress on the 14th Jan., 1784, sitting at Philadelphia, finally ratified the definitive treaty of peace.

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